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THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

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ARTICLE I.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

THE STATESMEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, with a Treatise on the Popular Progress of English History. By JOHN FORSTER, of the Inner Temple. Edited by J. O. CHOULES. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1846. 647 pp. 8vo.

BY THE EDITOR.

NEXT in interest to the history of our own country is the history of England. And no period of English history is more thrilling in its character than the period of the Commonwealth. We love to recur to that strong, stern age of intellectual vigor, of noble heroism, of patriotic zeal, of honorable daring, of Christian hope. There are other features of that period, besides its political scheming, its secret cabals, the selfish cunning of some of its statesmen, and the thorough hypocrisy of others. England was not wholly given up to that ambitious spirit which, in its grasping avarice, rides into power without scruple, over the ruins of thrones and through the blood of the slain. And the gloomy predominance of the baser passions prepares us to dwell with devout respect and ardent interest upon the noble self-denial of a select few, to whom it has happened to be duly appreciated only since death has set his seal upon their virtues. For men there were, who hazarded life and fortune for the welfare of their country,

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and who expiated their high-minded patriotism by an ignominious death. Of such patriots, the epoch of the English Commonwealth furnished several sterling specimens.

We have another reason to be interested in this period of English history. It was the age in which the piety of the Puritans was making itself felt, in all ranks of society. The citizens in the common walks of life were moved by its force. The foundations of government were shaken by its influence. The choice spirits of the church were either transporting themselves to the inhospitable shores of New England, there to lay the corner-stone of an empire for God, or else they were laboring at home to establish a kingdom on the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The disorders and dissatisfactions which preceded the period of the Commonwealth, including the prevailing spirit of religious intolerance, the overbearing claims of the church, the arrogant exactions of the rulers, and the various oppressions under which the people of God were made to groan, compelled them to feel that their hope was not in man but in God. Under the feelings induced by the prevailing state of things, some, still cleaving to the endearments of their native land, betook themselves to prayer and to efforts after reform. Some, in the exercise of the martyr spirit, abjured home and friends, and came to "a waste, howling wilderness," that they might enjoy "freedom to worship God." The pioneers of the noble band had already encountered the first hardships incident to an infant settlement on a bleak and barren coast, in the neighborhood of savages, and in the depth of winter. The tide had now set towards the shores of America. And, during the half century following the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth, many of the Christian people of England from the common walks of life, some of the wealthy and refined, and a few of noble blood,—besides the servants of God from the altar, had found their way across the ocean. These, our revered ancestors, stood in the closest relations to those whom they had left behind. In the times that tried men's souls in the mother country, there were the aged parents that had nurtured them, still lingering, in many cases, among the living. There were the sepulchres of the loved and honored dead. There were the brothers and sisters,

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whose names were the dearer to them on account of the distance which divided them. There were the churches, where they had bowed and worshipped. There were the institutions, venerable by antiquity, and upheld by men whom they could not but esteem, with all their faults;—institutions under which they had been reared into manhood, and which they still loved and cherished. They were made sick by the abuse of them; but they admired those elementary principles in them, which were founded on the basis of righteousness and truth. They modelled the new government, substantially, upon them, and were willing to live and die by them. Our Puritan ancestors form the connecting link between this and the father-land. It is through them that we trace up our history to a point where the lines run into one. And it is in the period of the English Commonwealth, including the few preceding years, when things were evidently tending to this issue, that we find the point of this coincidence. Here is our origin, and our paternity. Here sprang up the seeds of those opinions concerning government and religion, concerning the liberty of man and freedom of conscience, which have since borne an abundant harvest. Here were laid the first courses of the monument of political equality, which time has wrought into a noble structure for the world to gaze upon. Noble were the founders of the edifice, who came to the land of the pilgrims, workmen that need not to be ashamed. And noble also were others, equally near to us in the original ties of nationality and in the bond of pious faith and free opinion, who, as many historians affirm, lacked but little of joining the company who embarked their fortunes for Plymouth rock. How can we be otherwise than interested in them?

The work of Mr. Forster is a minute and accurate detail of the life of seven of the principal statesmen of that eventful period:—Sir John Eliot, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, John Pym, John Hampden, Sir Henry Vane, the younger, Henry Marten, and Oliver Cromwell. The English edition is in five volumes; the American edition comprises the whole in one stately octavo. The engravings are copied with the most scrupulous accuracy from the original edition. For its dignity, completeness and beauty, the work is a worthy ornament of this or of any age. Dr. Choules has performed an acceptable service

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for the American public, in bringing these biographies within the reach of all.

Many interesting topics spring out of the volume, which we cannot allow ourselves, at present, to discuss. So crowded are the pages of each of the biographies with interesting and thrilling incident, that we dare not even undertake to present an abstract of the several lives, as a key to the events of that stormy era. The most that we can venture is to offer a brief sketch of the private and personal character of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, as the most important personage of the number, and the presiding genius in those scenes of revolution which resulted in the temporary change of government, and the ignominious execution of Charles I on the scaffold.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, April 25th, 1599. He was the son of a brewer; but he was able to trace his descent, on both sides, to noble blood. His father was a man of respectable abilities, and lived frugally, depending chiefly on the profits of his trade for a living. The brew-house was managed principally by Mrs. Cromwell and the servants;—the accounts being all brought to the mistress. After the death of her husband, the widow "did continue in the same employment and calling of a brewer, and thought it no disparagement to sustain the estate and post of a younger brother, as Mr. Robert Cromwell was, by those lawful means." The father of the Protector seems to have been a man of humble tastes, quiet, unambitious and retiring. He was once elected to a seat in Parliament from the borough of Huntingdon; but he soon forsook the trials of public life, and seems afterwards never to have held any office which called him beyond the limits of his native town. Mrs. Cromwell, the mother of Oliver, was a woman of rare energy and excellence. In the character of the mother, we cannot fail to see some of the elements of greatness which afterwards shone so conspicuously in her distinguished son. Mr. Forster has drawn a very glowing picture of this honorable matron.

"An interesting person indeed," he says, "was this mother of Oliver Cromwell—a woman with the glorious faculty of self-help when other assistance failed her. Ready for the demands of fortune in its extremest adverse time—of spirit and energy equal to her mildness and patience—who, with the labor of her own hands, gave dowries to five

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daughters sufficient to marry them into families as honorable, but more wealthy than her own—whose single pride was honesty, and whose passion, love—who preserved in the gorgeous palace at Whitehall the simple tastes that distinguished her in the old brewery at Huntingdon—whose only care amidst all her splendors, was for the safety of her beloved son in his dangerous eminence—finally, whose closing wish, when that anxious care had outworn her strength, accorded with her whole modest and tender history,—for it implored a simple burial in some country church-yard, rather than those ill-suited trappings of state and ceremony wherewith she feared, and with reason feared, that his highness, the lord protector of England, would have carried her to some royal tomb! There is a portrait of her at Winchinbrook which, if that were possible, would increase the interest she inspires and the respect she claims. The mouth, so small and sweet, yet full and firm as the mouth of a hero—the large melancholy eyes—the light pretty hair—the expression of quiet affectionateness suffused over the face, which is so modestly enveloped in a white satin hood—the simple beauty of the velvet cardinal she wears, and the richness of the small jewel that clasps it—seem to present before the gazer her living and breathing character."

Oliver Cromwell passed to his greatness through a childhood and youth which gave little promise of his subsequent elevation. The narratives of his earlier years exhibit few indications of the character which he was to attain, and show in him but slender qualifications for the dignities which he was destined to wear. Heath remarks that "from his infancy, he was of a cross and peevish disposition, which, being humoured by the fondness of his mother, made that rough and intractable temper more robust and outrageous in his juvenile years, and adult and masterless at man's estate." Various traditions are preserved respecting his infantile years; some of which, doubtless, are false, and others may be founded in truth. Thus it is related that when he was in the arms, on one occasion a monkey seized him from the cradle, and "ran with him upon the lead that covered the roofing of the house." The family, alarmed, brought beds to catch him upon, in case the monkey should drop him; but after a time he brought him down in safety. At another time, he was saved from drowning by the curate of Cunnington. Cromwell, at a late period, in a march at the head of his troops, kindly called upon the curate, and asked him if he recollected the service he had done him? "Yes," replied he, "I do; but I wish I had put you in, rather than see you here in arms against your king."

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He had a wayward and violent temper; this temper was unrestrained when he was at home, through the misguided love and womanish weakness of his mother; at school he was the victim of the severity of a tyrannical master. These things combined to give a direction to his character in early life. Had his rudeness and violence been controlled at home by a firm, but steady and gentle government, and had his master at school exercised a somewhat more generous spirit towards his charge, it might be that he would never have learned those lessons of tyranny, which he afterwards practised; or that, having learned them, he would have scorned to use them, at least against his monarch. But wrong principles implanted in the young mind, or suffered to remain there, will ever yield a ruinous harvest of folly, cruelty and crime.

Cromwell received the elements of his education at the free-school of Huntingdon; thence he proceeded to Cambridge, and was entered a student of Sydney Sussex College, "when within two days of completing his seventeenth year." At school, our author remarks, "he was active and resolute—capable of tremendous study, but by no means always inclined to it—with a vast quantity of youthful energy, which exploded in vast quantities of youthful mischief—and finally, not at all improved by an unlimited system of flogging adopted by his school-master." The Life before us gives but a sorry account of his character as a young scholar, destined to act so prominent a part in the history of one of the most cultivated nations on earth.

"From A B C discipline," says one of his biographers, "and the slighted governance of a mistress, his father removed him to the tuition of Dr. Beard, school-master of the free-school of that town, where his book began to persecute him, and learning to commence his great and irreconcilable enemy; for his master, honestly and severely observing that, and others his faults, (which like weeds sprang out of his rank and uncultivable nature,) did, by correction, hope to better his manners; and with a diligent hand and careful eye to hinder the thick growth of those vices which were so predominant and visible in him.

"The learning and civility he had, coming upon him like fits of enthusiasme, now a hard student, for a week or two, and then a truant or otioso for twice as many months,—of no settled constancy. Amongst the rest of those ill qualities which fructuated in him at this age, he was very notorious for robbing of orchards; a puerile crime and an

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ordinary trespass, but grown so scandalous and injurious by the frequent spoyles and damages of trees, breaking of hedges and inclosures, committed by this apple-dragon, that many solemn complaints were made, both to his father and master, for redress thereof, which missed not their satisfaction and expiation out of his hide; on which so much pains were lost that that very offence ripened in him afterwards to the throwing down of all boundaries of law or conscience. From this he passed unto another more manly theft, the robbing of dove-houses, stealing the young pidgeons, and eating and merchandizing of them, and that so publiquely that he became dreadfully suspect to all the adjacent country."

To these crimes against the laws, the misguided young man added other petty indiscretions, cruelly annoying to those who happened to suffer under them. He once attended at a Christmas festival at the house of his uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell, to which he had been invited with a large circle of relatives and young persons. The amusements included, besides feasting, dancing and music, other sports and games common to that age on such occasions. In the midst of the merry making, young Oliver "besmeared his clothes and gloves with the most nauseous filth," and assailed every one that came in his way, rendering the room so offensive that it could scarcely be endured. His depraved amusement brought with it, however, serious consequences. He was taken out and ducked in a neighboring pond, which must have been a most uncomfortable operation to be endured on a cold Christmas night; and still worse than that, he lost the friendship of his uncle, who became so alienated that he could not endure the sight of him.

Cromwell was as little inclined to study and as irregular in his habits at Cambridge, as he had been hitherto in his preparatory course. Though he gained a very good knowledge of Latin, such that he could use it readily, in his manhood, in communicating with foreign ambassadors, he spent most of his time among drinking companions, and in boisterous games, and "he had the name of a royster among most that knew him." His residence at the University seems to have been of little service to him in a literary point of view; and in a little more than a year, on account of the death of his father, he was withdrawn from Cambridge, and after a short time entered as a member of Lincoln's Inn. But here also he gave him-

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self less to the law than to unbridled license, and soon he returned to Huntingdon, "a finished London rake."

During a season after his return home, he was the terror of all the country around; he gave himself up to drinking and to boisterous society, having little respect even to the rights of others, and boldly insulting the females whom he met in the streets. It was truly a dark career, which he had run thus far; how unpromising in reference to his future destination! And yet we can easily see that he was receiving, in so miserable a school, the training which was to fit him for his strange task. He studied not books, but men. He became familiar with the human mind in its rough, as well as in its cultivated state. He watched the principles of action, in souls uncovered and unguarded, and learned in what way he could influence and lead men about in accomplishing his subsequent purposes. Notwithstanding the mental indolence and the love of mischief in which he indulged himself, he was, beyond all question, a man of strong powers, and a keen observer of men, of actions, and of events. And the courses which would ruin a weaker man, or which would unfit him for energetic action, he was able to turn to account in promoting, in some respects, his qualifications for the part he was to act in the world. If he became, as we have some good reason to hope, a true Christian, the excesses into which he had fallen illustrated the more the power of God in his conversion; and the traits of character which seduced him into those excesses, as in the case of St. Paul, when placed under the controlling influence of religion, were useful, rather than injurious, as instruments of his higher efficiency.

After his marriage, Cromwell seems to have become deeply interested in religion. His whole course of life was changed. He forsook his boisterous and wicked companions, and made his house an asylum of religious persons and dissenting ministers. The ribald jest and roystering laugh gave place to the voice of prayer. The time which had hitherto been consecrated to riot and sin was now consecrated to acts of piety; and he seemed as much devoted to religion as he had ever been to the world. We have read with interest a letter of his, addressed to his cousin, the wife of Oliver St. John, and dated at Ely, October 13, 1638. The air of perfect sincerity and the

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truly humble and earnest spirit which pervades it, will not suffer us to look upon it with suspicion. The letter is preserved in Thurber's State Papers.

"Deere Cozen;—I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of mee, upon this opportunitye. Alas, you doe too highlye prize my lines and my Companie. I may bee ashamed to owne your expressions, consideringe how unproffitable I am, and the meane improvement of my tallent. Yett to honour my God by declaringe what hee hath done for my soule, in this I am confident and I will be soe. Trulye then this I finde, that he giveth springes in a drye and barren wildernesse, where no water is. I live (you know where) in Mesheck, which they say signifies prolonginge; in Kedar, which signifieth blacknesse; yett the Lord forsaketh mee not. Though hee doe prolonge yett he will (I trust) bringe mee to his Tabernacle, to his restinge place. My soule is with the congregation of the first borne, my body rests in hope; and if here I may honour my God either by doeinge or sufferinge, I shal be most glad. Truly noe poore creature hath more cause to putt forth himselfe in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentifull wadges beforehand; and I am sure I shall never earne the least mite. The Lord accept me in his sonn, and give mee to walke in the light, and give us to walke in the light, as hee is in the light. Hee it is that inlighteneth our blacknesse, our darknesse. I dare not say, he hydeth his face from mee. He giveth me to see light in his light. One beame in a darke place hath exceedinge much refreshment in it; blessed be his name for shining upon so dark a hart as mine. You knowe what my manner of life hath bine. O, I lived in, and loved darknesse, and hated the light; I was a chiefe, the chiefe of sinners. This is true, I hated Godlinesse, yett God had mercy onn mee. O the riches of his mercy! Praise him for mee, pray for mee, that he whoe hath begunn a good worke, would perfect it to the day of Christ. Salute all my good freinds in that family, whereof you are yett a member. I am much bound unto them for there love. I blesse the Lord for them, and that my sonn by there procurement is so well. Lett him have your prayers, your Councell; lett me have them. Salute your husband and sister from mee. He is not a man of his word; he promised to write about Mr. Wrath of Epinge, but as yett I received noe letters. Putt him in mind to doe what with conveniency may be donn for the poore cozen I did sollicit him about. Once more farewell; the Lord bee with you; soe prayeth your trulye lovinge Cozen, OLIVER CROMWELL. My wife's service and love presented to all her friends."

The religious spirit indicated in this letter, Cromwell carried out in practice. He lived, at least for a season, what he here expressed. Whatever hypocrisy he might have been guilty of at a later period, he evidently strove to live a new life under the incitement of religious considerations. Beyond a doubt, he was a wholly altered

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man. And we can scarcely conceive that any thing but religion could have produced so sudden and so complete a revolution in his habits of life.

At about the age of 21, Cromwell was married,—in the year 1620. In 1628, he was returned a member of Parliament from the borough of Huntingdon. In 1631, he stocked a small farm at St. Ives, and removed thither with his wife and children. But he made religion a business, much more than farming. "The greater part of his time, even upon his farm," says our author, "was passed in devotional exercises, and expositions, and prayer." The servants were called together from their labor to attend to protracted religious exercises, morning and evening. Cromwell seemed for a season, resolved literally, to "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness." Thus did he show the sincerity of his repentance of his youthful excesses. He was animated in this, not as some of his biographers suggest, by hypochondriasm; not, we believe, by a hypocritical spirit; but, as we trust, by the genuine spirit of religion. And thus he was preparing, in more ways than one, for the wide sphere of influence which he was destined afterwards to fill.

The appearance of Cromwell at his first entering the parliament house at Westminster must have been sufficiently striking. We quote a description of his person, as containing a lively portraiture of the man.

"His gait was clownish, his dress ill-made and slovenly, his manners coarse and abrupt, and his face such as men look on with a vague feeling of admiration and dislike. The features cut as it were out of a piece of gnarled and knotty oak; the nose large and red; the cheeks coarse, wasted, wrinkled and sallow; the eye-brows huge and shaggy, but, glistening from beneath them, eyes full of depth and meaning, and, when turned to the gaze, piercing through and through the gazer; above these, again, a noble forehead, whence, on either side, an open flow of hair round from his parted forelock manly hangs, clustering; and over all and pervading all, an undefinable aspect of greatness."

The biographers of Cromwell speak very disparagingly of his personal appearance at this time and subsequently. When he resided on his farm at St. Ives, his appearance almost every Sabbath at the parish church was such as to attract general attention, and to impress itself indelibly on the memory. He wore "an ill-arranged dress, with a

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piece of red flannel fastened around his throat to protect him from the frequent inflammations to which the sharp cold and excessive moisture of the air had painfully exposed him." Dr. South, in one of his sermons, alluding to Cromwell's first appearance in Parliament, speaks of him as "a bankrupt, beggarly fellow, with a threadbare, torn coat and greasy hat, and perhaps neither of them paid for." And although we may make some allowance for the spirit of a man, ardently loving the established order of things, and in the present instance doubtless angling for a bishopric, still, Cromwell must have been sufficiently removed from neatness in his personal appearance, to give any credibility or currency to such a description of him. Sir Philip Warwick speaks of him, as he appeared in Parliament, as "very ordinarily apparelled," in a "plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hatband. His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untuneable; and his eloquence full of fervor." Lord Digby, in addressing Hampden on the day spoken of above, and inquiring for the name of Cromwell, used the following language;—"Pray, Mr. Hampden, who is that man—that sloven, that spoke just now; for I see he is on our side by his speaking so warmly?" Hampden answered,—"That sloven whom you see before you hath no ornament in his speech—that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the king, which God forbid! in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England."

Yet when a suitable time came, and Oliver was the tenant of the palace at Whitehall, he knew how to change his ordinary garb for habiliments becoming his state.

Possibly, Oliver might have taken some pride in his uncouth appearance. A story is related of him averring this suggestion. On the eve of his assumption of the protectorate, sitting for his portrait, he instructed the young man who painted it "that he was not to inflict any 'nonsense' on the canvas; but paint wrinkles, warts and all." That wicked wit, the author of Hudibras, who

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turned every thing into ridicule, says of him, "Cromwell wants neither wardrobe nor armour; his face was naturally buff, and his skin may furnish you with a rusty coat of mail; you would think he had been christened in a lime pit, and tanned alive." The wags of the age, small and great, made all manner of fun of the Protector's nose; that important organ either naturally wore a ruby air, or received an artificial tinge by "Noll's" early and excessive familiarity with the good-cheer of his father's brewery. A little volume might be formed of the witticisms perpetrated against this persecuted member. But such undignified follies only exhibit the weakness and irreverence of human nature.

The character of Cromwell was made up of strange paradoxes. At times a man of steadfast purpose, he knew how to "set his face like a flint," and to command men with imperious authority, in order to secure the accomplishment of his wishes. Again, laying aside his dignity, and assuming a most meek, submissive and pious air, he would seek the effectuation of his ends by prayers and tears. He had, as his biographers affirm, "a faculty to be fluent in his tears," "spongie eyes," and "an extraordinary fluxional faculty of tears." At one time, he seemed wholly absorbed in religion, as if he could live and breathe only in its spirit; at another, he lost all sense of religious dignity, and became almost germain to a court fool. Even in the midst of that most affecting scene—the signing of the death warrant of Charles I,—he is said to have been "in great sport," as he advanced to the table with the pen, laughingly marking Marten's face with ink, which Marten returned with interest. He had an extraordinary fondness for buffoonery. "He kept four buffoons at Whitehall, and generally, when inclined to sport, made himself a fifth." Some of the table-scenes and boyish frolicks of Oliver, after he came to the protectorate, are painfully unmanly and disgusting. If such follies were the efforts of a mind ill at ease, to procure a temporary diversion, we cannot justify them; the pursuits of elegant literature and the consolations of religion would have been far more effectual, as well as more dignified and worthy. If they are to be regarded as indicative of his prevailing taste, it would seem that his piety must be either of a very dubious character, or at a

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very low ebb. We are more willing to attribute them to the weakness of the age, and to the folly and inconsistency, the infirmity and the childishness of human nature. The inconsistencies of Cromwell's character were very marked and striking. At one time he manifested great calmness and power of self-government, quietly reasoning with those who differed from him, and eventually by his ingenuity bringing them over to his own opinions. At another, the slightest opposition threw him into a violent passion, and transformed him, as it were, into a temporary madman. Now he despised honor and office, affirming that he would have been glad to have lived under his own wood-side, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than to have undertaken the government; and now he is evidently planning with the most wily acuteness to secure to himself every thing that belongs to the estate of a king. In many of his public official acts, he appears stern, rough and unfeeling; like a man without a heart, or in whom the gentler qualities of human nature were crushed, or had died out. In private life, on the contrary, he exhibits the most unalloyed affection and tenderness. Of this we have fine examples in some of his letters to his wife, and especially in his concern manifested for the Lady Elizabeth Claypole, his favorite daughter. When she was on her death-bed, "public affairs, private dangers, his own bodily pains—all were thrust aside for the greater love, and the more unselfish sorrow, and he hurried to Hampton Court to watch by her bedside her slightest wish,—to alleviate, or console, or share her dying thoughts and sufferings. The lord protector of three great kingdoms became the protector of his child alone."

We cannot help admiring the religious spirit that so often appears in the Protector, nor can we persuade ourselves that it was all hypocrisy. Neither its beginning nor its frequent developments were such as to mark him as, beyond doubt, a Judas Iscariot. It is true that in many things he acted unworthily of the Christian spirit and temper. He was guilty of many inconsistencies. He appeared, under various circumstances, in attitudes, which, if we had no other materials of judging him, would compel us to withhold from him the name of a saint. But we see him, in his public and private history, in a

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variety of attitudes. We see him under various emergencies. And we are under obligation to judge him, not by one act, but by his whole course of action. We ought to take into account the character of that age, the necessary developments of piety under such influences as then prevailed, the peculiarities of his own education and early life, the singular position in which he stood, the anxieties, cares, responsibilities and difficulties of that position, and the strong temptations by which he was undoubtedly assailed. No other man has stood in so perilous a situation. Few could sustain it. It must have demanded iron nerves, a cool head, a steady hand; and much of the grace of God. And if the restraints of God's grace or the aids of his wisdom were, for any reason, temporarily withdrawn, we cannot be surprised that this Samson was as weak as other men. Such was his character and course of life previous to his supposed conversion, that he seems to us not the man to have played the hypocrite to such an extent, for so long a period, and with such success. We have doubted whether, in almost any specified instance, it is right to charge him with insincerity. It is, moreover, a circumstance in his favor, that while the cloak of religion was over his public acts, which have been suspected, as if the religion were assumed to blind men's eyes to his sinister purposes, his private acts, conversations and letters, exhibit still more of the same devout spirit. Forster remarks that "in the general affairs of his household, in so far as religion and religious observances were concerned, he was strict and even in some cases exacting." Richard Baxter, who was not readily to be deceived by appearances, says of him, "I think that, having been a prodigal in his youth, and afterwards changed to a zealous religiousness, he meant honestly in the main, and was pious and conscionable in the main course of his life, till prosperity and success corrupted him." In speaking of the desire of Cromwell to have the troop of horse which he commanded, composed of religious men, the same distinguished divine adds, "I conjecture, that at his first choosing such men into his troop, it was the very esteem and love of religious men that principally moved him." This testimony is of much value. We find also many acts of Cromwell's, which indicate a regard for religion and a practical belief of it

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and interest in it. In many things he seems to have recognized its authority, and to have acted voluntarily in accordance with its dictates, on occasions when even good men might, without reproach, have omitted its outward performances. We look with unfeigned interest and approval, not to say with wonder also, on that troop of fierce men, hushed by their fiery leader into reverent silence, on the eve of an engagement, while he expounded to them a portion of the word of inspiration, and then bowed with them in prayer before the God of armies. At the opening of the campaign of 1643, an unexpected collision of the two bodies having taken place, Cromwell in an instant circulated through the ranks of his followers, "the watch-word, TRUTH and PEACE; gave out a psalm, which the officers and men at once, as the Greek soldiers took up their song of freedom, uplifted with united voices, and then rushed, on Cromwell's word to charge, in the name of the Most High, on the astonished enemy." On the day of the battle of Naseby, the army of Cromwell, "in the dawn of the morning, sung a psalm in praise of their God." Many similar instances might be cited. That was truly a sublime spectacle. To see a thousand or thousands of men, clad in mail and bristling with instruments of war, flushed with the expectation of conquest and ready to rush forward with their general to death or victory, bending their knees before God, in acknowledgment of their dependence, and imploring divine succor,—or, instead of the clangor of the martial trumpet, to hear them lifting up their united voices in a psalm of praise,—must have impressed a spectator with reverent feelings; it must have strengthened the conviction of the reality and beauty of religion; it must have suggested the thought that the leader who encouraged such proceedings among his troops, must either be a man of prayer and a man of God, or a more servile, reckless and remorseless hypocrite than even Cromwell himself has usually been taken to be.

It was in allusion to the religious zeal which the Protector infused into his army and carried with him into his battles, that Marchmont Needham, in his spirited manner, said—"On went Noll Cromwell in the might of his spirit, with his swords and Bibles, and with all his train of disciples; every one of whom is as a David, a man of war

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and a prophet; gifted men all, that have resolved to their work better than any of the sons of Levi, and are rushing through England with their two-edged swords and Bibles, to convert the Gentiles."

It is related that "the notion of a particular faith in prayer prevailed much in Cromwell's court; and that it was a common opinion among them that such as were in a special manner favored of God, when they offered up prayers and supplications to him for his mercies, either for themselves or others, often had such impressions made on their minds and spirits by a divine hand, as signified to them not only in the general that their prayers would be heard and graciously answered, but that the particular mercies that were sought for would be certainly bestowed." Cromwell held this "notion," for which Forster, incapable of appreciating it, brands him with the charitable charge of enthusiasm. But Cromwell acted upon the "notion," and believed that in more instances than one his faith in it had been confirmed. On the eve of the battle of Dunbar, being reduced to great straits, "he called his officers to a day of seeking the Lord;" and, as Burnet affirms, "he loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards; he said he felt much enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After Bristol had fallen into the hand of Cromwell's army, he writes to Parliament,—"They that have been employed in this service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you; I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you and all England over, who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this very thing." When he was nominated to the protectorate, he "requested that two officers from each corps might meet him at Whitehall, and seek the Lord in prayer. After a delay of two weeks, he condescended to submit his shoulders to the burthen, because he had learned it was the will of Heaven."

Besides this class of evidences in his favor, we may add that Cromwell was addressed by his contemporaries on religious topics, as a sincere Christian. This fact, it is true, would not in itself establish his claim to a reputation for piety. But that good men, with whom he was

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in habits of intimacy, who saw him in public and private, and on all occasions, and who were familiar with his personal habits and his secret counsels, detected no hypocrisy in him, that they gave no intimations of any suspicions concerning him, and that they addressed to him in private letters those encouragements, advices and suggestions, which would have been wholly useless and unappreciated by him, if he were not a true Christian, but only a devout Pharisee,—these things seem to us presumptive arguments in favor of his sincerity. Among the letters of the description now referred to, we quote two specimens.

"My dear lord," exhorts Harrison, "lett waiting upon Jehovah bee the greatest and most considerable business you have every daie; reckon itt soe more then to eate, sleepe or councell together. Run aside sometimes from your companie, and gett a word with the Lord. Why should not you have three or four precious soules allwaies standing att your elbow, with whom you might now and then turne into a corner. I have found refreshment and mercie in such a waie. Ah, the Lord of compassion owne, pittie your burdens, care for you, stand by and refresh your hearte each moment. I would I could in anie kind doe you good, my heart is with you, and my poore praiers to my God for you. The Allmightie Father carrie you in his very bosome, and deliver you (if itt bee his will) from touching a very haire of anie for whom Jesus hath bled. I expect a very gracious return in this particular."

The other letter is from J. Bradshawe, who pronounced the sentence of death upon Charles I, and exhibits a very earnest sense of religious considerations, together with a manifest conviction that the consolations contained in the letter would be appreciated and valued by Cromwell.

"My lord,—By the hands of this trustie bearer, accept, I pray you, of this paper remembrance and salutation from him who both upon the publique and his owne pryvate account is verie much your dettor, and with other your poore friends here praies for and adores the manifestation of God's gracious presence with you in all your weyghty affairs; which, as they are undertaken in zeale to God's glory and his people's good, will through continuance of the same dyvine presence and mercy, be crowned with answerable successe; and whosoever belonge to God in the nation where you are, will, in the close of all, have cause to say *periissemus nisi periissemus*. In the mean tyme, God can and will tame those stubborn spirits and convince them of their hypocrysy who create you all this trouble, and give a mercifull testimony to the sinceritie of his poore servants' hearts who have appealed unto him. My lord, I forbeare particularizing things here; only this, God is gracious to us in dyscovery of many of our enemies desygnes (which thereby have

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proved abortive,) and delyvering their councels in a good measure into our hands; and in watching over the common safetie, there is much acknowledgement due to the indefatigable industrie of M. Generall Harrison, your faithfull servant and substitute in that worke here. Your lordship will shortly heare of some numbers of godly persons in a regimentall forme here in London, whose example will be followed by others of lyke good mynd in Norwich, Kent and other places, who have sent for commissions to us for that purpose, and our resolution is they shall not want incouragement. My Lord, I will trespasse no further upon your tyme. The Lord of hosts be with you; the God of Jacob be your refuge. The humblest of your welwillers, friends and servants, J. BRADSHAWE."

We have alluded to private letters written by Cromwell himself, which seem to favor the supposition of his sincerity as a Christian. In these letters to his most intimate friends, and to members of his own family, he appears in the undress of life. He has no temptation to play a part. Then it is, if ever, that a man lays aside all disguise. When he unbosoms himself to his confidential friends and associates, he exhibits himself, if ever, just as he is, without ornament, without dissimulation. We quote two or three examples of this correspondence, as specimens of the whole.

In writing to lord Wharton, in the year 1647, he says—

"My lord,—You knowe how untoward I am att this businesse of writinge; yett a word. I beseech the Lord make us sensible of this great mercye heere, which suerlye was much more then . . . the house expresseth. I trust (. . the goodness of our God) time and oportunitye to speak of itt with you face to face. When wee think of our God, what are wee! Oh his mercye to the whole societye of Saincts, despised, jeered saincts. Lett them mocke on. Would wee were all saincts; the best of us are (God knows) poore weake saincts, yett saincts; if not sheepe, yett lambes, and must bee fedd. We have dailye bread, and shall have itt in despite of all enimies. There's enough in our Father's house, and he disparseth itt. . . . I thinke through theise outward mercyes (as wee call them) fayth, patience, love, hope, all are exercised and perfected, yea Christ formed and growes to a perfect man within us."

A still better specimen is contained in a letter written three years later, "on the very eve of his usurpation," and addressed to the Rev. John Cotton, one of the ministers of Boston, New England.

"Worthy Sir and my Christian Friend—I receaved yours a few days sithence; it was welcome to mee because signed by you, whome I love

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and honour in the Lord. But more to see some of the same grounds of our actinges stirring in you, that have in us to quiet us in our worke, and support us therein; which hath had greatest difficultye in our engagement with Scotland, by reason wee have had to doe with some, who were (I verily thinke) godly, but through weaknesse and the subtiltie of Satan, involved in interest against the Lord and his people. With what tendernesse wee have proceeded with such, and that in synceritie, our papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest, and I give you some comfortable . . . assurance off. The Lord hath marvelously appeared even against them. And now againe when all the power was devolved into the Scotish Kinge and the malignant partye, they invadinge England, the Lord rayned upon them such snares as the enclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that of their whole armie when the narrative was framed, not five of their whole armie returned. Surely Sr the Lord is greatly to bee feared, as to be praised. Wee need your prayers in this as much as ever: how shall wee behave ourselves after such mercyes? What is the Lord a doeinge? What prophesies are now fulfillinge? Who is a God like ours? To knowe his will, to doe his will, are both of him. . . I tooke this libertye from businesse to salute you thus in a word. Truly I am ready to serve you and the rest of our brethren and the churches with you. I am a poore, weake creature, and not worthy the name of a worme, yet accepted to serve the Lord and his people. Indeed, my dear friend, between you and mee, you know not mee; my weaknesse, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulnesse, and every way unfitnesse to my worke; yett, yett, the Lord, who will have mercye on whome he will, does as you see. Pray for mee; salute all Christian friends though unknown. I rest your affectionate friend to serve you. O. CROMWELL."

We subjoin a single specimen more, a letter to "hys beloved daughter, Bridget Ireton."

"Deere Daughter,—I write not to thy husband, partly to avoid trouble, for one line of mine begitts many of his, which I doubt makes him sitt up too late; partly because I am myselfe indisposed att this tyme; havinge some other considerations. Your friends att Ely are well; your sister Claypole is (I trust in mercye) exercised with some perplexed thoughts. She sees her owne vanitye and carnal minde. Bewaillinge it; shee seekes after (as I hope alsoe) that wch will satisfie. And thus to be a seeker is to be of the best sect next a finder, and such an one shall every faythfull humble seeker bee at the end. Happie seeker, happie finder. Whoe ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sence of self-vanitye and badnesse? Whoe ever tasted that graciousnesse of his, and could goe lesse in desier, and lesse then pressinge after full enjoyment? Deere hart, presse on; lett not husband, lett not any thinge, coole thy affections after Christ. I hope hee will be an occasion to enflame them. That wch is best worthy of love in thy husband is that of the image of Christ hee bears. Looke on that and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him; doe so for me. My service and dear affection to the

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Generall and Generallesse. I heere she is very kind to thee; it adds to all other obligations. My love to all. I am thy deere father,

O. CROMWELL."

To these we wish to add portions of a letter of condolence addressed to one of his brothers-in-law, on the occasion of the death of a son, in the battle of Marston Moor. After relating the circumstances of the battle, and of the young man's death, he proceeds—

"Sir, you know my tryalls this way, but the Lord supported mee with this, that the Lord tooke him into the happiness wee all pant after and live for. There is your precious child, full of glory, to know sinn nor sorrow any more. Hee was a gallant younge man, exceedinge gracious. God give you his comfort. Before his death hee was so full of comfort, that to Frank Russell and myself hee could not expresse it, itt was soe great above his fame. This he sayd to us. Indeed itt was admirable. . . . But few knew him; for hee was a precious younge man, fitt for God. You have cause to blesse the Lord. He is a glorious sainct in heaven, wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoyce. Lett this drinke up your sorrowe. Seinge theise are not fayned words to comfort you; but the thing is soe real and undoubted a truth. You may doe all thinges by the strength of Christ. Seeke that, and you shall easily beare your tryall. Lett this publike mercy to the church of God make you to forgett your private sorrowe. The Lord be your strength; soe prayes your truly faithfull and lovinge brother,

O. CROMWELL."

These are, certainly, remarkable letters, if they were written by an irreligious man; and those which precede are remarkable epistles to be addressed to an irreligious man, who, from the nature and necessity of the case, could neither relish nor understand them.

In our judgment, too, Mr. Forster has joined in the charge of hypocrisy against Cromwell, without sufficiently substantiating it. Many of the circumstances which he adduces, as casting suspicion upon the Protector's piety, it seems to us are insufficient to warrant any such suspicion. Some things in his career doubtless are inexplicable. Some things are inconsistent with the character of a saint. Many of his public and private acts are not to be praised. But, who that has read his Bible, who that is familiar with the histories of Noah, Lot, Jacob, Aaron, David, Solomon, and Peter, will affirm that though a man has been guilty of a few overt acts of folly or of blackest sin, he may not after all be a regenerated

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person and a sincere Christian? The developments of piety are seriously affected by the temperament of various persons, by the character of the age in which they live, and by the circumstances in which they are placed. An act may be a violation of religious sanctity, in the view of one man, which is not so regarded by another. Nothing is more common, especially among irreligious and worldly men, than a wrong standard of piety. They adopt an ideal which is either defective or excessive, and condemn whatever does not square with their conception. Hence, one finds fault with the staid and serious air of a professor of religion, as if the spirit of religion were always and only cheerful, and adverse to shades and gloom. Another, equally wide of the truth, condemns at once the profession of a man who occasionally indulges in the innocent pleasantries of life, as if religion must necessarily make one a demure zealot, or an unsocial anchorite. Besides, in those times of high political excitement, of furious partizanship and universal danger, the leaders of the public counsels and all the prominent characters, civil and military, were regarded with jealous eyes; their smallest acts were eagerly reported, in a favorable or an unfavorable light, according as the narrative took its rise from their friends or their enemies. This may account for the construction put upon some of Cromwell's acts, and for the false garb, it may be, in which they have been delivered down to history. We admit also that Cromwell's conscience lacked keenness of edge; or, certainly, that his political views and aims warped it aside, in some instances, from the simple dictates of righteousness and truth. Placed amid such influences, in such an age, under such temptations, it would have been strange, had it been otherwise. But at such a distance of time, and under the guidance of interested and contemporaneous historians, we question whether it is safe to fix upon a man, in some respects evidently leaning towards religion, the charge of utter hypocrisy.

We have not affirmed that there is no ground in Cromwell's life and conduct for the charge of hypocrisy; but we have endeavored to show that something can be said in favor of the sincerity of this great, but in some respects misguided man. After he had assumed the Protectorate, he was harassed and tossed by the abounding

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difficulties of his position. He was often driven to extremities. He was surrounded by men of opposite parties; some were urging him forward, while others looked on him with bitter jealousy, as the murderer of their king and the usurper of the throne; some were watching an opportunity to put him to death, by sword or poison; and others, regarding him as a chosen instrument of God to bring about the latter-day glory, resolved to do their utmost to succor him in his projects, and to secure for him the vice-royalty under King Jesus. Under such circumstances, it must require an unusual share of piety, to preserve a man from being carried away by a vain-glorious ambition on the one hand, and from being swallowed up in the tide of influences adverse to religion on the other. So numerous and important trusts, weighing upon his shoulders, were calculated, either to make a man more deeply and earnestly religious—or, as is oftener the case, to quench for a season the appearance of religion in him, leaving the lingering spark of grace to lie unseen and smouldering under the ashes. Sucked in by the furious whirlpool of worldly anxieties and duties, the once flourishing professor is liable to lose both the spirit and the forms of religion, and even to fall, under the power of temptation, into those gross sins which humanity blushes to confess. To some extent, beyond a doubt, this was true of Cromwell. How far he fell from his Christian steadfastness is not in our power to decide. Nor can we properly appreciate, at this distance of time, the circumstances of his various inconsistent acts, so as to make it proper for us to pronounce, in a decided manner, as to the degree of his guilt or innocence. Many things must be delivered over to the judgment of that day, when all human actions shall be accurately weighed.

The following remarks by Samuel Richardson, a Baptist minister who resided in London in the time of the Protector, are here in point. They present the sentiments of a contemporary writer, who must have formed his judgment in view of facts of which he was an eye and ear-witness. If, as was probably the case, he was a man who had no political party to sustain, nor any selfish ends to be answered, his testimony is of more value than that of an avowed whig or royalist. We take them from a Montreal print of recent date.

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"His Highness aimeth at the general good of the nation, and just liberty of every man. He is also a godly man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil; though he is, nor no man else, without human frailty. He is faithful to the saints, and to these nations in whatsoever he hath undertaken, from the beginning of the wars. He hath owned the poor despised people of God, and advanced many of them to a better way and means of living. He hath been an advocate for the Christians, and hath done them much good in writing, speaking, pleading for their liberty in the Long Parliament, and fighting for their liberty. He, with others, hath hazarded his life, estate, family; and since he hath refused great offers of wealth and worldly glory, for the sake and welfare of the people of God, God hath given him more than ordinary wisdom, strength, courage and valour. God hath been always with him, and given him great success. He is fitted to bear burdens, and to endure all opposition and contradictions that may stand with public safety. He is a terror to his enemies; he hath a large heart, spirit, and principle, that will hold all that fear the Lord, though of different opinions and practices in religion, and seek their welfare. It is the honor of princes to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, and the wrongs of the poor; he is humble, and despiseth not any because poor, and is ready to hear and help them. He is a merciful man, full of pity and bounty to the poor. A liberal heart is more precious than heaven or earth. He gives in money to maimed soldiers, widows and orphans, and poor families, a thousand pound a week to supply their wants; he is not a lover of money, which is a singular and extraordinary thing. He will give, and not hoard up money as some do. I am persuaded there is not a better friend to these nations and people of God among men, and that there is not any man so unjustly censured and abused as he is. And some that now find fault with him may live to see and confess that what I have herein written is truth, and when he is gathered to his fathers, shall weep for want of him."

We cannot contemplate without interest the closing periods of the Protector's life. His great power, which he had seen arise out of nothing, he lived to see on the wane. For a considerable time before his death, his "life was given him for a prey." He lived in the most painful apprehension of being taken off by the hand of an assassin; and under no circumstances could he regard himself for a moment as safe. But, in the providence of God, he was permitted to die quietly a natural death. The scene at his death-bed is well known, in which he is reported to have asked Sterry, one of his chaplains, if it were possible to fall from grace. "It is not possible," said Sterry. "Then I am safe," exclaimed the dying man, "for I know that I was once in grace." Just before this he asked one of his chaplains to read to him out of the Bible a certain text in Paul's epistle to the Philippians:—"Not

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that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned, in whatever state I am, therewith to be content. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me. Notwithstanding ye have well done, that ye did communicate with my affliction." He expressed in this Scripture the greatest satisfaction. Ten days before his departure, and after he had failed to such a degree that the medical men despaired of his continuance, he assured them that he should not die, because God had given him an intimation to that effect in answer to the prayers that had been offered; "not," as he said, "to mine alone, but to those of others, who have a more intimate interest in him than I have." After he had been assured by Sterry of the certainty of the saints' perseverance, he uttered the following characteristic prayer—

"Lord, although I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee, through grace, and I may, I will come to thee for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good and thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death; but, Lord, however thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them; give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much upon thy instruments to depend more upon thyself; pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm; for they are thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure."

The closing portion of his life is minutely described by an eye witness. After the above prayer, he sunk into a stupor, from which, as the night came on, he revived a little, and began to murmur in half audible words:—

"'Truly God is good; indeed he is . . . he will not' . . . there his speech failed him, but as I apprehended, it was 'he will not leave me'; this saying that God was good he frequently used all along; and would speak it with much cheerfulness and fervor of spirit in the midst of his pain. Again he said, 'I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and his people, but my work is done, yet God will be with his people.' He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to himself. And there being something to drink offered him, he was desired to take the same, and endeavor to sleep; unto which he answered, 'It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone.'"

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A terrible storm raged through the night, and continued on the morning of September third. And at four o'clock in the afternoon, with the hushing of the elements, "his great spirit passed away." By a similar remarkable coincidence, Napoleon, the next great soldier whose conquests filled Europe with blood and sorrow, and whose triumphant progress made men stand aghast—died a hundred and sixty-two years later, during the roarings of a furious tempest, as if the stormy elements and the howling winds were roused to be their passing bell and their requiem. Cromwell died in the year 1658, aged 59 years. It was the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, and the day which he used to call his fortunate day, in allusion to the victories achieved on those occasions.

Sixty thousand pounds were allotted to meet the expense of the funeral, which was celebrated on the 23d of November following with great pomp. No splendor was wanting to adorn the occasion. But alas, how little dependence is to be placed upon human honors. After this magnificent funeral, on the restoration of Charles the Second, "he was taken out of his grave and hanged for a traitor."

ARTICLE II.

EXTENT AND DESIGN OF PARENTAL AUTHORITY.

By Rev. N. Colver.

"For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment." Gen. 18, 19. That is, I know Abraham, that he will so exercise the authority of a parent as to secure the end for which it is given him.

There are two divine enactments which are peculiar to no particular dispensation,—statutes which have been permitted to remain unchanged, amid all the changes which have taken place since the beginning of the world;

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statutes, too, which are alike indispensable to the preservation and happiness of our race. We allude to the law of the Sabbath, and to the law of marriage or of the family state. With the latter only have we to do in this discussion.

The law of marriage involves the parental relation. Indeed it was that the parental relation might be sustained under an arrangement advantageous to parents and their offspring, that marriage was instituted.

The parental relation involves dependence on the part of the child, and obligation to provide on the part of the parent; and hence, subjection on the part of the child, and authority on the part of the parent;—and if authority, power to enforce that authority.

That such authority was given to parents of God, and that it extended over the moral conduct of the child, is obvious from the fact that God has held parents under most fearful responsibility for its exercise. In the case of Eli, recorded in the second chapter of the first book of Samuel, God held him fully responsible for the vileness of his sons; and most obviously, because he had not used the authority and power with which he was invested for their restraint. Mark the ground of his censure:—it was not that he had not sought to dissuade his sons from their vileness, but because he did not restrain them. "For I have told him," saith God, "that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knoweth; because his sons made themselves vile and he restrained them not." He had sought to dissuade them. With deep feeling he had said to them, "Why do ye these things?" Nay he had warned them of the wrath of God of which they were in danger. Parental entreaty and remonstrance he had not withheld; but this was not enough. His responsibility demanded something more for their restraint; he should have exercised his parental authority and power. He should have restrained them.

But this he could not do, unless clothed with power sufficient to enforce his will against the stubbornness of his sons. The demand, therefore, on the part of God that he should exercise such authority and power, proves that he was clothed with such authority and power, and that its exercise would have been no usurpation, but rather the performance of a duty.

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The passage quoted at the head of this article is no less definite or in point. "I know him that he will command his children," etc. To command, supposes the power to enforce the mandate. Without such power, command is mere entreaty, and leaves the end to be attained by such commandment uncertain. We are, therefore, to understand this as saying of Abraham, "I know that he will efficiently command—that he will so command as to secure the end," viz. his children shall "do justice and judgment." Abraham must, therefore, have been clothed with power and authority adequate to the subjection of his children to his will.

This power he had. He had it first in himself. To enforce his authority God permits, nay, in certain cases God requires, that the parent should have recourse to physical punishment. "He that spareth the rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes." Prov. 13: 24. This passage clearly indicates not only that it is lawful for the parent to use the rod upon his child, but that it is his duty so to do, and that he can only neglect it at the peril of his child.

But those who suppose that the gospel has obliterated the moral precepts of the Old Testament, and who eschew all force, may cry, "behold a greater than Solomon is here." And here he is, not indeed in him who would overthrow all government, whether civil or domestic, but he is here in the person of Christ, saying, "Moses said, honor thy father and thy mother; and whoso curseth father or mother let him die the death. But ye say, if a man say to his father or his mother, it is Corban, that is to say, a gift by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, he shall be free—making the word of God of none effect by your traditions."*

The power of the parent to restrain, control and guide his children, is not only thus enjoined in the word of God and explicitly sanctioned by the Lord Jesus Christ himself,—it has been recognized and sanctioned by mankind

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*To the mere English reader, a different arrangement of the words in this passage might, perhaps, render it more intelligible: "Whatsoever there is of mine by which thou mightest be profited, it is Corban, or a gift—" that is, if any thing belonging to me could be of service to you, think not to receive it from me as an act of filial duty; for upon that I have written CORBAN; I have dedicated it to a higher use.

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in all ages, both by tacit consent and by the legislation of most of the nations of the earth. It has been obvious to all men, savage and civilized, that the dependence of the child, the natural interest of the parent, above that of any other being, in the child's welfare,—that the comfort of the parent while performing his relative duties to the child,—that the training indispensable to render the child not an injurious, but useful member of society,—all, all demanded that competent power should be lodged with the parent, to secure the subjection and obedience of the child. In this case, the almost universal voice of nature and of revelation is harmonious.

But this authority, extending as it does over the conduct of the child, is, nevertheless, held under proper limitations. The parent is, in the first place, restricted from an injurious use of this power by the law of righteousness. True, in many cases, the parent is the sole judge of what is right, and the child has no present appeal from his decisions. Especially is this the case during the more tender years of the child. But in such cases he is accountable to God for the use or abuse of his power, as well as for its neglect at a subsequent age. For the perpetration of a wrong act, as well as for the neglect of a duty, God will call him to an account. "Ye fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged,"—is as authoritative from God, as to "train them up in the way they should go," or to restrain them from "vileness." The father is, indeed, a king in his own house, and let him beware how he wields any but a sceptre of righteousness.

Again, the parent is both limited and sustained in the exercise of his authority by the civil magistrate. For obstinacy or crime beyond the control of the parent,—for stubbornness, which refuses to yield to the affectionate suggestions or to the corrective powers of the father, he is bound to appeal to the civil magistrate for assistance. In such cases, the magistrate will limit the power, but sustain the authority of the parent, by substituting his own power for that of the parent. "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and that, when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them, then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and

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bring him out unto the elders of his city and unto the gate of his place; and they shall say unto the elders of his city, this our son is stubborn and rebellious; he will not obey our voice; he is a glutton and a drunkard. And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones that he die; so shalt thou put away evil from among you, and all Israel shall hear and fear."

In this ancient, but divine legislation, three things are very clearly taught us.

First, that the parents have the right to appeal to the civil magistrate, when they have first chastened their son,—when the power vested in them has without effect been first used.*

Secondly, that the matter of disobedience being that of gluttony and drunkenness, shows conclusively that the authority of the parent extends to matters of moral conduct and character in the child.

Thirdly, that the power of the state is pledged to sustain the authority of the parent, or punish the rebel.

Again, so indispensable and so responsible is this parental authority, that God has marked it with his own particular attention, guarding its sanctity by his own solemn enactments and fearful intimations.

Thus, in the changeless law of the decalogue his voice is heard, saying, "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;"—thus clearly intimating that wasting and shortness of days under the divine anger will overtake that people where the parental relation is not honored, and where its authority is disregarded. What could more magnify the relation? What higher sanction could be given to its authority? Or, what could more clearly exhibit the fearful responsibility of that relation?

This is a national injunction—a statute for the people—and as such it should be regarded as a command to magnify the relation itself and its prerogatives. Let parental government be honored in the land, is the very essence of the command. We should do no violence to the passage

* There is a practical illustration of the application of this principle in the case of the Boston Farm School. Into this school are admitted three classes of boys; first, orphan boys; secondly, boys whose parents, being vicious and abandoned, take no care of them; and thirdly, such sons, especially of widowed mothers, as have proved themselves unmanageable at home. The latter of the three furnishes a case in point, in this part of the discussion.

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were we to paraphrase it thus:—"Let the commonwealth honor the functions and authority of the parental relation, that thou mayest escape the wasting anger of the Lord in the land which he giveth thee." And let no nation hope to escape those threatened calamities, where parental authority is neither exercised nor honored.

We will make one quotation more, to show with what exceeding interest God has regarded this authority.

The old civil maxim, "The king can do no wrong," whether true or not in relation to kings, is true in relation to parents. The meaning attached to the maxim is, whatever the king does, the people may not punish him. Whatever wrong the child may receive at the hand of the parent, he may not resent it; he may not personally attempt to punish the parent; while, on the other hand, the parent may smite the child for his wrongs. "Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell." Prov. 23: 14.

But on no account must the child lift up his hand against his father or his mother—"He that smiteth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death." And again, "He that curseth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death." To this law there is no exception. If the parent abuse the child, other powers may judge him; but the child may not smite him. God from on high has crowned the parent with an authority which filial resentment can only violate at the peril of Jehovah's wrath.

While the world stands, the parental relation and authority will be the centre-post of social order. Properly exercised and honored, they shall ever remain the pledge of society's well-being,—if dishonored and disregarded, of disorder and ruin. With an eye to its importance, God has thus magnified it by his own careful provisions.

Let us, in the second place, inquire after the end or design of this authority.

We may be assured, that no partial benefit was designed by it. He who perverts the benignant trust of a father's power into a tyrant's rod, is a tyrant indeed. He violates both the law of nature and the law of God.* This vast

* The limits of this essay prevent us from saying what we would wish to say on the manner of exercising this parental authority. We are far from desiring

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and responsible power is given for the good of all concerned. It is an early and unchanging arrangement of our Creator,—indispensable to the well-being of society; and, if it is rightly exercised and properly honored, a prolific source of domestic peace and happiness.

Let us examine with a little care the design of this authority with reference to the parties concerned.

First. It is intended to secure the peace and comfort of the parent. Domestic peace or joy is a paramount earthly blessing, with reference to which the inspired penman says,—"For that is thy portion in this life, and in thy labor, which thou takest under the sun." To enjoy that, the relation of the parent, with its cares, responsibilities and burdens, has been assumed. If he fail to secure that, he bears those burdens in vain. So far as he is concerned, his toils are unsweetened—unpaid.

But that end can never be secured, if parental authority be not well exercised and honored. Filial respect and obedience are indispensable to domestic peace; and a proper exercise of parental authority is indispensable to filial respect and obedience.

In the security of this domestic peace, others beside the father are concerned; and he is put in trust with this authority, that he may secure domestic peace for the rest of the family, as well as for himself. He is bound to secure the peace of the domestic kingdom over which he presides. "A wise son maketh a glad father; but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother." "The rod and reproof give wisdom; but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame." Sadness to the father, heaviness and shame to the mother, and folly to the child, are inseparable from the neglect of family government; while a glad father, an honored mother and a wise child are the promised results of its faithful exercise. With its judicious exercise, the gift of the family state is one of the richest blessings of God to man; without it, that blessing

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to promote severity of parental discipline, or a lavish use of the rod. We verily believe that a proper early training would in most cases render an appeal to the rod unnecessary. If parents would see that their children were not left a prey to temptations through idleness—if they would set them a good example—if they would exhibit in all their intercourse with them kindness of manner, sincerity of speech and stability of purpose, avoiding all improper indulgences, in a vast majority of cases the end of parental authority would be attained without an appeal to force of any kind.

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is changed to a bitter curse. The fruits of its neglect are to be seen in those contentious families, where alienation of affection and want of subordination render a residence in their midst a living death. A neglect of it will, sooner or later, visit upon the parent that bitter anguish, with which Eli went down to his grave;—a double anguish;—anguish that his domestic peace and prospects are forever blasted; and anguish that the frowns of God are upon him, for having failed to fulfil one of the most tender and solemn responsibilities of life.

Again, the good of the community demands the faithful exercise of family government. To secure that, was parental authority given. "For I know him (Abraham), that he will command his children and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment:"—that is, as the fruit of his faithful exercise of his authority, his children after him shall be just and upright;—they shall be a blessing to the world, "after" he is dead. For this governmental fidelity, God honored Abraham. This was his great personal qualification for that high station which God called him to fill,—"He will command his children, and they shall do justice and judgment."

Not so with Eli. "His sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not." And for that neglect, who can tell the amount of injury done to the community where he dwelt? Eli was not a lone sufferer, from the vileness of his sons. Who can properly estimate the jealousy, the discord, the bitter anguish and ruin, through all those families in Israel, whose mothers, wives and daughters returned, polluted and spoiled, by their libidinous behaviour, from the temple? It must remain forever untold, until the revealings of the judgment shall make it known. O who can count the number, or measure the despair of souls destroyed by their profanation of the holy things pertaining to the house and worship of God?

Who can tell the desolations, the remorse, the shame, the anguish of the personal victims of their villanies, or their still more keen and enduring anguish in the world of woe? What a spectacle for that hoary and broken hearted delinquent to survey! Wide spread ruin of domestic peace! On every hand are strewn the wrecks of

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immortal souls, which his sons have made. The holy place, where God "has recorded his name to dwell there," polluted,—his worship profaned, and his holy name blasphemed! Sad survey! Bitter fruits of parental indulgence!—of neglecting to exercise that authority, with which God had put him in trust.

Where, now, shall the poor man turn for comfort? Alas! the frowns of God meet him at that altar, where he has been wont to worship. "For I have told him, saith the Lord, that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knoweth, because his sons made themselves vile and he restrained them not. And therefore have I sworn unto the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be purged with sacrifice nor offering forever."

It is but just, that God should hold that parent responsible, for the mischief of his sons in the community, "who have made themselves vile, and he restrained them not." This is, indeed, the subdued admission of Eli, when he said, "It is the Lord; let him do what seemeth to him good;"—that is, "It is a just hand, though a heavy one; I will not complain." He whose profligate sons grow up unrestrained by parental authority, to prey upon the virtue and peace of society, is a curse to his generation and to his race. Whether his delinquency proceed from false reasoning, false tenderness, or a heartless indifference, the affliction is alike severe upon the community. Nor can he, while he enjoys the teaching of God's word, be guiltless in the matter. The community had a right to expect of him, if he assumed the domestic privileges and relations, that he should have so restrained his sons that the community should be secure from their depredations. If otherwise, he must one day reckon with that injured community, either here, or at the bar of God.

Instances may, and, no doubt, do occur, in which sons will make themselves vile in spite of parental care and authority; and render themselves sources of exceeding mischief to others. But if, during the time of their minority,—the reign of their father,—their vileness be not restrained, the guilt is upon the father as well as upon them. The exhaustion of the power of example, of persuasion, and of coercion which he possesses, can alone

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exempt him from that guilt.* If, in spite of all this, their vileness prevail, he may be clear. But short of this, there is for him no excuse.

But again, and more especially, was the parent clothed with this authority for the good of posterity,—for the benefit of his children.

It is to be feared, that the delicacy, the extent, and the magnitude of the responsibilities of the parental relation are properly appreciated by very few. The relative position of parent and child differ widely. But still there is a close and unavoidable connection in their destiny. They must mutually act, and react upon each other through time; and with results which may follow through eternity;—results which may be told in songs of everlasting joy, or in groans which never end.

Obedient to the promptings of his nature, and with an eye to his own present and future comfort and honor, the parent has voluntarily assumed his charge with all its responsibilities. On his part it is voluntary; but on the part of the child, it is not so. With the parent, the responsibilities are self-imposed and original. With the child, the responsibilities are to grow up in the relation into which he has been brought by the will of others; and under the influence of circumstances which to him are unforeseen, and over which he has but little or no control; but which, to a great extent, were originated by and are subject to the control of the parent. By these circumstances and influences, the character of the child is mainly to be formed. When he comes into this relation, he has no character. But he has a malleable nature, subject to impressions afterward to be made upon it; and what those impressions shall be, depends much upon the will of the parent.

It is true that there is, from the birth, a natural ten-

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*The question is worthy of consideration, whether the bad eminence formerly attained by the sons of clergymen, is not fairly attributable, in many instances, to parental neglect. In pursuing the high duties of their calling, especially when the sparseness of the population, the fewness of ministers and the nature of their service often demanded of them protracted absences from home, their sons were subjected, in their absence, to a weaker guidance and more inefficient restraint; and, during their temporary sojourns among their children, either those guilty outbreakings of sin did not show themselves and call for correction, or the yearnings of a father's heart prevented the exercise of a salutary discipline, through fear that his returns from his pilgrimages would be dreaded by his children, as occasions of extraordinary severity and certain punishment.

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dency to evil—a natural selfishness, which will be disposed to avail itself of every means which may offer for self-gratification, to an extent not consistent with the rights of others, or with the law of God. But this tendency will be comparatively weak and easily controlled, at least so far as the outward conduct is concerned, unless strengthened by indulgence. To prevent such indulgence,—to counteract this tendency, and to "restrain," and guide, and mould, is the parent's prerogative. To do this, the parent is furnished with the natural conscience and filial love of the child. He is clothed with ample authority to control both him and those influences with which he shall come in contact. He is furnished with a vast range of motive, with which to dissuade from the wrong, and win to the right. And then, that every excuse may be removed, God has separated the child from the control of all others, to his own unfettered management. By his law written upon the very natures of all men, whether rude or refined, savage or civilized, he has commanded them to respect the parent in the full and free exercise of his sacred trust. God requires that they shall not be disturbed in the performance of their duty. He does more; he ordains, if need be, that the whole state shall come to the parent's aid. If the accursed stubbornness of the child defies the power of the parent, he may, nay, he is bound, to appeal to the civil arm; and it shall give him its aid in restraining his child from vileness. Under these circumstances, when the good of the child is taken into the account, how tender, how solemn, how vast the trust; how fearfully complete the responsibility of the parent!

If, under all these circumstances, his sons make themselves vile and he restrain them not, the Lord will be justly angry with him. He will have been clothed with parental authority and power in vain. The end for which it was given will not have been accomplished. His sons will perish in their own vileness; but from their guilt he will not be free; to their ruin he is accessary, and the blow which strikes them down will pierce his own soul. "If one man sin against another, the judge shall judge him; but if a man sin against the Lord, who shall entreat for him? Notwithstanding, they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them."

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Poor man! His remonstrance came too late. Their hardened excess had long since demanded restraining power. And will he now think to save them by feeble remonstrance? Their unrestrained vileness has sealed their doom. "Because the Lord would slay them." And to that fearful doom, his own past neglect has ministered. How does that past neglect becloud the setting sun of his life! How does it embitter that fearful cup which the Lord has put into his trembling hand, and in the agony of putting which to his lips,—he dies!

But the case of Eli was not solitary. Thousands upon thousands, like him, in consequence of their own injudicious sympathy, superficial kindness, and fatal neglect of restraining power, have been compelled to witness the untimely end, or fearful doom of their sons.

We would that every parent in the land would read and ponder that affecting account, until it should lastingly impress itself upon his mind,—until he should feel the fearful responsibilities which he has assumed in the parental relation,—and until he should awake to a proper exercise of that kingly power with which God has invested him, and in the proper exercise of which, so many and such endless destinies are concerned.

We have thus briefly examined the extent and design of parental authority, as arranged and approved of God.

We have found it of sufficient extent to secure the end for which it was given. It covers the moral conduct of the child, and is sustained by power sufficient to enforce obedience.

We have found that the design of this authority is to secure the domestic peace of the parent and his household; the safety and well-being of society; and especially, for the benefit of his posterity,—for the good of the child itself. The design is of vast importance; and the power to accomplish that design is ample and well adapted.

Two remarks will close this essay. The first is,—If the view which we have taken of this subject be correct, then the recent, vast and alarming multiplication of vile and profligate young men is accounted for. That such a class is exhibiting a fearful increase among us, there can be no doubt. Precisely such young men as were the sons of Eli are swarming the land, like the locusts of Egypt. And like the Egyptian frogs, they are coming up

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into our houses, our windows and our kneading troughs. Our penitentiaries are full to overflowing. All our cities, our thoroughfares, our steamboats and our railroads are thronged with genteel, enlightened and accomplished pickpockets, debauchees, house-burners and robbers. Many of them are from, and connected with some of the best families in the land. And many of them have reached that dreadful acmé of guilt through the learned professions.

Suddenly as this fearful state of things has burst upon us, and surpassingly alarming as are the aspects which it presents, in our opinion it is quite fully to be accounted for in the almost universal prostration of family government, and the almost entire absence of parental restraint.

Indulgence is the order of the day. In the vain hope of satisfying the desires, and of winning upon the affections of childhood and youth, so as to lead them, as the saying is, by the heart-strings, a great variety of youthful indulgences are resorted to. But the experiment has proved a failure.

After all, God understands human nature best. And a mild but vigorous exercise of that family government and that parental restraint which he has ordained, is safer, far safer than the suggestions of a sickly sympathy and parental partiality. The atmosphere of the former may be colder, and productive of a slower development of the youthful plants which are subjected to its influence. But the development will be a more propitious one,—a development of modesty, conscience and sound discretion. While under the hot-bed influence of the latter, these more sterling graces will be choked and overrun by the weeds of selfishness, appetite and passion. O how seldom do we now see a young man possessed of that diffidence and modesty which is becoming his years!

Let no parent flatter himself, that because the matters in which he promotes the indulgence of his children are not in themselves sinful, they are therefore harmless. Their mischief lies in their effect upon the youthful mind. They weaken the power of self-restraint, by cherishing habits of self-indulgence, and the strengthening of desire. There is many a young man as much to be pitied as to be blamed in his fall. His appetites, passions, and habits of self-indulgence have been so matured under the mista-

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ken policy to which we have alluded, as to possess over-mastering power. And on the presentation of some alluring, but fatal temptation, they have seized the reins of conscience and judgment, and have precipitated his doom. Of this accumulation of over-mastering power, the victim himself may be utterly unconscious, "till," venturing in the way of temptation, "a dart strike through his liver, as a bird hasteth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is for his life." And the parent himself may be first aroused to the fatal effects of his imbecile policy, by the death-shriek of his child, coming back from that "house," which "is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death."

In the restraining power of parental authority which we have considered, God has made provision for the evil tendencies and for the unfailing necessities of youthful nature in every age. And the almost universal result proves at what a fearful hazard that provision is dispensed with. The indulged and petted appetites and passions of youth are the vipers and tigers of riper years; as much the foes of their possessors, as of that community to whose interests they make him reckless.

For the cure of the present wide-spread, and more widely spreading profligacy, there is no hope but in rearing up anew the pillars of family government which have been thrown down, and in a revival of the exercise of parental restraint. If we would return to Puritan morals, we must first return to the Puritan fashion of family government. God has ordained, that the mild, but vigorous exercise of family government and parental restraint shall ever be the conservative point in the arrangement of society. No wonder, then, its destruction has been so strangely disastrous to the order and to the morals of the community. The arrangements of God are never to be set aside with impunity. And herein lies our hope, they are never returned to in vain, nor honored without the happiest fruits.

The other remark is this, If the view which we have taken be correct, then it behoves both the pulpit and the press to sound the alarm. Parental blindness and ignorance will be found associated with the neglect of which we have spoken; and it is not in the nature of darkness or ignorance to cure themselves. Light never comes of

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darkness. Nay, it is always hailed as an aggressor, whenever it invades the dominions of darkness. But for that purpose is light sent forth from the throne of God. It is commissioned to invade and conquer. And the chief instruments of its warfare are the pulpit and the press. Neither do we overrate the importance of this subject, when we say, it justly demands the best energies of both. On this matter, there is a work for them to do of overwhelming magnitude. Its claim should be made to rest, not upon the law of expediency or human wisdom, but upon the word of God,—the revealed will of Jehovah. It is time for those watchmen who are set for the defence of the truth, to gird themselves in truth's panoply on this subject. The mists of ignorance must be dissipated; that moral quackery, which of late has, with most unblushing arrogance, been seeking to tamper with the enactments of God,—calling in question his wisdom,—must be rebuked. And parental vigilance must be fully roused. Those conservative restraints of youthful tendencies which God has enjoined upon parents must be revived, or we are lost.

Let the pulpit and the press do their duty, and there is hope. Let them be silent, despair.

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ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF ANSELM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ANSELM VON CANTERBURY. Dargestellt von G. F. Franck. Tübingen, 1842. (*Life of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*).

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

BY THE EDITOR.

§ 1. From his birth till he entered the monastery of Bec, A. D. 1033–1060.

ANSELM was born at Aosta in Piedmont, in the year 1033. His father's name was Gundulf, and his mother's Ermerberga; both were of noble birth. The former originated in Lombardy and afterwards became a citizen of Aosta; but the latter was born there. They were persons of respectable property, but very unlike in character. Gundulf was devoted to the world, and generous even to extravagance. Ermerberga was a prudent housewife, virtuous, and of blameless manners. Gundulf, in his latter years, became a monk.

Anselm felt the strongest attachment to his mother,* and listened to her conversations with attention and pleasure. It is a prevailing feature of that period that while the men were inordinately devoted to the things of the world, the depths of the female heart glowed the more strongly, in proportion, with the love of the things of eternity. Hence, as in the case of Peter the Venerable and Bernhard of Clairvaux, it was the mothers, chiefly, who sowed the seeds of piety in the minds of children; and the latter, when grown up, were irresistibly drawn to

* Anselm was without brothers. He had one sister, called Richeza or Richera, who married a person named Burgundius. By this marriage she had a son Anselm, who was educated by his uncle in Canterbury; he was first abbot of Bury, and after the death of Anselm, he was appointed by the Pope, Paschalis II, legate of England. The sister of Anselm, at a later period, entered a convent.

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those quiet homes, as the abodes in which originated all their desires after holiness.

So it was with Anselm. Though from the beginning he made rapid advancement in the study of science, he was not inwardly satisfied. When he was not yet fifteen years old, he anxiously revolved the question, how he could live so as to please God; and hence it is not surprising that, according to the notions of the age, a monastic life seemed to him the most excellent.

The science of that period was adapted to leave in penetrating minds only a sense of emptiness and of unsatisfied desire. Therefore it was that the greatest proficient in it, wearied with worldly study, sought refuge from it, at the close of life, in the solitary and contemplative repose of the monastery. Worldly and spiritual things then stood in the strongest contrast; and universal opinion accorded to a convent life alone the name of true philosophy. Thus, in the year 1100, Hildebert of Tours writes to William of Champeaux, after the latter had retired from his office in the cathedral of Paris, and entered as a regular canon in the chapel of St. Victor,—"My soul exults and gives thanks to God, that now at last thou hast determined to enter upon the true philosophy; for thou hadst not so much as the smell of a philosopher, when, with all thy acquisitions of the science of philosophers, thou didst not even lay aside thy graceful manners." In like manner, Peter the Venerable ascribes it to the inspiration of the divine Spirit, that Abelard, after the Synod of Sens, weary of the persecutions of Bernhard, resolved to renounce the unquiet life of schools and studies, and to remain forever in Clugny.

In order to realize his conceptions as quickly as possible, Anselm, in his youthful ardor, prayed an abbot with whom he was acquainted, to make him a monk. The abbot declined to do it without the consent of his father. Upon this, Anselm entreated God that he might fall sick, and his prayer was answered. During this sickness he again sent to the abbot privately, begging him, as he was in the immediate prospect of death, to grant his request; but the abbot again refused. With the restoration of health, the world spread out its charms afresh before Anselm's buoyant spirits. From this time, he devoted himself even more to youthful pleasures than to the study

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of science. Indeed, as long as his mother lived, he was in a measure given up to them. But after her death, he plunged into a whirlpool of gaiety. His father, who perhaps had studied the character of Anselm with greater penetration, and had become conscious of the total difference of their natures, seemed completely alienated from him. The more humble Anselm showed himself, the more severe was the father. This became at length intolerable to him; and, in order to avoid worse consequences, he resolved to forsake his home and country, and fled, in company with a priest, beyond Mount Cenis. After spending three years partly in Burgundy and partly in France proper, he came to Normandy, in order to put himself under the instruction of Lanfranc, whose fame had drawn together the most distinguished divines from all countries. Anselm soon became his confidant, and zealously devoted himself to the sciences. Excessive application, day and night, joined with the ascetic life peculiar to a monastery, enfeebled his body, and his old resolution returned, to become a monk; that he might not lose, as his biographer remarks, the merit of his endeavors. He seriously deliberated about the place where he should put his resolve in execution. But he determined not to take the vow in Clugny nor in Bec; not in the former, because he thought he should never be able to distinguish himself on account of the strictness of the order; not in the latter, because he had reason to anticipate that the preponderating fame of Lanfranc would always overshadow him. He desired a place where he could employ his knowledge in making himself useful to many. But he soon found that it was not consonant with the idea of a monastic life to cherish such an ambition as this. Hence he selected Bec, because there the fame of Lanfranc would serve as a check upon his ambition, and stimulate him to seek his happiness only in God. But not to act hastily in so important a concern, he consulted Lanfranc; he represented himself as in doubt which of three courses to adopt,—to become a monk, or a hermit, or to devote his property to the support of the poor; for his father was now dead, and had left him sole heir. Lanfranc delayed his decision, and advised him to consult Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen; he even went with him to that prelate for this purpose. Here the question was soon

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settled in favor of the condition of a monk, and Anselm took the vow in Bec, A. D. 1060, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

§ 2. Anselm's Life and Works in Bec, (1060–1093.)

Herluin was then the abbot of the monastery, and Lanfranc, prior. Anselm here devoted himself zealously, for three years, solely to religious exercises. But when, in 1063, Lanfranc was called to the abbacy of a new monastery in Caen, founded by William the Conqueror, Anselm became prior. He immediately plunged into theological speculation, which attained through him a new era. Scripture and tradition, in his view, were a foundation which could not be shaken. He felt, however, the necessity of reconciling scientifically the objective to the subjective.* He also performed an excellent service in correcting, by night, manuscripts which in a barbarous period had become greatly corrupted. But with these scientific labors he practised so rigid an asceticism, that according to his own confessions he scarcely allowed himself to gratify the simplest wants of his body. This exclusive occupation with himself and with divine things was in harmony with his taste; but the duties of his office were equally contrary to it. His early elevation to the rank of prior produced in those who thought themselves neglected, jealousy and hatred; besides, the duties of his office interrupted that quiet which he needed for his scientific and religious employments. Hence he prayed the archbishop Maurilius to excuse him from the duties of his office. This, however, was refused. Maurilius replied, that so far from depriving others of his services for the sake of sparing himself, he should even be in readiness to assume a higher dignity which was soon to await him. From the advanced age of Herluin, he could doubtless easily suspect what that dignity might be.

In the mean time, the abilities of Anselm were variously tasked. On account of the great age and feebleness of

* Diligently devoting himself to God and heavenly things, he attained at length such skill, that he could solve the most obscure and unusual questions concerning God and human faith. He had such confidence in the holy Scriptures that he believed that there was nothing in them which deviates in any measure from substantial truth. Vita Ans. Lib. I, p. 3.

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Herluin, the cares of the monastery fell almost solely upon him. He made provision for the wants of the poor, and especially of the sick. Still he found time for scientific labors. To this period belong his treatises, *De veritate* (Of truth), *De libero arbitrio* (Of free will), *De casu diaboli* (Of the fall of Satan), *De grammatico* (Of Grammar), and the *Monologium* (Monologue). To present, in a brief and comprehensive manner, the argument for the existence of God, was a problem which cost him much labor. It not only made him forget to eat, drink and sleep, but even disturbed his devotional exercises. Hence he was tempted to regard the idea of such an exhibition of the argument as a temptation of the devil, and he endeavored to give it entirely up. But in vain. All at once, during a vigil, he discovered the solution of his problem, and was convinced that he was indebted to divine inspiration. On this account he ascribed to it the greater weight; and having written it on a tablet, he delivered it to one of the brethren of the monastery for safe keeping. But when, some days after, he wished it again, it was not in its place, nor had any of the brethren taken it. Anselm wrote it again, and recommended that the manuscript should be more carefully preserved. Hence a brother concealed it in a secret part of his bed; but the next morning he found the wax tablet shivered in pieces, and at his bedside on the floor. The pieces were put together again and the writing restored; but Anselm, fearing lest the whole matter should fall to the ground, caused it to be written in the name of God upon parchment. Thus Satan himself, to whom in the opinion of the biographer the plots against the book are to be ascribed, indirectly gave it the great value which it possesses. Anselm also, for various reasons, must have estimated it very highly; it had occupied him a great while, and he was convinced that it was communicated to him by divine inspiration. He intimates how high a value he set upon it, by causing it to be written "in the name of God" upon parchment. This writing is the well known *Prosologion.* The monk Gaunilo of Marmoutier started various objections to it in his *Liber pro insipiente* (Book for the unwise), to which Anselm replied in defence.

By a wise and kind treatment of his inferiors, he won the hearts of all, and overcame the jealousy, hatred and

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envy of many of his brethren. His fame extended to the neighboring countries and even to England, and from all nations came noblemen, priests and warriors to consult him in reference to their spiritual affairs. Besides he was invited by various abbeys, that he might dispense partly to the chapter of the brethren and partly to private persons the words of life. For it became a universal conviction, as his biographer affirms, that every thing which dropped from the mouth of Anselm was to be regarded as of divine authority.

After the death of Herluin, A. D. 1078, Anselm was unanimously elected abbot, notwithstanding he opposed it with excuses and entreaties, and even with tears and earnest protestations, because the duties of the office would in many ways interrupt his retirement. He was consecrated on St. Peter's day, by Gislebert, bishop of Evreux. The affairs of the monastery he committed to brethren in whose zeal and prudence he could confide; himself he devoted to contemplation, and to the instruction of the monks. The principal features of his government were justice to every one, a mild administration of the laws, and hospitality to strangers. His generous liberality many times threatened the monastery with embarrassment; yet throughout his whole administration, nothing that was necessary was ever wanting. This monastery had many possessions in England, which it was incumbent on the abbot often to visit; Anselm made a journey thither in the year of his ordination, especially that he might see Lanfranc again, who, since A. D. 1070, had been archbishop of Canterbury. The kindness of Anselm won all hearts; he was received every where in England in the most flattering manner. Even William the Conqueror, that austere and inflexible man, was very gracious to him. When that monarch lay sick in Rouen, A. D. 1087, he even sent for Anselm from Bec, that he might come and pray for him; but when he thought he should recover, he delayed to converse with him concerning the salvation of his soul. Soon, however, he became so weak that it was impossible. In this condition he lay at Ermentrud in Rouen, on the other side of the Seine. In the meantime Anselm also became ill, and they saw each other no more; for William died, and was

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buried in Caen.* He was succeeded by William Rufus, his second son; Robert, the first born, offended with his father because he had not given him the government of Normandy, had rebelled and gone over to the side of Philip of France. That he might render his power the more secure by gaining Lanfranc to his interests, William promised him that if he should become king, justice and equity should prevail throughout the kingdom, and especially that he should seek the liberty and safety of the churches, and consult with him in every thing. But after he had obtained his wish, he forgot his promise. After the death of Lanfranc, A. D. 1089, he suppressed all the monasteries and churches of England; he caused the monks to be taxed, and claimed for himself the surplus of the revenue; and the dignities of the church he sold to the highest bidder. Besides this, William I had already permitted many liberties to be taken with the monasteries; many times he took possession of their superfluous income; and in order to give the appearance of justice to his demands, for all future time, all the bishoprics and abbeys belonging to baronies, and which had hitherto been exempt from secular requisitions, he made liable to taxation for a part of the expenses of war, and ordained what number of soldiers they should furnish in time of war; and those who resisted this arrangement he expelled from the country. However just this rule may appear to us, making the burden equal for all, it produced in the bishops and abbots great discontent, so that Stigandus, archbishop of Canterbury, and Alexander of Lincoln fled to Scotland to king Malcolm. Hence in the same year (A. D. 1070), William I had deposed Stigandus, as an apostate, from his office, and Lanfranc came into his place.†

The violent proceedings of William II against the churches and monasteries continued for five years. In the fourth, Hugo, earl of Chester, who wished to estab-

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* At his death, the king was deserted by his friends, and it was only after an angry contest that permission was obtained, through the intervention of Anselm, to bury him in the grave that had been dug for this purpose. [See Lives of the Queens of England, by Miss Strickland, Vol. I, p. 86. Phil. 1843.]

† "All men, of almost every kingdom, were daily saying of him both secretly and publicly things utterly unbecoming the royal dignity." Ans. Vita, Lib. II, page 13.

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lish an abbacy in one of his churches, invited Anselm to accept the place, and to manage it according to rule. In this request united also many other distinguished men of England, who had chosen him for their spiritual helper. At first Anselm refused to come, because it might be conjectured that he was aspiring to the archbishopric; but the report had already gone abroad privately, that if he came into England, he would be archbishop of Canterbury. Meantime, Hugo became dangerously sick, and earnestly besought Anselm, in remembrance of their past friendship, to come to him without delay for the salvation of his soul. This appeal persuaded Anselm; besides, he had business for his own church in England. When he arrived at the court, William received him with great respect, went even to the door of the house to meet him, and conducted him to a seat. In a conversation in the presence of four witnesses, Anselm now informed the king of every thing unfavorable which he had heard respecting him; this course, however, gained him little favor with the monarch; and strongly doubting the humility of Anselm, he declared positively that he would keep the archbishopric in his own hand. Indeed, Anselm was five months in England on business, without a word being said of Canterbury. But when he was about to return to Normandy, the king refused to grant him permission. In the meanwhile William, being sick unto death, was exhorted on all sides to give an archbishop to the desolate church of Canterbury. He gave his consent, and declared Anselm the most worthy. But Anselm strongly opposed it. He held it, on many accounts, to be out of the question. His age, his incompetency to sustain such a dignity, his disinclination to worldly affairs, and the opinions of the bishops that he was to be the support of the English church, all were, in his mind, objections. Even the earnest request of the dying king, who declared that he could find no rest if Anselm did not yield, availed nothing. At last he was brought by force to the king's bed. When the king would put the episcopal staff into his hand, Anselm kept it closed. But the bishops urged it upon him. In the midst of the shouts of the multitude,—"Long live the Archbishop!"—the bishops with the rest of the clergy raised a loud *Te Deum;* and he was more dragged than conducted to the neighboring

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church. It is not strange that there were those who imputed Anselm's refusal less to humility than to a secret ambition, of which he complains bitterly in his epistles. Whatever the bishops had hitherto undertaken in connection with him, in the king's presence, he explained as amounting to nothing; perhaps he might have foreseen that there would be many contests with the king; and once more he assured the bishops that, such was the difference between his character and the king's, his election would result only in the disadvantage and oppression of the church.* This occurred the sixth of March, A. D. 1093. While Anselm was residing, by the king's command, on the estates belonging to the archi-episcopal see, William sent messengers to Robert, duke of Normandy, to William, archbishop of Rouen, and to the monks in Bec, in order to gain their concurrence in the election of Anselm. They signified their approval, but Anselm still had certain conditions to propose to the king: all the estates which had belonged to the church of Canterbury under Lanfranc were to be restored to it, and Pope Urban II, to whom Anselm had expressed his allegiance in Bec, was to be acknowledged. William had already distributed those estates among his people, in reward for services performed; but Anselm would not give them up, and on this account the negotiation was well nigh broken off. But at last with many promises the king persuaded Anselm to accept the office, and to receive investiture.† So on the twenty-fifth of September, Anselm entered upon his office in Canterbury, where he was welcomed by an innumerable multitude of the clergy and the people; but in the rude and insolent treatment which he received from the king's ambassador, Ranulph, bishop of Dunelm, he had on the very first day, an example of what he was to experience afterwards. He was ordained on the fourth of

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* "Do you understand," said he, "what you are doing? You yoke together in one plough a wild bull, a calf and a feeble sheep. And what will be the result? The sheep, which produces wool, and milk, and lambs, will either free herself from the yoke, or, dragged hither and thither among the thorns by the ferocious bull, will be so torn that she will no longer be of use to herself, nor yield any profit to others." Hist. Novor., Lib. 1, p. 36.

† He was, therefore, inducted into office after the manner of his predecessor, and, like Lanfranc, ordered to be seized and possessed of the office of archbishop, with all the rights, privileges and revenues thereto appertaining. Hist. Novor., Lib. I, p. 37.

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December, by Thomas, archbishop of York, in the presence of all the other English bishops. The title employed in the announcement of his election,—"the church of Canterbury, the metropolitan church of all Britain,"—having been claimed by the archbishop of York, because his church was also a metropolis, was exchanged for the more exact one, "Primate of all Britain;" in this, as in other things, the mutual relations of the two metropolitan bishops were ever the source of new contentions.

§ 3. Anselm as an Archbishop (A. D. 1093–1109).

I. His intercourse with William II (A. D. 1093–1100).

Anselm's prediction, that he should not be able to live in harmony with the king, was fulfilled the very first year. William needed much money for a campaign against his brother Robert, whom he wished to strip of Normandy; Anselm offered him five hundred pounds in silver, that he might secure the king's favor in behalf of the church; and the king would have been satisfied with it, had not certain ill-disposed persons advised him not to accept it, saying that he had conferred upon Anselm station, riches and honors, and now, when in view of the present emergency he ought to give 2000 or at least 1000 pounds, he offered only 500, and suggesting that if the king should appear cool towards Anselm, he would doubtless add five hundred pounds more. When Anselm learned that the king despised the sum offered, he was amazed, and asked him whether he had really refused it. The king answered that he had. Anselm now urged the king not to reject the money, for it would not be the last donation; besides it it would be more honorable to him and more useful to be often receiving a little, than to seize by force a great deal at once; and in a tone of decision he added, "if you love liberty, you shall have both myself and all that I possess for your use; but if slavery, you shall have neither me nor mine." The king being angry, replied to Anselm that he might keep what belonged to him, that he himself had resources enough of his own. Upon this Anselm distributed the money among the poor.

In the beginning of the following year, A. D. 1094, almost all the bishops and distinguished men assembled at

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Hastings, as the king proposed to sail into Normandy. Here a difference arose between the king and Anselm. There were two things which the latter proposed to the king: the first was to summon a general council, in order to correct the crimes and abuses that had become prevalent during the long period that had elapsed since the last, and especially to suppress the prevailing sin of sodomy. But the king would hear nothing of it. At least, he would have it left wholly with himself. The other was, a request that the king would provide abbots for the numerous desolate abbeys; for the monks had wholly given themselves up to a worldly life, and he was anxious lest the ruin of the monasteries and the wickedness of the monks should conduce to the king's condemnation. This the king could not endure. The abbeys, he replied, full of bitterness, were his own; he could, therefore, do with them whatever he pleased. But the archbishop answered, they are thine to protect, not to plunder them; they are God's, that his servants may live of them, not that they may support thy wars. Thou hast revenues enough from other sources; leave to the church that which is its own. Upon this the king replied, know that thy words sorely displease me. Thy predecessor would never have dared to address my father in such terms as these, and I will do nothing to please thee. Anselm now humbly begged the king, through the mediation of the bishops, to receive him again into favor. The latter counselled Anselm to offer him again the five hundred pounds, and to promise five hundred more. But to this Anselm could not be persuaded. His people, who had been the subjects of an unsparing robbery since the death of Lanfranc, he could not strip of their few remaining possessions; nor would he shew, by such a deed, that the favor of God was a thing to be bought and sold. The king now declared that he would no longer acknowledge him as archbishop; that he despised his blessing; and that he could go henceforth wherever he pleased. So the king withdrew into Normandy.

These transactions, however, took a serious turn, when Anselm opened to the king, after his return, his purpose to apply to the pope for his robe of office. The king asked, what pope?—for in England the claims of the rival candidates, Urban II and Clement III had not been

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decided. Anselm reminded the king that during the transactions in reference to his acceptance of the archiepiscopal office, he had already declared to him and to the bishops, that as abbot of Bec, he had acknowledged the authority of Urban, and that he would not recede. William replied, that he did not acknowledge Urban as pope, and that whoever should so regard him without his (the king's) permission, should be held chargeable with high treason. Upon this Anselm asked for delay, that he might consult all the bishops, abbots and dignitaries of the realm, whether allegiance to an earthly monarch were or were not consistent with his obedience to the apostolical chair. If not, Anselm declared that he would rather leave the country till the pope should be acknowledged, than not yield obedience to him. The meeting was held at Rockingham, the eleventh of March. The bishops advised Anselm to consult simply the will of the king. He appealed, on the other hand, to the command, "Render unto Cesar the things which are Cesar's, and to God the things which are God's." This led to great excitement, and the bishops averred that they would support him in nothing that was against the king's pleasure. They were headed by William, bishop of Dunelm, who promised the king that Anselm should either abjure the pope of Rome, or renounce his office. He was told that by his obstinacy he violated his oath of allegiance to the king. Anselm, on the other hand, declared himself ready to justify himself before any fair tribunal. The bishops knew not what to reply. The narrator adds, "They now for the first time perceived what was new even to Anselm, that the archbishop of Canterbury can be tried and condemned only by the pope, and that he cannot be compelled against his will to answer to an accusation before any other." From this remark we see clearly what were the principles on which Anselm acted; but while he maintained them, no reconciliation was to be expected. Before he assumed the bishopric, Anselm had informed the king that he had already decided in favor of Urban; but no prominence was given to his assertion, and in the remainder of the arrangements Anselm seems to have laid no stress upon it. The point named must, therefore, stand out the more distinctly at a later period. The king too, though he did not proceed in the right manner, is

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manifestly right in establishing the principle that he who pays homage to a pope not acknowledged by the nation and its prince, is to be regarded as guilty of high treason. He evidently perceived also the tendency of Anselm's principles, when he remarks,—"As long as I live, I will not tolerate an equal in my kingdom." Hence he demanded of the bishops, that they should condemn Anselm. The bishops declared themselves incompetent to such an act, because they were his suffragans. They were ready, however, if the king desired it, to renounce allegiance to Anselm and friendship for him, in the hope of bringing him over. But the secular princes were of another opinion: when the king desired them to abjure their fealty to Anselm, they replied that as they had never been his vassals, they had never sworn allegiance to him, and therefore had nothing to abjure; and that as Anselm was their archbishop, they dared not, as Christians, rob him of his elevation. Indeed, it was for their interest to resist such an arbitrary act as the king was about to commit against Anselm, lest they themselves should experience the same treatment. A dissension now arose among the bishops. Those who declined to obey Anslem were declared by the king faithless subjects; he ordered them to a distant corner of the house to await his sentence; but by a large sum of money they immediately purchased again the royal friendship. Anselm now requested a convoy, that he might safely leave the country until quiet should be restored. But the king was unwilling that Anselm should retire in the character of archbishop, lest this should give rise to new troubles. Indeed he seemed to have no other alternative, but to abjure the pope on one hand, or to give up his office, on the other. Still he could not be persuaded to lay down his dignity. There was now an interval before Easter, during which the king promised Anselm that he should be safe; but his confidential housekeeper, Baldwin, of Tournay, he banished, and caused several others of his people to be arrested and fined.

In the mean time arrived in England, from the Vatican, Walter, bishop of Alba, despatched by Pope Urban, and attended by two of the clergy, Gerard and William. The king had sent them to Rome, that he might learn the exact condition of the Romish church, because it was not

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known in England, which of the two popes had been canonically elected. By sacred promises, this legate was induced to send to the king himself the archbishop's *pallium*, without naming Anselm; then the king was to expel Anselm both from his office and from the kingdom, that he might give the robe to a man who should be agreeable to him. Walter travelled secretly through Canterbury with the robe, and hastened, without speaking to Anselm, into the presence of the king. The latter promised to pay a large sum of money annually to the church of Rome, if the pope would permit him to depose Anselm. But the bishop assured him that this was impossible. The king, finding himself fettered in his proceedings against Anselm, advised with his friends as to the best method of coming, at least in appearance, to a reconciliation with him. The proposal of the bishops, to gain the royal favor by money, Anselm sternly declined. At length, eight days before Easter, the reconciliation was effected.

The reception of the robe was the occasion of a new contest. Some endeavored to persuade Anselm to receive it from the hand of the king, in order to do honor to the regal state. But when Anselm affirmed that the gift was a special favor from St. Peter, and that the king had nothing to do with it, it was resolved that the messenger who brought the robe to England should lay it on the altar at Canterbury, and that Anselm should there receive it. Baldwin was now recalled to England, in the spring of the year 1096, and Anselm found at once an opportunity to show the reality of his friendship for the king.

William of England and Robert of Normandy had been for a considerable time entirely reconciled. The latter, wishing to join the first crusade, committed his kingdom to his brother during his absence, for a stipulated sum: to make up the amount, Anselm contributed 200 pounds in silver out of the treasury of the church of Canterbury, with the consent of the monastery; and the king gave up to the church, for seven years, the income of his domains at Pecheham, amounting to thirty pounds per annum.

But soon a new trouble arose, because, on returning from a campaign against Wales, the king affirmed that the troops furnished by Anselm were poorly equipped.

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Weary of these incessant vexations, and observing the gradual decline of the churches and cloisters, under the multiplied exactions of the king, Anselm resolved to seek direction at Rome. At Whitsuntide, A. D. 1097, he applied to the king for permission to undertake the journey; but was refused on the plea that Anselm needed neither absolution nor counsel of the pope. Again and again Anselm repeated his request in vain. At last he resolved to go on his own responsibility, though the king had threatened in that case no longer to acknowledge him as archbishop, but to assume that rank himself. Even some bishops on whose aid Anselm had especially depended, went over to the side of the king; to wit, Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, Robert of Lincoln, John of Bath, and Osmund of Sherborn. These bishops, with several barons of the kingdom, at last brought him the decision of William, as follows: That Anselm had promised in Rockingham to observe at all times the laws of the land, and faithfully to defend them against all infraction; but that he had openly violated this promise by threatening to go to Rome, without first receiving the king's permission; that it was a thing unheard of, and contrary to the usages of the kingdom, that any of his nobles should presume to proceed in such a manner. To obviate further troubles of this sort, from Anselm and from every one else, he directed that Anselm should either promise with an oath never to appeal to the pope, under any emergency, or that with all speed he should leave the kingdom. After Anselm had ascertained from the king's own mouth that this was his pleasure, he replied that he had made that promise at Rockingham; but with the express declaration that the promise was confined to those things in which the king could exercise authority consistently with rectitude and the will of God (*per rectitudinem et secundum Deum*). But when the king and princes protested on their oath that not a syllable of this clause was uttered, Anselm could only reply with a sophism,—"If no mention was made of rectitude or of God, as you say, to whom or to what did that transaction refer? Far, far be it from any Christian to hold or to defend laws or usages which are known to be contrary to God or to rectitude." Herein he indirectly concedes that those words were not used; and this, with the king, was the main point; for under so

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indefinite a statement, what might not be included? But because that which was implied to be contrary to rectitude and to God had reference not to generals but to one point in particular, and on this point the opinions of the two parties were in direct opposition, a reconciliation was out of the question. If the matter of the appeal to the apostolical chair were given up, this would in the simplest manner untie the Gordian knot; but equally simple was the syllogism by which Anselm, from the position which he occupied, met the proposal: "A Christian ought not on any account to make such a demand; to take an oath of this sort is to abjure St. Peter. But he who abjures St. Peter, undoubtedly abjures Christ, who appointed him to the head of his church."

When the king saw that Anselm was not to be moved from his purpose, he permitted him to go, but with the condition that he should take nothing that belonged to the king with him; within eleven days he was to be at the port of embarkation, and there a messenger was to inform him what things he and his friends might be permitted to take with them. Upon this Anselm left the king, Oct. 15, 1097, and gave him his blessing. On the following day he left Canterbury with Eadmer and Baldwin, and went to Dover in company with William of Warelwast, a clerical brother, and an envoy of the king's. This officer kept strict watch over him for fifteen days, while he was detained by unfavorable winds, and immediately before his departure searched all his baggage in the presence of a great number of persons, because the king hoped to find money. But in this he was disappointed. As soon as he learned that Anselm had embarked, he took possession of the archbishopric, with all its wealth, titles and privileges, and declared every thing which Anselm had ordained by virtue of his office, null and void.

Anselm's journey through Flanders was a triumphal progress. The fame of his name preceded him, and both clergy and laity came out in crowds to meet him, with music and banners. The first limit of his journey was Lyons; Hugo, the archbishop of that city, having been for many years his friend. From this place at the end of the year 1097, Anselm wrote to pope Urban, requesting to be relieved of his office. The pope, in reply, summoned

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him immediately to Rome, A. D. 1098. The journey, however, was not unattended with danger; because several persons waylaid Anselm, expecting to find upon him a great sum of money; and particularly because the emperor Henry IV and his pope, Clement III, caused all clergymen to be waylaid who were going to Rome. Anselm reached Rome in the end of March, A. D. 1098; he was received by the pope with great respect, and remained with him ten days at the Lateran. But as the heat was intolerable, and the residence in the city was unhealthy, particularly for strangers, he was invited by John, formerly a monk in Bec under Anselm, now abbot of the monastery of the Redeemer at Telesia, to a village called Sclavia, situated on the summit of a mountain and distinguished for its healthy air. Such an abode was particularly pleasing to Anselm. He hoped here to find repose.* Here also he returned to the mode of life which he had led before he was an abbot,† and the fruit of his meditations was the celebrated treatise *Cur Deus homo*, which he here finished. Anselm also established for himself a claim to the lasting gratitude of the people of Sclavia, who had suffered for want of pure water. Having prayed, he smote thrice upon the ground, indicating a spot, where, by digging a few days, they found an excellent spring, which proved to be a specific for fevers. From this circumstance the fountain was called by the inhabitants the fountain of the archbishop of Canterbury. The circumstance is related by Eadmer, who was an eye-witness.

Anselm was persuaded to exchange, for a season, this quiet retreat for the tumult of war. Roger, duke of Apulia, who had heard of the fame of Anselm, invited him to his camp at Capua, to visit him. On his arrival, the duke went out with a body of troops to welcome him. In the meantime pope Urban also arrived, and both remained till the duke had taken Capua at the end of May. While these things were transpiring, the king of England endeavored to instigate against Anselm all who

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* Exhilarated with the hope of future quiet, he says, "This is my rest, here will I dwell"—*haec requies mea; hic habitabo.* Vita, Lib. II, p. 20.

† Devoting himself day and night to works of piety, to religious contemplation and to the solution of divine mysteries.

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were capable of doing him injury; and for this purpose he had written particularly to the duke of Apulia. The latter, however, took no notice of it. On the contrary, he offered Anselm, if he would remain with him, the privilege of selecting the fairest portion of his territory and of enjoying it during life. On the raising of the siege, Anselm went with the pope into the region of Avisa, and Urban took up his abode in the city itself. But Anselm was invited to the abbey of St. Lawrence. Here, remembering his troubles in England, and in view of the recent accounts he had received of the increasing injustice and wickedness of the king, (of which, indeed, Eadmer relates things almost incredible,) he resolved once more to request of the pope permission to retire from the archbishopric. The pope, however, reminded him of the duty of a true shepherd, and enjoined it upon him, as a follower of Jesus, still to watch over the English church, which had been committed to his trust. If he could not immediately return to England on account of the king's tyranny, still he might be the legitimate archbishop of the realm. Besides, he encouraged him in view of the Council of Bari, which he had appointed on the first of October.

This Council was chiefly occupied, in the first place, with the question contested between the Greek and Romish churches, on the procession of the Holy Ghost. Urban made great use, in the discussion, of the work which Anselm had dedicated to him in the year 1093, *De Incarnatione Verbi.* When the debate waxed warm, the pope called upon Anselm to defend his holy mother, the church of Rome, to whose special aid a good Providence seemed to have sent him. Universal attention was now drawn to the hitherto silent member. Many did not know him at all. The pope, therefore, extolled his piety, and related how he had been persecuted for his uprightness, and wickedly exiled from his native country. Anselm immediately expressed his readiness, at the command of the pope, to open the question. Some proposed to delay it till the next morning, that they might pursue the subject with more thoroughness, and with greater freedom of spirit. On the following day, Anselm unfolded the question with such skill as to produce universal satisfaction. The reasons and authorities which he produced

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in the discussion, he collected into a work, *De processione Spiritus sancti, contra Graecos*, which, at the request of his friends, he circulated wherever the views of the Greek church prevailed.

The second topic before the Council was Anselm's own situation. The pope spoke of the oppression of the English church, of the violent proceeding of the king against Anselm, of the exhortations and warnings which he had sent to him without effect, and then ratified the decision of the Council, that nothing remained but to launch against him the papal anathema. And it was Anselm alone, who, by the most earnest entreaties, prevented the execution of this decree.

When the pope returned to Rome with Anselm at the close of the Council, the messenger had just arrived from England, whom the pope had despatched immediately after Anselm's arrival in Rome. The report which he brought was that the king had received the communication of the pope, but absolutely rejected that of Anselm, and even threatened to put out the eyes of the bearer, if he did not leave the country with all speed. But after some days, William, above mentioned, was sent by the king with a reply to the pope's letter:—that it had caused his sovereign no small astonishment, that the pope had thought of desiring the restoration of Anselm; the affair stood thus: when Anselm conceived the idea of leaving the country, the king publicly threatened to assume the wealth, titles and privileges of the archbishopric, in order to hold him back from his journey. But as Anselm, notwithstanding, took his own course, no one could reasonably censure him for putting his threat in execution. The pope, in the highest indignation, exclaimed that such a proceeding was unheard of; and that if the king did not restore Anselm before the Council, which was to be held at Rome the third day preceding Easter-week, A. D. 1099, he would inevitably be visited with excommunication. But William prayed for a private negotiation, and succeeded in so far mitigating the anger of the pope as to obtain a further reprieve until Michaelmas. These proceedings occurred about Christmas, A. D. 1098. When Anselm perceived that matters were taking such a turn, he proposed to return to Lyons; but the pope detained him until the opening of the Council at Rome.

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At the close of this session, all the enemies of holy church were excommunicated. The decree of excommunication included all lay-persons who had arrogated to themselves investitures of churches, all who had caused themselves to be invested by laymen, and all who had consecrated any person invested in this manner. But still more important was the decision which embraced in the same sentence of excommunication those who had made themselves the vassals of laymen, for the sake of ecclesiastical stations. They reasoned, that to the hands of the priest it is entrusted,—an honor conferred upon no angel, even, —to create, in their ministry, the all creating God, and to offer him as a sacrifice for the salvation of the world; and that it would be totally unworthy that these holy hands should serve those which are day and night polluted by contact with the world and with crime. Besides investiture, which alone had been submitted to ecclesiastical legislation since the time of Gregory VII, this Council also prohibited the feudal oath. This, indeed, had already been done by Urban at the Council of Clermont (A. D. 1096), and on the same grounds as were now assumed, and even by Hincmar in the ninth century, though not in so express and full a manner. But this decision of the Council at Rome formed a crisis in respect to the contest of Anselm with the king of England.

After the close of the Council, Anselm returned to Lyons, and fixed his residence there; for he had no hope of returning to England during the life of the king. Hugo, the archbishop, permitted him to perform episcopal duties within his whole diocese. Every where the people came together in crowds to receive the holy chrism from his hands, as they had done formerly in his journey through Flanders. Here he wrote the works *De conceptu virginali et de peccato originali*, and the *Meditatio redemptionis humanae.*

In the mean time Urban II died, and Paschalis II succeeded him. This change was not unwelcome to the king of England. He now immediately resolved to act freely, and to grant to the pope only so much authority in his realm as he himself should find agreeable. He was the more disposed to take this liberty, because he had been informed that in some respects the pope was like

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Anselm.* However, he did not long enjoy his liberty; for on the second of August, A. D. 1100, in a hunt in the New Forest, he lost his life by an arrow.†

William I was succeeded by his brother Henry I, who was present at his sudden death. Immediately upon that event he hastened to the castle at Winchester, and demanded the key of the royal treasure.

The nobles of England, however, were in doubt about the succession, because they did not know what had become of Robert, duke of Normandy, who had been absent five years in the crusades, and to whom Henry himself had sworn allegiance, by taking the feudal oath. Hence, in order to make sure of the throne, Henry assembled in London the clergy and all the people, and promised a melioration of the laws by which England had been oppressed under his father and brother. The clergy and the nobles desired that he would confirm to them, by a formal charter,‡ those rights and privileges which the kingdom had enjoyed under king Edward.§ Henry did so under oath, and was then crowned in Westminster by Mauritius, bishop of London.

Both the king, and the brethren of the church of Canterbury invited Anselm to return without delay; and Henry promised to submit both himself and his kingdom to his counsel and direction. Indeed, Anselm's return was of essential advantage, as well to the nation as to the king; the former saw in him a pledge for the king's veracity; the latter, for the security of his throne.

Thus, after a residence of two years, Anselm departed from Lyons, regretted alike by the archbishop and the

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* When the king was informed of the death of Urban, he said,—"Let him be anathema who cares for it." Then he added, "But what sort of a pope have we now?" When it was said in reply, that in some things he was like the archbishop Anselm,—"By the face of God," he answered, "if he is such, it is no matter. However, let him keep by himself; for his popeship this time shall not get the upper-hand of me; having gained my liberty, I will do as I please." He did not think that the apostolical head of the whole earth could have any authority in his kingdom, without his permission. Hist. Nov. Lib. II, p. 56.

† His brother Richard lost his life in the same forest at an earlier period, while their father was yet living. It is also related that a grandson of William the Conqueror, a son of Robert of Normandy, likewise named Richard, was killed by an arrow in a hunt in the same place.

‡ Called *Charta Libertatum*, the basis of *Magna Charta*.

§ Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred, the last Anglo-Saxon king before the conquest of England by the Normans, died A. D. 1066.

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people. For several days, he was accompanied both by men and women from village to village, and landed on the twenty-third day of September in Dover, having been exiled from England nearly three years.

II. From Anselm's return to England till his death, (A. D. 1100–1109).

The new principles which Anselm brought with him from Rome laid the foundation, from the very first, for a difference with the king. When the monarch, after the custom of his predecessors, wished to administer to him the feudal oath, Anselm assured him of his purpose to follow the decisions of the pope; if the king gave his assent, peace would be established between them; but if not, it would be neither useful nor honorable for him to remain in England; especially seeing that, in the event of the king's levying a tax upon the bishoprics and abbeys, he should feel himself obliged to abjure all connection with him and with the officers whom he might create. By this decision the king was completely confounded. On the one hand, he was unwilling to give up the privileges of investiture and the feudal oath;* that would be to lose half his kingdom. On the other hand, he feared that if Anselm should go over to Robert, who had returned from Jerusalem in September, he might easily set him on the throne of England. Henry, therefore, asked for a postponement of his decision until the next Easter. In the meantime both parties were to send an ambassador to Rome, in order, if possible, to bring back the papal decrees to a conformity with the ancient usages of the kingdom. Until that time the churches of England were to remain as they were, and Anselm was to be restored to the possession of the property taken by the late king. Anselm foresaw that this new negotiation would be of no

* In his fourth letter, Anselm informs the pope how the decrees of the Council at Rome were received: "After I had returned to England, having been invited back to my charge, I showed the decrees of the Council which I had heard personally: to wit, that no one should receive investitures of churches from the hand of the king or of any layman, so as to come, in this way, under the authority of a man; and that no one should presume to consecrate one transgressing this order. When the king and his princes, the bishops and others of inferior rank heard this, they were so much displeased that they affirmed that they would by no means yield their assent; that, rather than conform to such a rule, they would expel me from the kingdom, and themselves retire from the church of Rome." Ans. Epp., Lib. IV, 2, 4, 6.

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use; but he yielded to the request of the king and his nobles, that he might give them no ground for suspicion.

The same year, Henry, the king, was married to Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Margaret, a daughter of Edward of England. It seemed to be a difficulty in the way of this arrangement, that Matilda had worn the veil; but she proved that she had done this for the security of her person, and that she had not taken the vow. This difficulty having been solved by the decision of an assembly composed of bishops, abbots, nobles and monks, held in Lambeth, the marriage ceremony was performed in Westminster by Anselm, on the feast of St. Martin. Notwithstanding, Anselm had endeavored to dissuade the king from the union, because she had once worn the veil, and thus signified that she would rather be the bride of Heaven than of an earthly sovereign. But the king would not be persuaded by such reasoning. Anselm, therefore, could not oppose the arrangement; but he prophesied that England would not long enjoy his posterity. Even Matilda was unfavorable to the marriage;* and it was brought about, on political grounds, by the persuasion of her parents.

In the beginning of the next year, A. D. 1101, Guido, archbishop of Vienna, was commissioned by Paschalis II, as papal legate for all Great Britain. But as it was a thing unheard of in Britain that any person should be the pope's representative except the archbishop of Canterbury, Guido was nowhere acknowledged as legate, and was obliged to retire. The following year, as a matter of personal respect for Anselm, the pope resolved not to send a legate to England again, so long as that prelate should be archbishop.

In the meantime, Easter had passed by; but as the ambassadors were not yet returned from Rome, the matter in suspense was delayed till this time. But Whit-

* Matthæus Paris (p. 40) thus relates the matter: "Matilda married him against her will, and consented only because she was wearied out by the importunity of her parents and friends. In their earnest solicitations they said, 'Most noble and illustrious lady, if thou consentest to this union, by thee will the decayed nobility of England be restored, and the alliance of mighty princes be renewed. If not, thou wilt be the occasion of eternal enmity between different nations, and of the shedding of blood, which can never be retrieved.' Matilda replied, 'Since it must be so, I consent; but the fruit of my womb,—(horrible to be told)—I devote to the devil.'"

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suntide threatened the king with an appalling danger; for he had information that the duke Robert was equipping himself for a voyage to England, to take possession of the throne. By the influence of Ranulph, bishop of Dunelm, who had led William into all his acts of tyranny, and was on that account imprisoned by Henry, but had escaped by bribing his keepers, he had already secured to his interest, through private letters, most of the nobles of England; but because he had returned home from the crusade without resources, the execution of his project was delayed. The army which Henry sent against his brother by sea, mostly went over to Robert; and when the latter landed at Portsmouth before the first of August, the nobles of the kingdom were prepared at once to strike a blow in his favor. In this emergency, Henry, who trembled not only for his throne, but also for his life, applied to Anselm to exhort the nobles not to recede from their loyalty. The efforts of Anselm were successful, and a reconciliation took place between the two brothers. Henry was to pay to Robert a yearly stipend of 3000, or according to another writer, 4000 marks of silver, which Robert at once presented to his sister-in-law, the queen Matilda; and it was now agreed that on the death of either of them the survivor should be his heir, in case he should die without male posterity.

At length in the following year, A. D. 1102, a letter arrived from the pope, which absolutely forbade the king to exercise the privilege of investiture, but still left no room for the suspicion that he designed by this measure to weaken the royal power, or to arrogate to himself any thing further in connection with the authority which he claimed respecting bishops. So far was he from any such design, that he would much rather be at the king's service in all other things, if he would only relinquish those claims which were manifestly opposed to the will of God; and, he maintained, the royal authority would be both more efficient and honorable, if the authority of God in the kingdom were paramount. The king, however, did not suffer himself to be deceived by his rhetoric; and he gave Anselm his choice, either to take the feudal oath, and to consecrate, after the manner of his predecessors, the bishops and abbots whom he should appoint, or to

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leave the country without delay.* But Anselm would consent to neither. He was even unwilling to be absent any more from his own church; he chose rather, in the fulfilment of his duties, to await any act of violence that should be attempted upon himself or his friends. By the authoritative decision of the pope, the archbishop now deemed himself absolved from his oath to king William, and as, henceforth, only the instrument of the papal chair. But the nobles of the land, and particularly the bishops, adhered in the closest manner to the throne, and zealously sought to maintain entire independence of the pope, that they might preserve the liberty of the English church. Before he proceeded to violent measures, however, the king undertook to try again the influence of negotiation; the alternative was seriously set before the pope, either to recede from his decision, or, if Anselm and his friends were expelled, to lose his authority in England and all the benefits which he received every year from that country. Upon this Anselm sent two monks, Baldwin, above named, and Alexander, from Canterbury, not to persuade the pope to yield, but partly to confirm the king's menaces, and partly that he might learn with certainty the decision of the papal chair. The king appointed as his ambassadors three bishops, Gerard of Hereford, who had recently become archbishop of York, Herbert of Norwich, and Robert of Chester, who had his residence, however, in Coventry. The pope was immovable, having just renewed, in a Council of Lateran, the decisions of his predecessor. But when the bishops returned, they affirmed that the pope had authorized them to say to the king verbally, that so long as he showed himself a good sovereign in other respects, he would allow him the right of investiture; that he was unwilling to put this in writing, lest, as the bishops said, other princes might hear of it, and usurp the same privilege contrary to the authority of the pope. As this decision conflicted with the pope's letter to the king and to Anselm, the latter judged it ex-

* The king here combines the right of investiture with the feudal relation. He was unwilling, in a summary way, to give up the former; in the case of the clergy he was obliged to be tenacious of the latter, lest he should sever the last link that bound them to the throne. He was sensible of the difficulty of his situation; and therefore it was that he declared to Anselm,—"I will not depart from the usages of my predecessors, nor sustain any officer in my kingdom, who will not be to me a loyal subject."

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pedient once more to send to Rome. The king immediately made use of the permission granted him, by making two of his clergy bishops, in concurrence with all the noblemen of the kingdom, to wit, Roger, his chancellor, bishop of Salisbury, and Roger, his steward, bishop of Hereford.

During this time, Anselm succeeded at last in bringing about a General Council, composed of all the bishops and abbots of the kingdom, and held at St. Paul's church in London. Among the decrees of the Council, which related particularly to church-discipline, the following are worthy of notice: first, that no arch deacon, presbyter, deacon or canon may marry; or, being married, may retain his wife: this decision became necessary, because the prohibition of Gregory VII to the same effect was by no means observed. The two other decrees are an index to the state of morals in England: that no one should presume to sell human beings in England like brute animals, as had been done hitherto;* and, that persons committing sodomy, and those voluntarily aiding them were solemnly anathematized by this Council, until, by penitence and confession, they should be entitled to absolution. The universality of this crime may be inferred from the fact that it was ordered that this decree should be read every Sabbath day throughout England, and that Anselm was even obliged again to let the order lie unfulfilled. Eadmer remarks that the decrees of this Council were of little utility or force.

Anselm, however, refused to consecrate the new bishops nominated by the king, and the king commissioned Gerard, the archbishop of York, to perform the duty. Upon this, Reinelm, formerly the queen's chancellor, but recently installed into the place of Robert of Hereford, deceased, sent back to the king the ring and staff; for which he was driven from the court. When Gerard was about to perform the ceremony, aided by the other Roger and by William of Winchester—the latter of whom had been appointed bishop before Anselm's return, but not consenting to accept the staff from the king, had lately received it from the hand of Anselm,—William also retracted, and

* The selling and exchanging of wives was frequent at this time, particularly in Ireland.

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was likewise driven from the kingdom. But the king made one more experiment with Anselm, before he was forced to punish his disobedience; for he resolved, if Anselm should not submit to the established customs, either to inflict upon him physical punishment, or to expel him from the country in disgrace, and assume to himself the rights of the church. Anselm replied that his messengers had brought letters from Rome which the king might read, and see whether they contained any thing that should induce him to yield; and that he (Anselm) would not even open the letters himself, that he might cast off all suspicion. The king, however, declared that he would no longer hear such circumlocutions; he was resolved to have a decisive sentence. What need had he to justify his course to the pope? Whatever privileges his predecessors in the kingdom enjoyed, were his natural right; and he who would deprive him of them was his enemy. But Anselm affirmed as he had done before, that he had no wish to deprive the king of any thing, but that he could not depart from the decision of the Council of Rome. The contest waxed so warm that the friends of the church feared for the personal safety of Anselm, and the peers of the realm, on whom the king had hitherto leaned for support, were robbed of their peace. Throughout the whole church, prayers were offered that the impending evil might be averted. In this crisis, the king deemed it best to request Anselm to visit Rome in person, and to persuade the pope not to ruin himself by abridging the rights enjoyed by his predecessors. This measure would at the same time deliver him, in the simplest manner, from the presence of a troublesome man. Anselm understood this, and hence asked the privilege of delaying until Easter, A. D. 1103, that he might seek the advice of the bishops and princes of the realm. It was their unanimous opinion that in a matter of so much importance, Anselm ought not to decline a journey to Rome. Though in feeble health, Anselm expressed his readiness to go, at the same time solemnly declaring that, in his intercourse with the pope, he would take no step inconsistent with the freedom of the church or with his honor. The assembly replied that the king should bring before the pope, by a special ambassador, his own requests

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and the state of his kingdom, and that Anselm was to agree with him only when he spoke the truth.

Anselm hastened to leave England, that he might not contract any guilt in case that, in the pope's letter which he had not opened, any of the servants of the church should be excommunicated, and he should hold intercourse with them. In the mean time, several investitures had taken place, and some abbots so invested had been consecrated by Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and John, bishop of Bath. He first opened his letter in Bec. In this, Paschalis gave him the most distinct assurance that he had communicated no such decision to the bishops, and he declared the investitures or consecrations that had taken place under its authority null and void. But it is still extremely probable that the pope at that time gave to the commissioners of the king secret instructions, or at least that he awakened expectations which he did not officially acknowledge, or did not venture to confess to Anselm; for those bishops in the most decided manner protested the truth of their declarations. They repeatedly affirmed the same before the whole assembly of bishops and noblemen of the kingdom; and even with the most striking *naïveté*, they appealed to the witness of the papal chair.

Anselm now remained in Bec until about the middle of August, having been advised by Ivo of Chartres and other persons of character and consideration, not to expose himself to the heat of an Italian summer. Hence the king's commissioner, William, with the two bishops, Robert of Litchfield and Herbert of Norwich, reached Rome before Anselm. They laid open to the pope the condition of the kingdom and the kind feelings cherished by the king towards Rome, on account of which, through the favor of the pope, the kings of England had always enjoyed higher dignity and more extended privileges than other princes. Hence it would not only be cruel to abridge the present king of the rights enjoyed by his predecessors, but also, as he well knew, a great disadvantage to the people of Rome; and should they deprive the king of his rights, they would certainly, when it was too late, repent of their loss. At length, encouraged by the epistle of the pope and of Anselm, who was present, William broke out in these words; "If I may speak freely, I de-

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clare to all persons here present, that my sovereign will not be deprived of the privilege of investiture, for the price of his kingdom." To this the pope replied briefly: "If, as thou sayest, thy king will not give up the presentation of benefices for the price of his kingdom, know thou—I speak it before God—that Paschalis will not leave him unpunished for the price of his head." By this declaration, William was evidently disturbed. To soothe, in some manner, the feelings of the king, however, by the advice of his counsellors, Paschalis allowed to him a part of the privileges inherited from his father, and relieved him from the bann of excommunication pronounced by his predecessor in the Council of Rome; but those who had been or should be invested by him were to remain under the anathema.

Anselm was dismissed by the pope with a concession cheap indeed; he confirmed to him and to his successors the see of Canterbury with all its privileges, as all his predecessors, from Augustine downwards, had held it, through the authority of the papal chair.

After Anselm's departure, William made one more experiment with the pope; but, not succeeding, he obtained simply a gracious letter from Paschalis to the king, in which, however, the principal cause of grievance remained unaltered. On his way, Anselm joined William at Piacenza, and they went in company to Lyons, where Anselm was to celebrate Christmas with his attendants. William, however, was in haste, and separated from Anselm. But before leaving him, he opened to him the decision of the king, of which he had been silent till this time, because he thought that a different decision might have taken place at Rome. The substance of the decision was, that Henry would be glad to receive him if he would conduct himself towards him as his predecessors had conducted themselves towards the former kings. Anselm understood the hint, and prevented him from speaking further. He now remained for the present in Lyons, but could not forbear to write to the king, inquiring whether he could return to England with his feelings unchanged? The king adhered to his demand, and Anselm refused compliance, because at his ordination he had not promised to obey the laws of his father or of Lanfranc, but the law of God and of his office. He had, however, fulfilled to

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the letter the obligations of the feudal oath; so that the rest was understood by him without mental reservation, at least Anselm assented to it in silence.

In the beginning of the year 1104, the king wrote back to Anselm through Everard, a monk of Canterbury, that he had no wish for his return; (he had already taken possession of all the revenues of the bishopric;) Anselm, therefore, remained in Lyons for fourteen months. In the mean time disorder and corruption crept into the English church, and there was a universal desire for Anselm's return. The king did not wish to throw any obstacle in the way; but as he abated nothing from his demand, his repeated embassy to Rome was without effect. Indeed, in the beginning of the year 1105, Paschalis renewed the excommunication of those who had received investiture by the king's authority, extending it also to the king's counsellors, at the head of whom stood the earl of Mellent; he delayed issuing the same sentence against the king himself, as he wrote to Anselm, because he expected another ambassador from him. When, therefore, Anselm saw that the pope was constantly putting him off from one time to another, he resolved to leave Lyons, and to pass over into France proper. From Clugny he went to visit Adele, countess of Blois, sister of the king of England, who knew Anselm in Bec, and of whom he heard that she was sick. He gave her to understand the object of his return to France, to wit, that he had come to excommunicate Henry, the king, on account of his many acts of injustice both against himself and against God. The countess, resolved to act as a mediator, sent messengers to Henry who was then in Normandy, and had subdued to himself almost the whole country.

When Henry learned the purpose of Anselm through his sister, he sought by all means to prevent it. By her instrumentality he obtained an interview with him in l'Aigle, between Montagne and Lenz in Normandy, and there a mutual reconciliation took place. On many points, however, they were unable to agree: the king, for example, desired Anselm to fellowship those whom he had invested, as rightfully holding their offices; Anselm, therefore, resolved to remain in France, till these points were settled through the ambassadors who should be sent to

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Rome. This meeting took place the twenty-second of July.

The restoration of harmony gave the king the more pleasure, because a report had already gone abroad that he was to be excommunicated, that his administration was grown unpopular, and that many evils were only waiting for the consummation of that act to burst upon him. In order, therefore, to delay Anselm's return to the seat of the archbishopric, the king promised to manage his embassy to Rome, so that a reply might be received before Christmas. But he detained the ambassadors long beyond the appointed period, showing that he was more concerned to prevent the excommunication, than in reference to the restoration and return of Anselm. The latter bitterly complained of this to the king, and wrote a severe letter to the earl of Mellent, his counsellor; he advised him to beware lest the anger of God should be kindled against himself and his sovereign; for God was now restraining it, only with the hope that they would humble themselves to his will.

In the mean time Anselm remained in Bec. The king, not having been able entirely to subdue Normandy, returned to England to replenish his exhausted treasury. In collecting money, his officers committed many acts of violence and wrong. If a man had nothing to give, he was either driven from his house, or his house doors were taken away, or his furniture was carried off. Even the clergy were not exempted. From a letter of Anselm to the king, we learn that he artfully obtained money from the clergy, by fining all who transgressed the requirements of the Council of London. To this, indeed, a worldly sovereign was not competent, as Anselm suggested to the king; but the latter, in a scornful tone, replied, that his letter surprised him; for he supposed that he had acted, in what he did, agreeably to his wishes. When, therefore, the king came to London, about two hundred priests in white raiment and barefooted, were drawn up before his palace, who implored his mercy. He required them immediately to remove out of his sight. Upon this, they sought the mediation of the queen; but she, though melted into tears, did not venture to speak in their behalf. The demands became so oppressive that the bishops, who had always been on the side of the king, implored the

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help of Anselm, and promised to obey him in spiritual things in future, as their rightful father. Anselm, however, excused himself, because he was not certain what treatment he was to expect, until the ambassadors returned from Rome.

Finally in March, A. D. 1106, the ambassadors of the king and of Anselm, William of Warelwast and Baldwin of Tournay, returned from Rome, and brought a decisive letter from Paschalis to Anselm. The lofty tone and humble contents of this letter are so characteristic, that we give an extract from it.

"Thanks to the Father of mercies, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, that in his condescension he has inclined the heart of the king of England, to yield obedience to the apostolical chair. We attribute it to thy charity and to thy earnest prayers, that mercy has been shown to the people over whom thy watchful anxiety extends. We have been moved, as thou knowest, by love and compassion towards the king and others who have offended with him; and we have manifested towards them so great condescension, that we might raise up those that are fallen. He who, while he stands, reaches out his hand to assist the fallen, will never raise him up, unless he bends down to him; but by bending to the fallen, he does not lose his own uprightness. Now, reverend and very dear brother in Christ, we absolve thee from that prohibition, or, as thou deemest it, excommunication, which thou knowest was issued by our predecessor of blessed memory, pope Urban, against investitures or persons taking the feudal oath. Those who have received investitures, or who have consecrated those who have received them, treat with consideration, as we signified to thee by our common ambassadors, and grant them absolution in our name. If any persons shall hereafter assume to themselves prelatical functions, by investiture of churches, even though they take the feudal oath to the king, deprive them not, on this account, of thy benediction, hoping that, through the mercy of God, the royal heart will be mollified by thy exhortations, so that he will renounce this custom. Extend absolution, also, to the king and his wife, and to those noblemen who have endeavored, according to our injunction, to bring the king in this respect to correct views. And now seeing that the

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Lord of hosts has made us the instrument, in this act of discipline, of accomplishing so much for his honor and for the honor of the church in the British empire, we pray that your society may hereafter so abound in gentleness, faithfulness, wisdom and care for the king and his princes, that through divine help, the things which are still wanting may be set in order by thy zeal and labor."

It is a striking circumstance that Paschalis in his letter retracts nothing of the decrees of Urban, but permits the matter of investitures and the feudal oath to remain unchanged. Paschalis dispenses with the strictness of the laws only in this particular case, and sanctions still further that which had hitherto been allowed to Henry. But now, not only had the king, like his predecessors, administered to the clergy the feudal oath, but had also invested them with the ring and staff. In the present case, the discussion related principally to the feudal oath, as the debate between Henry and Anselm had reference to its obligation. Hence Paschalis vindicates expressly the privilege of investiture, but allows the king, in the meanwhile, the feudal oath. That this was the interpretation put upon the pope's letter, we shall soon see.

When the king learned from William the contents of the pope's letter, he was greatly rejoiced, and summoned Anselm to return immediately to England. The latter was sick; but the king's ambassador persuaded him to set out. His disease, however, returned before he reached Jumiege, and he was forced to remain there a whole month. During this period he received information that the king was soon to pass over into Normandy. From Jumiege he returned to Bec, to await there the arrival of the king. He came in August, and a reconciliation took place between him and Anselm. The king liberated the churches from the burdens which were laid upon them under the former reign, and promised to indemnify the priests for the money which he had taken from them, and Anselm for every thing which he had used belonging to the estates of the archi-episcopate, during his absence.

Upon this, Anselm returned to England. He was welcomed with greatest joy, and the queen, in particular, prepared for him an honorable reception. In the mean time Henry had subdued all Normandy, taken pri-

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soners Robert himself and the earl of Moreteuil (Moreton) with other noblemen, at Temochebrai, September 27, A. D. 1106, and carried them to England, where he held them in custody.*

At Easter, A. D. 1107, when the king had assembled at his court the noblemen of his empire, it was resolved to complete, at Whitsuntide, the arrangement of the church-affairs, because Paschalis, who had come to France, desired that the two ambassadors, William and Baldwin, should be sent to him again to the Council which was to be held in Troyes; and the king flattered himself with the hope that, at their return, he should receive some new favors.

Upon this Anselm retired to the abbey St. Edmund, in order to discharge some official duties. But falling sick, he was detained there so long that it was necessary to delay the convention until the first of August. Here, though Anselm was unable to be present, the subject of investiture was discussed for three days between the king and the bishops, and some endeavored to persuade the king to exercise the privilege after the manner of his predecessors. But in accordance with the decision brought by the ambassadors from France, the pope had granted to the king the feudal oath, and therefore persuaded him to give up the privilege of investiture. Hence, on the appearance of Anselm, the king consented, having been persuaded chiefly by the earl of Mellent, who had been gained over to the interest of the pope,—that hereafter no one should receive from the hand of the king or of any layman the ring and staff, investing him with the authority of a bishopric or abbey. In return, Anselm granted that no one appointed to such an office should be denied the ceremony of consecration, on account of having pledged himself by the feudal oath to the king.

Thus ended the protracted contest between church and state in England, in the same manner as in Germany by the *concordat* of Worms. The two powers were divided in respect to investiture and the feudal oath; and to appearance, the regal power lost, while the church was vin-

* Robert, encouraged by the deceitful promises, especially of the Earl of Chester, the following year escaped from prison. But he was brought back again, and, by the command of his brother, his eyes were put out. Matth. Par. p. 43.

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dicated. But every one knows how soon the popes had cause to complain of the interference of the princes in ecclesiastical elections. In fact, by that event the papal system suffered a serious rebuff, inasmuch as it did not succeed, by the prohibition of the feudal oath, in sundering the last tie by which the principal servants of the church were bound to the state; and yet the progress from the prohibition of simony to that of investiture, and from this to that of the feudal oath, was an inevitable consequence, lying in the nature of things. While in this manner the independent importance of the state was established, the decisive contest was coming on between the ecclesiastical and civil power. Of this contest the theatre was in Germany and Italy, because the opposition there reached its highest acmé; that which occurred in England in the affairs of Anselm was, however, a prelude.

In conformity with the decrees of the London Convention, clergymen were instituted at once, partly for the churches of England, and partly for Normandy, and indeed by the king himself, the symbols of investiture, however, not being used. Anselm also required Gerard, who had been translated from the bishopric of Hereford to the archbishopric of York, to repeat the oath of allegiance, and on the eleventh of August, consecrated five bishops, to wit: William of Winchester, Roger of Salisbury, and Reinelm of Hereford, before mentioned, together with William of Warelwast, who had been elected to the see of Exeter, and Urban, bishop of Glamorgan in Wales.

In the mean time the king endeavored to restore morals and discipline, which had fallen into universal decay. In the year 1108, he gave strict orders in regard to it, particularly to the persons about his court, whose excesses had made them infamous throughout the country. But it depended especially upon himself to secure the execution of the decrees of the London Council of the year 1102. As celibacy, one of the principal abuses, had not been checked, Henry procured another Council to be held at Whitsuntide in London, at which Anselm and the rest of the bishops of England, in presence of the king and with the consent of all the barons, ordained, that presbyters, deacons and subdeacons should live chastely, and have no females in their houses except their nearest blood-

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relations, agreeably to the decrees of the Council of Nice; but those who retained their wives after the Council of London, or who had taken others, should separate from them, if they wished to celebrate mass any longer; moreover, they were to make no arrangement to meet them any where, and no females at all were to be permitted to reside within the limits of a church; but even if they were obliged to speak to them on grounds of courtesy, it should be done in the presence of at least two valid witnesses from without. Whoever should not leave his wife, and yet should arrogate to himself the privilege of still celebrating the mass, should be called to account; and in the event of his declining to appear, should after eight days be excommunicated. The same ordinance was extended to the arch-deacons, who were also obliged to pledge themselves to receive no money as a compensation for forbearance with transgressors of this decree.

The same year the old controversy broke out again between the archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of York, which had already existed between Lanfranc and the first Thomas. Thomas, who was chosen archbishop of York after the death of Gerard, wished to receive the robe of office from Rome before he was consecrated by Anselm; and when the latter summoned him to appear for that purpose in Canterbury, he made various excuses, from which it was evident that he desired to avoid submission to the see of Canterbury. Indeed the canons of York, reckoning on the feebleness of Anselm on account of his age, informed him of this in so many words, maintaining the parity of the church of York and the church of Canterbury, and hence affirming that though their bishop might be bound to receive consecration in Canterbury, he was not bound to declare his inferiority to the archbishop there. Anselm extended the time for Thomas to appear in Canterbury to the eighth of November. But Thomas excused himself again. Hence Anselm assembled the bishops, and, with their advice, resolved to send to Thomas two of their number, and to exhort him to lay aside his opposition, or at least to appear in Canterbury for his consecration, and there, if he could, to substantiate his claims. Hence the two bishops consecrated by Anselm that year, Richard of London, and Ralph of Roffa (Rochester), were sent to him.

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Thomas affirmed that he was expecting his messengers from the king, who was then in Normandy, and that after their return he should follow their advice. Immediately after, a letter arrived from Henry, praying Anselm to defer the consecration of Thomas till the next Easter, because the king was then expecting to return to England, and with the advice of the bishops and barons, would bring the contest to an honorable adjustment. Anselm, therefore, sent Odo, dean of Chester, and Abbold, monk of Bec, to the king, to beg him not to add the weight of his authority to produce dissension among the Christians of England; but he added that Thomas was so manifestly in the wrong, that he (Anselm) could not allow him the shortest space. The king received Anselm's message graciously, and promised to show practically that he would tolerate no schism in England.

In the mean time Anselm grew weaker day by day. But he wrote again, for the last time, an earnest letter to Thomas, in which he prohibited him from all clerical functions, until he had promised obedience to him according to ancient custom. He also forbade all bishops to consecrate him, on pain of excommunication. He sent a copy of this letter to all the bishops of England for their consideration. Immediately after, Thomas was obliged to yield, and was then consecrated by Richard, bishop of London.

In the mean time, Anselm was already dead. Eadmer gives the following account of his death: After his sickness in the year 1107, a severe weakness continued to linger about him, so that at last he was obliged to be carried in a litter, and could take food only with great difficulty. On Palm Sunday in the year 1109, when his attendants were sitting around him as usual, one remarked, that it seemed as if, at Easter, he would bless the festival, and then be translated into the kingdom of his Lord. Anselm replied, that he gave himself up to the will of God; but that he should be grateful if he were permitted to remain until he should complete his discussion on the origin of the soul, on which he was then engaged; because he knew not who, after his death, could bring it to a conclusion. On the third evening afterwards, when he was no longer able to speak, Ralph, bishop of Roffa, begged him to give his blessing to those who were present, to the

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king and queen with their children, and to the people of the kingdom who should continue to yield obedience to him. Anselm immediately raised his right hand, made the sign of the cross, and remained with his head bowed down. As the brethren were performing their morning devotions in the church, one of those who watched with the dying prelate took the gospels and read from the history of the passion, the portion which was appointed to be read at mass on that day. At the words—"Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, and I appoint unto you a kingdom as my Father hath appointed unto me; and ye shall eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel"—he began to breathe more slowly than usual, and quietly fell asleep at daybreak, April 21, A. D. 1109, in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, at the age of 76.

We embrace this opportunity to give some account of the character of this distinguished man. In a word, Anselm was a perfect monk. According to the views prevalent at that age, the highest religious attainments were to be found only in the cloister. Monastic life had a peculiar charm for him from an early period; and even the buoyant feelings of youth, which he shared in common with others, led him to seek such a life as his favorite and final destination.

The prominent feature of his life is deep and sincere piety. His inmost nature is penetrated by this divine element; both his intellect and his affections are filled with it. Hence, his religion, though not free from defects, is not sickly, but fresh and healthy. It is so fervent and childlike, so vivid and powerful, that it must be the fruit of a life hidden in God. Hence we see Anselm seated in his cell, absorbed in himself or in sacred books, but always sunk into the depths of the divine life. He unites in his contemplations the speculations of the understanding with the deep religion of the heart. The dialectic element which distinguishes his strictly scientific labors, is so innate and peculiar to him, that when he exhorts or instructs, his speech often falls into the form of syllogisms. But, on the other hand, his speculation avoids the empty, cold, partial and stately manner of the schoolmen who came after him, and seems filled and informed by the

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warm breath of piety. It is every where the impulse of his own heart, that urges him to inquire into the mysteries of the divine life and of spiritual influence.

The piety of Anselm was not confined to the interior life, as a mere matter of contemplation. It passed over, also, to that which was external. Hence it was that he zealously engaged in all the duties of the monastery, and made it a matter of conscience to be faithful to the rules of his order, even in the smallest punctilios. In these things, spiritual worship might seem lost in the exterior; but the service of God could never become to him a mere matter of habit or of hypocrisy; on the contrary, his fervent, religious spirit consecrated the forms which in themselves were dead, and imparted to them life and power. The dangers attendant on monastic life were not unknown to him; he often confesses, particularly in his letters, that Satan follows a man even into the solitude of a cell; yet such a life is, in his sight, the summit of piety; he can scarcely express his joy, when another child of the world has escaped from its fetters and fled into the arms of God, that is, into the cloister.

However defective were these views of the world, they can hardly be deemed, for that period, erroneous: for it was the great problem of the age to show the true relations between the secular and the spiritual; and the gradual development of the system of monasticism tended gradually to restore men to their duties to the world. Anselm's contempt of the world was the offspring of his own individuality; it was not drawn forth because he entered the cloister; but, on the contrary, it was because this principle was in his nature, that he became a monk. The more the system of monastic life was organized, and the further it spread, the less was it possible to avoid contact with the world. The superiors of the monasteries, in watching over their interests, were obliged to mingle in various ways with worldly things. Anselm was by nature unfitted for this. Hence, when he was in Bec, he committed such matters to faithful servants. We have seen that he shrunk from ecclesiastical preferments, because they too often disturbed that contemplative quiet which was his element. The tumult of worldly business had an injurious effect even upon his body; and nothing but pious contemplation could obviate its injurious effects,

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and restore him to his wonted repose.* His complete estrangement from the world led to that genuine simplicity and childlikeness of feeling, which, in the absence of experience and knowledge of the world, easily exposed him to injustice. The good man judged others by himself. It seemed to him impossible, it was contrary to his very nature, to measure the worth of another by a lower standard. He would rather be deceived, than indulge a groundless suspicion against any man. His simplicity and innocence, as might be expected, were often abused by his associates. When his attention was called to the fact that all persons were not like himself, he was made somewhat more cautious; but many there were who knew and acted upon the fact that he had not a heart to render evil for evil; so that the innocent simplicity of his life was itself made the instrument of the promotion of crime.†

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*He could not endure to mingle in secular business, but by every means in his power he kept himself aloof from it. If empty clamors, contentions and quarrels arose, as sometimes happens, he took care either to quiet them, or as quickly as possible to withdraw himself from them. Unless he did so, his mind was immediately overcome and he sunk under bodily indisposition. Knowing his habits in this respect, we often drew him away from a mixed company, as a matter of duty, and proposed to him some question from the Holy Scriptures, by which both his body and soul, as if by the power of some healing medicine, were restored to their usual state. When he was asked why he was so little fitted for worldly duties, he answered, "I have long ago withdrawn myself from the love and desire of all worldly things; how can I be still skilled in matters pertaining to them? I speak the truth and lie not, when the pressure of them comes upon me of necessity, my mind quakes with horror of them, like a child, when a terrible apparition is forced upon its sight. I am no more pleased in disposing of them, than an infant is pleased at its mother's breast, when in sucking it finds the breast anointed with bitter unguents." *Vita Ans.* Lib. II, p. 16.

†His servants deceived him and became unfaithful. When they saw how gentle, mild and unsuspicious he was, they often cheated him by fraudulent cunning and by artful words. When Baldwin and other friends spoke familiarly to him of his excessive simplicity and want of worldly wisdom, he replied with the utmost innocence, and as if astonished at their suspicions,—"What! are they not Christians? And if they are, would they knowingly speak falsely, to promote their own advantage? It is impossible. When they speak with the utmost caution, and pledge to me their word and their oath, I should be deemed truly incredulous, were I to suspect them of uttering aught but truth." This he said, supposing that what he would be unwilling to do to others, they would be unwilling to do to him. When it was answered, that they were different persons from him, he said, "I confess that I had rather be deceived by believing good of them, although, without my knowing it, they were wicked, than deceive myself by believing evil of those whom I have not found by experiment to be wicked." But when afterwards the true state of the case transpired, he found that the things said by his friends were too true. Afterwards, therefore, he reposed somewhat less confidence in their words, but entrusted his other affairs to them nearly the same as before. And knowing as they did that he would not render evil for evil, without fear they proceeded to abuse his confidence more wickedly than ever. *Ibid.*

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His mild and friendly spirit always proceeded on the principle of thinking the best of others; hence he heaped "coals of fire" on the heads of his enemies. The severity of monastic life had no influence on his intercourse with others. He was admirably skilled in adapting himself to new relations and circumstances, and in entering into the peculiarities of persons of the utmost diversity of character, feelings and pursuits. It was this amiable quality which gained him every where a welcome reception, and carried his fame to the most distant countries. Hence the gratulations with which he was received every where in his journeys; it was the tribute of esteem and affection, paid not to the archbishop, but to the Christian and loving man. Such a spirit must have commended him especially to the young. He compared the youthful heart to pliant wax; and it was one of his favorite employments to impress the virtues of religion on the souls of the young. In this work, his habit of mitigating the severity of the rules of the monastery, agreeably to the dictates of his humane heart, contributed greatly to his success; he maintained that every one ought to live in such a manner, that they should not be felt as an oppressive burden, but that he should find in them the highest freedom. In pursuing such a course towards those under him, and especially towards the more youthful portion of them, he manifested the highest wisdom. An excessive and pedantic strictness he held to be pernicious. He compared it to a man planting a tree in his garden, and enclosing it on every side, so that its branches could not extend in any direction. It would produce only a distorted object.

From such prudence he reaped the most delightful harvest. Eadmer relates a single example in the case of a certain Osborn, a young man of talents in the monastery of Bec, who was distinguished by corrupt morals, and by extreme enmity towards Anselm. Anselm gained him, as Eadmer expresses it, by holy fraud and by a gracious and winning behavior; he was patient with his youthful follies, and winked at many of the excesses into which he was drawn by his impetuous spirit. The rudeness of the young man gradually passed away; he began to love Anselm, and to follow his advice. As soon as Anselm perceived this, he began to treat him as his confidant and to

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lavish upon him his care and affection. He was not disappointed. His pious exhortations had their effect. And it was not till he perceived that he could confide in the growing strength of his principles, that he treated him with greater strictness. But the young man endured the change willingly. His religious purposes were confirmed. His zeal in religious duties perpetually increased, notwithstanding the reproaches with which he was assailed. In this Anselm greatly rejoiced, and manifested towards him the tenderest parental affection. Afterwards the young man was suddenly attacked by a violent sickness. Night and day Anselm sat by his bed; he performed all the duties of a servant; and after his death, for a whole year, he caused a mass to be said for him every day.

The gentleness of Anselm, however, was many times abused, because it was not always sustained, in an emergency, by the requisite decision. Hence many who merited the censure of the church, continued to make themselves vile, because they trusted in his compassion.

Mild, however, as Anselm was towards others, he was unsparing towards himself. He neglected none of the monastic regulations, but attended to every duty of monasticism in the most conscientious manner.

The first was poverty. The idea of property was not in his heart. He was shocked by the very name. He devoted to the common stock whatever had been destined for his special use; and he helped others, even when he himself, for the sake of it, must suffer want. Even before he entered the monastery, he had always acted on the principle that the riches of this world were created by the Father of all for common use; and that hence, the law of nature forbade one to possess more than another. At a later period, gold and silver were often offered to him, to be applied to his own wants or those of his friends; but he accepted nothing, unless it was given to the abbot for the common use of the brethren.

In the second monastic virtue, asceticism, Anselm attained such perfection that he was no longer sensible of the appetites or necessities of the body. He macerated himself in the severest manner by night-watching, fasting, and self-inflicted scourging. He carried fasting to such an extent that Matilda, the queen, entreated him to re-

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frain, lest his body should become too much weakened to sustain life, and particularly, lest his voice should lose its power. At table his friends often deceived him, by engaging him in earnest and protracted conversation, in the midst of which he partook unconsciously of the food which they placed before him.

Finally, in the virtue of obedience, Anselm had no superior. He did not know how to inculcate often enough upon his disciples that it is the duty of a monk to obey his superiors in every thing which is according to the will of God; and after he became archbishop he associated with Eadmer, that he might not forget how to obey. But it was in relation to the papal chair that his obedience reached its perfection. We have seen how immovably faithful he was to the head of the church at Rome, how all considerations weighed nothing with him against the word of the pope. Indeed his submission to the pope came into collision with his allegiance to the king. Anselm's conduct towards the latter may easily seem like systematic and stubborn opposition. We are even inclined to justify the opinion that perhaps he would have effected more, had he known how to yield a little, instead of exhibiting from the outset such stern decision. But, on the other hand, it should not be overlooked, that, in view of the position occupied by Anselm, with relation to the pope and the church universal, any other course was scarcely possible. In a contest like this, in which the church and the world seemed arrayed, one against the other, it is a noble sight to look upon Anselm, standing steadfast to his principles.

> "Si fractus illabatur orbis,
> Impavidum ferient ruinae."

Moreover, opposition to the king was not so much the sin of Anselm, as the sin of the age. As in the case of many similar collisions, so here the usual standard of morals cannot be applied. Time has effected a change in the principles of the papal system, of which Anselm was the faithful minister. Thus much we may say with truth, Anselm's election to the see of Canterbury was a misfortune for the country, but a necessary one; for thus was England involved in the contest which constitutes the

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principal interest of that period, and which had already broken out in the heart of Europe.

Both speculatively and practically Anselm is a true son of the church. He partakes of all its virtues, and of many of its defects. Hence if we find him deficient in intellectual freedom, he is animated by all the freedom and power which resided in the church; and in his active career he rose above misty speculations and worldly influences at least more than the leaders of the church itself. He was willing to yield up his own will and his own opinion; and we may therefore, in conclusion, speak of his modesty as a prominent feature of his character. Anselm was, perhaps, conscious that he was not formed for the higher offices of the church; hence it was, that in every way he opposed his appointment to the places of abbot and of archbishop. But we cannot deem it unnatural that this opposition was regarded by others who did not understand his spirit, as only the effect of a secret ambition. No greater injustice could be done to him than by such a suspicion; hence, in showing its injustice, he appeals to his former life. For thirty-three years he had been a monk; he had obtained the love of all persons in higher stations who knew him; the better they were acquainted with him, the stronger was their affection for him; but no one had seen in him any traces of pride. He calls God to witness, that if it were not for his duty to God and the church, he would rather have served in poverty under an abbot, in the capacity of a monk, than rule over others, in earthly dignity and splendor.

Thus, says our author, Anselm was "a man after God's own heart," an ornament of his church, an ornament of the age, and an ornament of all times.

His practical ability was of the utmost importance for the fame of the church. But his principal and more enduring merit is as a theologian. [And in particular his views of the doctrine of the atonement are of the highest importance to dogmatic theology. By his labors here, he stands, a lofty pillar, a solitary but sightly waymark, holding, in respect to this doctrine, the same relation as Athanasius, at an earlier period, did to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and Augustine to the doctrines of grace.]

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ARTICLE IV.

THE WHALE FISHERY, AND THE WHALEMEN.

Rise and Progress of the Whale Fishery, with Historical Facts relative to Nantucket. By OBED MACY. 1835.

The Whaling Interest. Vol. V, Chap. 12, U. S. Exploring Expedition. 1845.

Brown's Whaling Cruise. Harpers. 1846.

VARIOUS considerations of a national, philanthropic and religious character, contribute to invest the whale fishery, and the nearly one score thousand of hardy, suffering and endangered seamen employed in it, with a transcendent interest. We sit down to pen this article with the conviction that hitherto this subject has not received adequate attention. Our own might not even now have been turned to it, had not our lot been cast in closer proximity than heretofore, to the principal scene of this enterprise. Though, for obvious reasons, the religious interests of these thousands of whalemen is the chief object, it may not be undesirable to prepare the way for its promotion, by a few preliminary statements in reference to the origin, history and extent of the whale fishery. This will at least give more completeness to the view presented, and possibly may convey desirable information on this subject to some of those who have not investigated it.

It is probable that as early as the closing part of the ninth century of the Christian era, the Norwegians began to prosecute this arduous and hazardous enterprise. From the rather vague statements on this subject which have come down to us, it would seem that they confined themselves to capturing a few whales in their bays and harbors. Nor is there any reliable record of more general and extensive operations in this business, till the Biscayans, some three or four centuries later, engaged it, when from Bayonne, Rochelle and other places, ships of small burthen were fitted out for the whale fishery. The small

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whales then taken do not seem to have been very productive of oil; but the flesh was used as an article of food, and the whalebone was applied to various purposes, and brought a very high price. Near the end of the sixteenth century, both the Dutch and English, in the vain endeavor to find a passage to India through the Northern Ocean, laid open the haunts of the whale, and began to prosecute the enterprise of their capture. Even then they employed the Biscayans, before mentioned, as their harpooners, and for a considerable part of their crew. The Dutch speedily acquired a decided superiority over all their competitors in this business. When in the most flourishing state, about the year 1680, they employed as many as two hundred and sixty ships and 14,000 sailors in the whale fishery.

From the year 1660,—or forty years after our pilgrim fathers found a home in New England,—down to the end of the seventeenth century, there seem to have been various, and so far as can now be ascertained, nearly simultaneous and independent attempts to prosecute this business by the inhabitants of Cape Cod, those of Nantucket, and some of the British subjects in the bays around the Bermuda islands. Probably the first account of fishing for the *sperm whale* was by Massachusetts men, about 1720. Fifty years later, viz. from 1771 to 1775, Massachusetts alone employed annually one hundred and eighty-three vessels in the North Atlantic Ocean, and one hundred and twenty-one vessels of larger burthen in the South Atlantic. The first attempt to establish the sperm whale fishery from Britain was made in 1775. Nine years later, the French undertook to revive the prosecution of this business. The king, Louis XVI, fitted out six ships himself, from Dunkirk, and procured his experienced harpooners from Nantucket: others emulated the example of that monarch, so that before the French revolution, that nation had forty ships in this service.

The revolutionary war of the American Colonies, and the wars of the French revolution destroyed this flourishing branch of marine enterprise in both countries. Just previous to the war, Massachusetts employed in this service three hundred vessels and 4000 sailors, about one half of which were from Nantucket alone. During that war, fifteen vessels of this island were lost at sea, and

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one hundred and thirty-four were captured by the enemy. The loss of life in prison ships and elsewhere, and the immense loss of property shows that Nantucket paid as dearly in that struggle for liberty as any portion of our country.

In 1792, the people of New Bedford turned their attention to this business. During the preceding year, some Nantucket ships had for the first time visited the Pacific in prosecution of this enterprise; and from that time, up to the war of 1812–15, there was a regular progression in this business. Since that period, also, the vessels of the United States employed in this fishery have vastly exceeded those of any other country. The number at present is about seven hundred ships and barques, with an aggregate of nearly 20,000 seamen, about one half of the whole sailing from the district of New Bedford. The annual value of oil and whalebone brought into the country is estimated at 7,000,000 dollars, in the crude state, to which the process of manufacture adds nearly 2,000,000 dollars more. The whole amount annually exported exceeds two million dollars. These data will give a tolerably correct view of the extent and pecuniary importance of this enterprise. Besides the more direct advantages of draining up from the great and wide sea such an amount of pecuniary value, to add every year to the wealth of the country, there are many indirect benefits of a national and commercial, a humane and religious character, well worthy of consideration. The whale fishery has opened the way for commercial intercourse of great value and importance in every quarter of the globe, and with many nations and tribes of men before unknown, or reckoned so savage and unapproachable as to defy all beneficial intercourse. The connection with the natives of many of the islands of the Pacific, has introduced among them a knowledge of and taste for the advantages of civilization. The *kanaka* of these islands, who has mingled with American seamen during a voyage of many months, and especially he who has visited the United States, viewed our cities and towns, with all the multiplied comforts and advantages here found, to which before he had been an entire stranger, becomes on his return home, another sort of man; distinguishable readily by superior cleanliness, dress and assimilation to those he has visited

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in manners and habits. And when, as has often been the case, they are truly converted to God, the divine influence which they may henceforth be expected to exert on their contemporaries and successors, is incalculable.

But it is requisite we should take another, though less welcome view, of the sufferings and perils of these seamen who go in jeopardy of their lives, to bring to us from the other side of the globe, and from almost every line of latitude and longitude accessible to man, the comforts and luxuries drawn from the deep. Let us try to enter into a fair estimate of several items in the catalogue of their miseries. The privations they suffer, in various ways, form one of these items. These consist of a long detail of physical and social, as well as moral and religious deprivations. Their voyages are generally very long, and the provision for their comfort, for the most part, must be acknowledged very scanty and inadequate. Cut off from cleanly and wholesome food and clothing, which in our land of plenty it is the privilege of the humblest on shore to possess, the aggregate of sufferings from this source, even when they are not put on short allowance, and in danger of having to turn cannibals and feed on one another, is sufficiently revolting and painful. Diseases which are the direct result of such a course of life, especially the loathsome and deadly scurvy, is wont to make sad havoc among those crews who pay least regard to cleanliness and to requisite variety of food, and to the promotion of cheerfulness, and a hopeful, vigorous activity of mind among the common sailors.

Then again, the whaleman is torn from his home, his kindred; he sunders, certainly for a long season, and very likely for ever, many of the dearest and most sacred ties which bind man to earth. The claims of wife and children, of parents, brothers, sisters, to his presence, society and present aid, must all be annulled at the call of their duties on the sea. To some minds of the rougher and more brutal character, the sufferings on this account may be comparatively small; but a far larger proportion than is usually imagined, do endure poignant anguish from this source.

Moral and religious privations, too, require to be taken into account. We have personally conversed with not a few, especially of the young, who have in this way been

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exposed for a voyage or two; and their testimony uniformly has been, that for the whaleman the opportunities of cultivating his moral and religious nature are painfully scanty and inadequate. The dark, miserable forecastle is his only home; and its narrow confines are to be shared with a score of associates, the majority of whom, in almost every instance, sneer at every semblance of piety, and every habit of devotion. Without wholesome air or adequate light, without opportunity for reading the Scriptures or other good books, or to lift up the voice in prayer; with profanity and licentious conversation and songs, pouring their ceaseless tide over them, how small is the hope that those who have apparently begun the Christian course will make progress, or even be kept from sad declension! How much less prospect there is, that the sinner and the scoffer will be turned from the error of their ways to the wisdom of the just!

In the next place, among what may be regarded their minor miseries should be reckoned the frequent loss of their hard earned property. If this loss fell only or chiefly on the affluent, were it a mere subtraction from the accumulated gains of those who reckon their wealth by millions, or by scores or hundreds of thousands, it would matter less; but in a vast majority of cases, the loss of disastrous voyages falls on those who have scraped together their little all, made up of the hard earnings and careful savings of months or years, to make one grand adventure in the shape of an outfit, or perhaps a very small share in the vessel or the profits of the voyage, and then the ruthless sea sweeps all away in an hour. Its hidden rocks and sands, its mistaken currents, its desolating storms, its leaky vessels, its violent alternations of climate, have blasted many a hope and brought back the poor tempest-tost mariner penniless to his starving and long expectant family. On no part of this subject has the public opinion been more wide of the truth, than in the estimate formed of great pecuniary profit to seamen employed in the whale fishery. We have carefully inquired into this matter, and the result reached from a somewhat extensive investigation is, that common seamen are on an average more scantily compensated in this, than in almost any branch of service at home or abroad. They have no wages at all; and the *lays* allowed them, especially if

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inexperienced, and if subject to the large deduction for outfit and for supplies of various kinds charged to them throughout the voyage, bring home nearly one half of them in debt or penniless, at the end of a three years' voyage.

Again, the oppression and indignity often suffered by the crew from the captain,—who, clothed with absolute authority, is tempted to act the petty tyrant over those subject to his control,—is a fruitful source of wretchedness to all concerned. We presume it is too true, that many now enlisted as seamen in our whale ships are of desperate and hardened character, who require a stringent discipline to preserve the ship from the wildest disorders; but it is one of the infelicities of the system, as now pursued, that all are reduced to this bad level; and that little which is humanizing and improving is introduced to heal these waters of bitterness. To a free-born American, accustomed to all the privileges of self-government and freedom regulated by law, nothing can be more odious and intolerable than subjection to the capricious whims of an unrestrained despot,—especially, as is too often the case, where a cruel disregard is manifested by him to all the claims and rights of humanity; where selfishness, passion and retaliation are the presiding impulses, which expel all better feelings. Brown's Whaling Voyage, the last of the works referred to at the beginning of this article, presents a spectacle of this kind, which, we are inclined to think, is much worse than the common average, but by no means rare. Brutal floggings with the rope's end on the bare back of a man triced up in the rigging, for the merest trifle; putting men in irons and half starving them to death, or leaving them destitute on foreign shores, are not to be thought of, except in cases of utmost exigency. Yet such is by no means the rare experience of whalemen, at the hands of masters who ought to regard their crews with parental affection.

It has generally been remarked,—we know not with how much truth,—that as a class, and of course with many honorable exceptions, the masters of whale ships are less intelligent, less refined and of course less humane than captains of our merchant-men; that the owners regard a good whale-catcher as the chief requisite in their

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qualifications. This, if true, may account for much of the above evil.

Another item in this catalogue is the peril and loss of life. It is not easy from any general returns, to make out a definite and accurate statement on this subject, on account of the great fluctuation and various changes which occur more or less in all the crews, in the course of their long voyages. Many Portuguese sailors are taken in at the Western islands, and the natives of the Sandwich and other islands of the Pacific are also employed to a considerable extent, while a considerable portion of the crew which originally sailed, either by sickness or casualty are disabled from active service, and leave their ships, though it is hoped and believed that many of these find their way back again to this country. But judging from the very nature of the case, without unduly relying on such returns as might be deceptive, the loss of life in this service is fearfully great. From the increasing scarcity and shyness of the whales for the last few years, there has been more of reckless daring in the attempt to capture them. A ship's crew who have been fruitlessly searching for their prey many months, if they descry one or more, will run risks for securing them, which prudence, under other circumstances, would utterly forbid. A kind of frenzy seems to pervade the whole company; each boat-steerer and his little crew, vieing with the rest in determination to achieve their hazardous purpose or perish in the attempt. Hence they are led to exposures from which many of them do not escape. If to this be added the increased length of voyages now,—nearly double the number of months being required to fill up a ship, to what was formerly allowed—and the temptation felt and too often yielded to, to practise a niggardly economy in the outfit, or in the purchase of seasonable supplies, thus inducing diseases that shorten life,—it cannot but be admitted that a whaleman vastly increases his risks of an early death, unless more care and precaution are used than usual. The service itself, is by no means unhealthy.

We have left ourselves but brief space to indicate the improvements, physical and moral, which this service now loudly calls for, and which seem to be practicable. In order to their introduction, the cordial assent and vigorous coöperation of the ship owners are indispensable.

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The United States government may aid in this in several ways, as intimated by Captain Wilks of the Exploring Expedition, whose manly and noble advocacy of needed reforms here and elsewhere entitle him to the nation's gratitude. As he suggests, there should be regular and adequate rations for the men, fixed by law, in the merchant service, and especially in the long voyages of whale ships, as much as in the navy. Some reforms, too, in the system of remunerating and regulating the duties of United States consuls in foreign ports is loudly called for, and must not be denied. The abuses and collisions between bartering consuls and buying captains, spoken of freely by Capt. Wilks, and almost bitterly by Mr. Brown, must be put a stop to, at whatever pecuniary cost to our government. We are inclined to think, also, that forecastle accommodation for seamen might be regulated by law. Or, if that should be thought impracticable, let the law of public opinion be brought to bear upon that ship owner whose parsimonious spirit would otherwise prompt him to value more highly a few more barrels stowage in the hold, rather than the healthful accommodation of the sinews which must fill those barrels and that hold. That omnipotent public sentiment which can be made to frown into disgrace and intolerable banishment from companionship with the good, the accursed traffic in rum or in slaves, may also bring down its withering frown on the heartless being who would wring blood from the sailor's hand or heart, but refuses him for years a place better than a dog-kennel for his home!

When the above reforms are secured, almost every thing will depend on the masters and crews. If we could hope to gain the ear of both these classes, we would earnestly inculcate some things which if adequately considered by them, would vastly promote their mutual comfort, their self-respect, and their success. Respectfully but earnestly we beg leave to insist that the man so destitute of self-control that he cannot or will not govern his passions, and restrain his cupidity, should never allow himself in the command of a whale ship. Then, in the midst of the common excuses for the master's severity and moroseness to his crew, because of their alleged incapacity to feel or be duly controlled by any other influences, it is worth while, perhaps, to intimate to him, that so long

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as he will try, perseveringly try, no other and gentler methods, it is quite impossible for him to know that no other and milder measures would avail. What a perfect burlesque on human nature itself, to suppose that generosity, kindness, love, will not sway the human heart. Why, these will tame even tigers; and they have never yet failed to influence benignly those on whom they have been discreetly expended. Then, if severity comes at all, you array the conscience of the punished on the side of rightful authority.

If masters and mates, or at least some one of the officers in every ship, were men of prayer, prepared to act as both patriarch and priest in that household—the ship's company; if every day God were acknowledged and his blessing unitedly sought, can it be doubted that humanizing and meliorating influences of most salutary character and wide efficiency would thereby be effected? At a period when the labors of Christian men as colporteurs and in other similar vocations are so widely called into requisition, is it not deserving of serious regard, whether some of them may not find an appropriate sphere of service in every large whale ship? One third of a hundred of immortal beings would here be continually under the influence of such a man, besides many opportunities of access to the heathen, or the semi-civilized and Christianized inhabitants, where for months his ship might be lying to refit. We confess this thought has often crossed our minds; and were our own years a score less, if other duties did not imperatively forbid, we would love to be associated in some sphere we might be competent to fill, with such a company, and try whether "prayer and pains, and faith in Christ" might not accomplish blessed reforms for this class of men. Of course a good understanding should be secured with master and mates beforehand, so that all should yield a willing assent, or at least throw no impediments in the way of such attempts to bless the whole ship's company. Alternately in the cabin and the forecastle might such religious services be held, so arranged as to accommodate each watch of the ship, the officers and seamen alike. Nor can we doubt that a ship so arranged would become more inviting to a better class of sailors; and, where other things were equal, would always be preferred. Thus officered, manned and conduct-

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ed, does any man who believes there is a God, who rules the winds and waves and the monsters of the deep, doubt of the superior success of this ship to that of one where vice produces disorder, where cruelty leads to mutiny, where mutual alienation and hate cut the sinews of all generous coöperation?

Nor is it undeserving the regard of the crew, that if they do not respect themselves and the truth, and the reasonable claims of shipmates and officers, they will have only themselves to blame if they lose the respect of God and man alike. It is not more true and reasonable that "good officers make good sailors" than is the converse, that good crews will make good officers. In almost all cases of difficulty there is wrong on both sides, in the end if not in the beginning. "To strive therefore to be blameless, cheerfully obedient and prompt at every requisition," should be the determined resolve of every good seaman. The happy results of the temperance reformation are already manifest, and call for admiration and gratitude. Why should they not prove the harbingers of other much needed reforms? Economy of time should provide some good and improving reading or study, or employment of some kind, for the many, many hours which are otherwise likely to hang heavily, and lead through idleness to corruption and sin. So plentiful is now the supply of good books, that it must, for the most part, be their own fault, if any ship's crew now sail unfurnished with a well selected ship's library. Economy of money should lead every sailor to secure means beforehand to procure his own outfit, and such means of refitting as the length of the voyage is likely to require, with some ready money in coin of convenient size for use at the ports where the ship may touch. A saving of more than a hundred per cent. may thus be secured, and on the return a handsome sum will usually be forthcoming as a remuneration for such toils, exposures and outlay.

Those who fear and serve God will scarce need to be conjured carefully to abstain from beastly indulgences in foreign ports. The time was when such abominable wickedness used to be practised by whale ships, among the heathen, as once provoked a holy God to send fire from heaven upon Sodom. And when the missionaries of the cross began their work of healing mercy among

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these heathen, and laid some salutary restraint on the lustful depravity of these visiting ships' crews, who does not remember the loud and foul reproaches which the latter attempted to cast upon the former? The truth is now generally known and confessed; and the missionaries have won the high meed of approval which their noble disinterestedness deserved from both friends and foes.

Nor can we close these suggestions without earnestly bespeaking the aid of the religious public in assisting to secure the reforms here advocated. In the country as well as in the town or city, in the interior no less than on the sea-board, there is "a needs-be" for arousing and wisely directing the public mind to these topics; for very many of those thousands who throng our whale ships are the sons of staid yeomen, far away from the ocean. The roving spirit of adventure lures thousands every year from their comfortable homes to engage in this kind of service. To disabuse their minds of many wild hallucinations, and dispel their golden dreams, such works as those named at the beginning of this article should be widely diffused. The first has many interesting incidents of Nantucket, besides its development of the origin and early history of whaling. The last is also fraught with unwonted interest from beginning to end, and gives the impressions of a shrewd but rather wild Kentuckian, who "was out of cash, and went a whaling"; besides much useful information of Zanzibar. The Christian will here learn how important and pressing are the urgencies which call on him to pray for the fulness of the sea to be given to the Saviour.

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ARTICLE V.

THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER.*

By Rev. James N. Granger.

Brethren of the Society for Missionary Inquiry:

We have come to celebrate, with you, the anniversary of your Association. Among the exercises of this festival week, there are none more appropriate, at once to your pursuits and to ours, than those exercises in which you have invited us to participate this evening. While engaged in your professional studies, you have, by means of this Society, kept before you the realities of active life. While you have been examining our sacred Scriptures and studying the nature and history of Christian doctrine, and the philosophy of moral influence, you have not forgotten the living world before you. On the borders of the opening field we meet to-night: you, with your anticipations; we, with our short experience. If any of us have obtained a nearer view, yours has been a wider and more animating one. The nations of the earth have passed in review before you, as if candidates for the prize of Christian men. The kingdoms of Europe, the tribes of heathenism, the churches of America, have seemed to urge their claims. It is therefore proper, that to-night, we consider matters pertaining to our common hopes and pursuits. Although the society is strictly a missionary society, as its name indicates, yet, thanks to missionary enterprise, the work of missions and the work of the ministry are no longer to be regarded as unlike, either in their nature, or their conditions, or their relations.

* The present article was delivered as an address before the Society of Missionary Inquiry of the Newton Theological Institution, on an Anniversary occasion, and at that time requested by the Society for publication. Circumstances have delayed its appearance; but we are happy to be the organ of its presentation to the Christian public in the present manner and form.

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For a theme appropriate to this occasion, I look to those who have called me here. I see before me the Christian, the scholar, the preacher: the man of studies as well as of piety: the lover of science, as well as of Christ. I think of the steps by which you have reached your present purpose to devote your lives to the explanation, the defence and the enforcement of the Christian doctrine. I think of the views of the great and worthy objects of human pursuit, which have been successively opened to you. A liberal education in the colleges and professional schools of our land throws some light on the nature and the extent of knowledge in every department of human speculation. It not only proposes a thorough discipline of the mental faculties, but some acquaintance with their beautiful and enduring fruits, with the meaning and power of language, with the treasures of literature, with the most important discoveries of the inductive philosophy, and with those bodies of exact knowledge which we term the sciences. You never will know a time when these things will not be valuable to you, not only for their own sake, but for yours, as Christian ministers. They will exert an abiding influence over you, which it will be your delightful duty to acknowledge. But the embassy on which you are soon to enter the world will hereafter employ you. It is a work unlike all others, and you must *do* it. You already understand its nature too well to suppose that you are hereafter to make equal progress in the studies or practice of any other profession. This is your office; to magnify it should be your strong purpose. But while you pause on this high standing point, thinking of the work before you, and of the work you leave behind, it may be well for you, and well for all of us to ask, what is the relation, which, in the world of thought, you are henceforth to sustain to those, who, having taken the same general and preparatory survey that you have taken, have made a different selection, and are now ready to fulfil the mission of educated mind in other departments of labor. It is no question whether the effects of disciplinary culture on the individual can remain the same in both cases. It surely can, if each is true to himself and to his calling. But there is another and a greater question to be considered: may the Christian minister expect, in all the beliefs he entertains, in all the processes

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by which he secures and defends them, in all the practical duties which they legitimately impose, to be permitted to preserve, unrebuked by his religion, the true scientific spirit? In the apprehension and colligation of facts, is he to search with the patience, to challenge with the fearlessness, to receive with the meekness, which science ever imposes on her votaries? Is he to be placed under the conditions of inquiry, induction and application, to the steady enforcement of which the world confesses that it is indebted for doctrines of solid certainty and value? It is admitted that science aids in forming men for the work of the ministry—but, when it has formed them, and they are true to their calling, are they scientific workers in it? May they be, and ought they to be? And if they are, then, in what respect does the great work which Christianity imposes on its disciple and defender, resemble that of the successful philosopher; and, in what respect is the former unlike the latter, and superior to it? To a consideration of these questions, I invite your attention.

I would not chill piety by attempting to bring Christianity down to the level of any system of philosophy, or of any body of human science. But if there are certain established conditions on which all other successful inquiry after facts, and on which all right use of facts depend, I would ascertain, if possible, the value of those conditions to the man, before whom are crowded into one wide field of view, the scattered facts and truths of revelation, and the moral beings to whom they are addressed.

I go upon the supposition that, to some extent, the laws of philosophical inquiry, and the ends it proposes, are fixed and known. The science of man and the science of nature are no unmeaning or undetermined things. On various subjects of human speculation, our knowledge has assumed a substantial character. Whatever be the department which we enter, to travour philosophy denies the correctness of all our convictions, we can point out certain facts which have been ascertained, and certain general laws which have governed inquiry and induction. Whatever be the range of our speculation, there are certain known conditions on which truth is to be attained, and something already settled respecting the difference between true knowledge and its precarious semblances. Even the sci-

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ence of mind, whose materials are all matters of consciousness, whose phenomena are revealed only to the spiritual eye, whose laws are the habits which govern their interpreter, has furnished him with some substantial truth, and taught him how to use it. There are certain mental processes which govern, both in the causal and in the classifying sciences. There are several analogies, some of which belong to the essence of truth, and others to the pursuit of it. But, do these analogies extend over and through the domain of Christian truth? Do these processes extend beyond the interpretation of its records and the proof of their genuineness, and govern in its application to the hearts and consciences of men?

1. In the first place, I remark that it is something to our present purpose, that Christianity addresses the human mind, and for the purpose of engaging in its service those faculties which find employment in all the departments of speculative pursuits. The fact is well enough known,—but observe it in the connection in which we have introduced it. If any thing respecting the design of the Creator may be inferred from the properties of his works, we may be assured that the human mind was intended to serve as a self-acting instrument for the discovery and right employment of truth. He placed man on the earth. He spread out before him its orders and classes of objects, and made him lord of all. No where can the creature turn, not even to the world of thought and of feeling within him, where glories are not revealed and voices are not heard. He has measured the orbits of the planets, and his this day's distance from the stars. In compelling nature to disclose her hidden operations, and to employ her mightiest forces in obedience to his will, he has seen the grandeur of real achievement eclipse the creations of fancy.

To this same man Christianity speaks. It addresses every known susceptibility [illegible] nature. It employs every faculty. Indeed the simple statement of this fact is only another method of asserting the analogy which we seek. If Christianity is from God, how can it be that it is not adapted to all the constitutional habits and innate convictions of the being it addresses?—that it is not to be credited on the ground of evidence which is seen, practiced on the ground of obligation which is proved and

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felt, and applied to its subject at those points, which a true philosophy of man, and which one comprehensive and generalizing survey of the facts and the doctrines, the powers and the uses of the Christian system, shall indicate? Is it right to do this? Is it lawful and fit? Take a single illustration:—the application to the sacred art of preaching of the principles and laws of higher rhetoric. What are these laws, but the just statement of the unalterable and universal conditions on which the completest effect of public speaking must depend? They are available, as well to the Christian preacher, as to the Grecian master of eloquence. Whatever be the object proposed, whether the salvation of a state or of a soul, they are the conditions which human nature every where acknowledges, and which Christianity does not disdain. They blessed the golden mouth of Chrysostom; they possessed the souls of Bossuet and Massilon; and they drew Hume "twenty miles to hear Whitefield preach."

2. It is still more to our purpose to remark that the materials for all true science are *facts:* its business is, the proof, the statement, and the right use of that which *is.* For more than two hundred years this doctrine has held sway in the intellectual world. It was not always so. The time was, when the mandate of the received philosophy was, invent truth; create it. It is now commanded, find truth, and use it for its own ends, which it will tell you. The Baconian philosophy is not what the style of its immortal guide-book would at first suggest, an *organ*, a newly invented instrument for discovering truth; but it is a statement of the unalterable and universal conditions on which truth enters the understanding. Like the syllogism of Aristotle, philosophy does not create, but analyze. Bacon did not make a road through the wilderness, but he prepared a map of it. Next to this achievement, his greatest glory is, that he convinced the world that it is better to travel here, than to attempt bold adventures on cross-cuts and highways of their own engineering. He was not like Moses, to whom the verse of Cowley compares him, a law-giver, but like the true Christian minister, a law-interpreter. What Bacon has done on a large scale, every plain man is doing, and always has been doing, on a small scale. The doctrines of

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common sense, and the natural impulses of reason, are the only guide to knowledge.

It is, perhaps, impossible for any one to say to what extent the world is indebted to the indirect influence of revealed religion for this reform. But it should not be forgotten that Christianity, whose facts have been subjected to the severest ordeal of historical criticism, whose truths have been multiplying their analogies to the natural laws of Providence to an extent which of itself seems to assert that the Author of nature and the Author and Finisher of Redemption are one and the same Being, had all along been summoning the world to attend to *its* facts, to understand and to use them, and that it had fearlessly dignified the application of its highest principles and rewards to the humblest offices of life: "the gift of a cup of cold water only, because ye belong to Christ, shall not lose its reward." As fearlessly, too, had it chained the understanding down to those things which were given it to know, and had forbidden the waste of time and of talent, in attempting to add to the substance of religious truth, by anathemas on the soul, which, although pertaining strictly to subjects of eternal importance, easily suggest, in this connection, the blighting maledictions of the modern reformer in the methods of science, on the labors of alchemists and scholastics: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book." And as man gives up, in one department of nature after another, the vain chase after the unsubstantial archetypes of his fancy, in order to embrace the truth that is, it is cheering to note the analogies which theoretical and practical religion afford to the lawful operations and results of human science. Two single precepts, embodying the sense of Christian duty and reward, "buy the truth and sell it not," "this do, and thou shalt live," are easily, in a new application, converted into *dicta imperatoris*, which the whole realm of science will delight to obey.

When, however, we pause to look at the characteristics of the present age, it must be confessed that there are some indications of a retrograde movement. Theories and rules, in government, in social order, and in religion, are boldly set forth as claiming the faith and the obedience of the world, whose claim no one pretends has ever

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been *proven*, but which claim not only the multitude, but also the educated mind, affirms to be valid notwithstanding. We know not whether this is because science is beginning to press too closely to the side of Revelation, and is claiming fellowship for the doctrine of Christ, or whether men are conscientiously disposed to try again the ancient doctrine of the perfect, self-generated *idea*. One thing is certain, that if the latter afford the true explanation of the present tendency of things in philosophy, the harmless *idea* of the ancients is to be converted into a strange and fearful power by means of its unnatural union with the modern doctrine of utility. While nothing is now to be believed in, simply because it has been tried and proven, every thing is to be risked for the *idea*. Government is to be broken up to its foundations; the social order is every where to be disturbed; while the blessed charities of the home-circle are to be extinguished forever, and the family constructed upon a new basis of economy. I never understood, until I looked at the subject in connection with these facts, the profound wisdom which the old Platonists exhibited, when they despised, as they heartily did despise, the man who studied philosophy for its beneficial uses. They scorned him: they said that he was no true philosopher. It was a most benevolent hate. It was not merely an aristocratic pride, cultivated in the narrow walks of intellectual breeding. For had each trained thinker felt himself compelled to construct after the model of his *idea*, had he only the short-sighted benevolence of his modern copyists, what endless confusion would have followed at once; what breaking up, and putting together, and taking apart again; what departing and returning; what marrying and divorcing; what confusion in trade, in education, in government, in all the relations and actions and language of life. However excellent be the private life of the modern who has consented to this philosophy; (a philosophy which once revealed itself only to minds of exalted genius, and to them, only after years of profound inquiry and intense application to the object, in the shades of the Academy;) however extensive be his information, and however disciplined his powers under the teaching of the principles which he practically abjures, still the application of his theories to the real world of things, to which they have no constitu-

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tional adaptation, tends only to idleness, disappointment and infidelity. In sober language, it is the substitution of fancies for facts, and the demands of unlicensed wishes for the authority of legitimate induction.

On the other hand true science, like true religion, is the right use of what God has given us to know. It begins with what only is real and known; it fixes a long and searching gaze upon it, states it clearly, discovers its relations and conditions, and the legitimate uses for which experience, and nothing but experience, proves that it was given. Science is formed, not created. Like the temples of old Greece, it is a thing of solidity and beauty, embracing the materials which compose it in their exact relations and necessary dependencies, all of which are adjusted after the suggestions of a ripened taste, and compacted by the generalizing power of the artisan mind. It is nothing but full, out-speaking truth. Science is but doing truthfully what is the instinct of every human mind to try to do: the victory of trial and time and genius over a child's rude picture-chalkings and paper-buildings; it is the savage's hut, first formed of living saplings withed together at the top, now grown into the lofty and pointed arch, the Gothic colligated pillar, with branches and leaves and flowers carved in enduring stone. A feeble illustration, this, of the well formed and living Christian soul, when its blind religious impulses have been met by the facts and commandments, the truths and appliances of the Christian system; when the God-made world of Christian fact, like the world of external nature or the world of mind, is taken as simple fact, as that which is true and must be true; when the creating spirit, working through all the doctrines of truth, and addressing them to every faculty of man's spiritual being, forms the co-working soul into a glorious temple for his own abode.

3. Another fundamental condition of knowledge must here receive a separate notice, not only for the sake of the analogy we seek, but also in order to guard against any misinterpretation of the term *idea*, which has just been employed. It is therefore, in the third place, to be observed, that nothing is better settled in philosophy than that man possesses certain fundamental ideas, which are not derived from observation, but which improve their

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own conditions upon knowledge and upon the use of knowledge, which are as necessary to the very being of science, to the first inference it ventures and to the humblest truth it tells, as the completest array of facts that ever passed under the eye of a Newton or of a Locke. The self-born, but full formed idea of likeness governs in classification, of cause in mechanics, of space in geometry, of life in physiology, of right and wrong in ethics and religion. It may not be that philosophy has truly numbered them, or has appropriately named them; but she has identified them as certainly as chemistry, the most exact of all the sciences, has identified any of the elementary substances. Yea, to our convictions far more so. For in some form of statement, the language of every man and of every child confesses them, and consciousness denies the possibility of any further analysis. The statements of their existence is their completest demonstration; and we are now permitted to record the fact that they have taken their place in the body of well ascertained and received knowledge.*

But it will be perceived that nothing can be more unlike the existing fundamental idea, governing in all true experiments by virtue of its own activity and just inference, than those impressions which we call ideas, which are made upon the mind by things without it, or those forms into which the imagination constructs the recollections of impressions and sensations, and to which we give the same name. Yet these are the ideas which rule in all the narrow empiricism of the day, and are there clothed with the attributes of inspiration.

The true philosophical idea has a distinct and an appropriate office. It springs up within, to meet the world that comes to it from without, whether permanent relations or successive occurrences be the objects of attention. It enters the crowded and seemingly confused theatre of things, to unite itself, in the formation of true knowledge,

* The statement of the proposition given above, is supposed to express, with sufficient faithfulness, the fundamental doctrine on which Whewell's Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences rests, which doctrine is there presented in the most expanded statement and illustration which our language at present affords. The proof of the doctrine of innate ideas is much older; but hitherto they have been regarded more as curiosities to be ranged in the metaphysician's cabinet, than as powerful agents which are always employed in the discovery and right application of scientific knowledge.

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with every apprehension which the mind forms, whether of inert matter, living bodies, or mental states, and to tell to each thing or being its family relations and duties. It utters no oracles. It breathes no inspiration. It cannot speak words of determinate meaning even to the conscious soul which gives it birth, except to report what it has found. And then its voice is loud and significant only in proportion to the range and accuracy of its observation. It is therefore no substitute for close observation, hard thinking and rigid induction. It is not a divinity to utter the words of all true wisdom in the soul's secret chambers, but a divinity to inspire men to compare and to classify, to plod on and to try, for the ends of knowledge and the greatest good. Like Noah's dove, it goes not out to cut curious circles against the sky, but to find the solid ground below and to rest upon it.

How widely different is the doctrine of ideas which is now striving to rule in the philosophy of man, of government, of social order and of religion. Here the true order of progress in knowledge is despised. The reason is deaf to the teachings of experience. It turns with distaste from what merely has been and now is, from the story and lessons of the past, and from the wide and scientific view which history gives of the connections between objects and events, and ventures every thing for the sake of the pseudo-Platonic idea. The conception, which no analysis can resolve and no facts can justify, is exalted to the highest seat of authority, and made to rule in every department of human interest. Something is seen with the spiritual eye, and immediately the seer utters eternal truth. But the world has grown so old and so restless, that it will not listen to any thing which cannot be tried and realised. The rapt prophet therefore turns architect, and comes down to the dust and level of common things. He demolishes and constructs again, and fairly promises to be useful. But he is guarded at all points against fact and evidence. The lights of history go out before the brightness of the mind's own inspiration. In the intensity of its heat, all the attested facts of Christianity, the doctrine and the works of Christ, the resurrection of the body and the future life, are fused into spiritual essences, to be moulded anew and brought together again in the temple of this wondrous philosophy.

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It would seem that Paul might have had these teachers in his eye, when he said, "if any man think himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord: but if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant." When this form of the ideal philosophy enters the domain of Christianity, its proudest boast is that it clothes every true and beautiful thing there with an instantly regenerating power over the sensitive mind of the disciple. But of all kinds of insensibility, that which it creates and leaves behind it, is the hardest. I have known a youth softened by the simple story of Abel's blameless life and most unhappy death, who had no heart to feel either sympathy or justice at the recital of the tragedy of the ninth hour. Yet he has been reached and humbled by the doctrine of the cross. I have known a woman whose eyes would moisten over some fictitious story of human suffering, whose bosom would heave convulsively through all a drama's scenes, whose heart was yet as cold and as hard towards the dying Jesus, as were the proud daughters of Jerusalem, who kept high feast with dance and song in their palaces, whilst the Redeemer of the world was agonizing without the gate. Yet even she has lived to bathe the Saviour's feet with tears and to wipe them with the hair of her head. But the proud scorn of the transcendental sceptic, I have never seen exchanged for faith's quiet look, and pure devotion's glow.

The distinction which I have wished to point out between the false and the fundamental idea in the pursuits after knowledge and in the right employment of our acquisitions, is, as I have already remarked, one of the established doctrines of the true philosophy of mind. The mind has the faculty, under certain conditions, of forming necessary and universal conceptions, of perceiving absolute truths, and of passing absolute judgments. Supply the conditions, that is, present facts, open wide the field of experiment, and faithfully present its treasures, and the faculty enters into exercise, perceives truth and passes judgment.

In addressing the facts of Christianity to man's *religious idea*, (if from a too barren vocabulary, I may select the word,) is found the great work of the Christian preacher. Every thing which Christianity has to furnish

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him, all its sources of illustration, all its array of external and of internal evidence, its poetry and narrative, its prophecy and commandment, its doctrine and promise, are to be employed with wise reference to the indestructible idea of religious obligation. Christianity could not be true to man, nay, it could not be his religion, if there were nothing in him which could pronounce "the law holy, and the commandment holy and just and good." It is this quality of adaptation, reigning throughout the system, which is one distinguishing feature of our holy religion, and which more than intimates that the Redeemer is also the Creator.

It matters little by what name the idea of obligation is called, whether we make it a *sense* with Hutchinson, or a *king* with Butler, provided, only, that we do not philosophise upon the basis of the illustrating figure, instead of the living facts, and do not infer that right and wrong are the impressions of an external quality upon the sensorium. So to present the divine word that the soul, aroused and met at all points of sensibility by the appropriate facts of Christianity, shall superinduce its own idea of obligation upon the commandment, is the high aim of the Christian system in the hands of its expounder. There are other conditions, it is true: the submission of the sinner, and the work of the Holy Ghost; but neither the sinner's work nor the Spirit's work is the preacher's work. We at present are concerned only with the latter.

For this, all his previous acquisitions are only preparatory. For this he traces the chain of events up to the Christian era. From the testimony of writings, whose authenticity is fairly proven, he learns their inspiration, and bows with reverence before the Great Teacher, Prophet and King. From this point, he compares and classifies the sentiments of Christianty, and to the rich evidence for its truth, already furnished, now adds that of the "analogy of religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature." In his further preparation, the whole body of science and literature lends its aid. History gives him the form and trial of all religions and of all modifications of the true religion. Physical science enlarges the range of his thoughts; and the science of man confirms the anthropology of the Scriptures. In the interpretation of the sacred text, the whole body of classi-

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cal and oriental literature pays a rich, a cheerful, and an overwhelming tribute at his feet. It is for the work of the ministry that the whole man is educated. For this discipline sharpens his perceptions, strengthens his judgment, purifies his heart and his taste, and stores his mind with the richest classical, scientific, and scriptural allusion. He is now to go forth to his work. Again I ask,—may he, and shall he, be a scientific worker in it?

If you say that there are high religious motives which ought to govern, I grant all you say. But may I not ask whether the instances, which we behold all around us, of the steady and successful tasking of the mind solely for the ends of worldly science, ought not to shame the laggard pace at which we follow, in studying the noblest of all the sciences, and in practising our high art? If in teaching others we say, "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light," shall we not teach ourselves, also? There is before us the realm of pure and lofty truth; there are ends, worthy of an angel's trial. Were there nothing in the obligations we have already assumed to incite us, were there nothing in the imminent danger of sinful men, were there nothing in the commandment of Christ, and nothing in the promise of divine aid, even then there would be enough left to preserve the work of the ministry from degenerating into the little artifices of a contemptible profession. Every age has its peculiar dangers for the ministry, and here at present may be ours. It has been more than intimated, that, with all our superior facilities in books and colleges and theological seminaries, the race of intellectual giants is dying out of the land; that the world are looking in vain for the successors of the men, who, foremost in learning and talent, were foremost in the control of the manners and spirit and belief of their age; that even now it is not so much the strengthening of the current of worldliness and of infidelity which we have to deplore, as the want of the men to stem and to turn it. We need, brethren, to see what has been done in other departments of labor, and what has been done in our own, that we may wisely magnify our office. When Hooker first gave to England the science of law, and reared it only as a bulwark of defence before his Church Polity; when for the ends of religion, Butler demonstrated the moral con-

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stitution of man, which Edwards linked with iron bands to the sternest doctrines of Christianity, the world was confounded at discovering to what uses Christianity can be put, and what its truths and spirit can do for the human intellect. And it should be remembered that, in most instances, these men were not writers merely, but preachers and pastors, men who, like Edwards, lived to see their self-sacrificing labors, and their clear and adjusted doctrines, owned of the Spirit of all truth.

4. There is still another point of analogy, which easily suggests itself, but which, for its obviousness, need not be dwelt upon: the moral and intellectual qualities which each pursuit demands. Something which might here be said, has already been anticipated, but more remains.

In the ardent and enthusiastic pursuit after truth, which science always demands, in the steady adherence to the path chosen, in the quickness of perception, in the toil of experiment, in the moral hardihood which sacrifices theory to evidence, in the joy of discovery, in the patience which long pursues, in the faith and meekness which believe, in the benevolence which promises, and in the sympathy with kindred minds, religion equals, but far more than equals the demands of human learning.

I turn, in closing this address, to the wide, the immeasurably wide *differences* in the nature of the employments we have been regarding. And here I may well recal the remark of Lord Bacon, that the highest work of mind is not the discovery of resemblances, but of fundamental differences. As, however, we leave the field of analogies, we find the other and highest work of genius made ready to our hand. A Teacher sent from God is before us, whose voice is the voice of authority and not the voice of man. We are to receive what he has spoken; we are to become what he has commanded. "Lo!" he says, "I have told you." Whatever likeness the mode of acquiring and using other truth may have to the subjective Christian piety, there is a point beyond which the likeness disappears. No teacher, sent from God, has cleared up the problems of nature, and fixed on an immutable basis the sciences of government, of education, of physics and of mind. But One has come to us, whose life of holy virtues is our example, whose death is our redemption, whose commandment is our law. Even

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through the veil of his humanity there gleamed, at times, the light of the Deity; and when at length the veil fell, and the Mentor of the world stood the revealed God, glowing with all the light of the mount of transfiguration, before he left the earth and passed with joying angels into heaven, he left on long record this blessed commandment: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Yes, blessed Saviour, we believe in *Thee*. Before the light of thy countenance, the lights of all human wisdom go out in darkness! Before the authority of thy teachings and requirement, the inductions of reason and the testimony of experience are but the babblings of childhood!

Brethren! In the vast concerns of the immortal soul, nothing is to be risked for a theory; every thing is to be risked for Jesus Christ.

ARTICLE VI.

HEBREW STUDY IN ENGLAND DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The interest taken in the study of Hebrew during the reign of Elizabeth, was not at all repressed by the accession of James I to the English throne. That monarch, who had, when residing in Scotland, sought to obtain the services of Broughton, Cartwright and others as Hebrew professors there, and who himself made some pretensions to an acquaintance with the original language of the Old Testament, extended his patronage to this branch of literature, and not without good effect. In his address to the University of Oxford, he earnestly recommended the study of the "sacred text."

As might therefore be expected, Hebrew was at this time assiduously cultivated at Cambridge under Livlie and Spalding, and privately under Matthias Pasoz, son of the Greek lexicographer of that name, and at Oxford under Harding and Kilby. In this reign it does not appear that the public Hebrew lectures of the Universities were for any length of time unread, as was the case in the

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preceding reign, as we learn from Fulman's MSS. viii. 183, where we find it stated, that after the lecture at Oxford had been long neglected, arising from the protracted illness of the Hebrew professor, the vice-chancellor and University, at the recommendation of the chancellor, engaged the services of the celebrated Hooker. At this time, too, this language was taught at some schools. Lightfoot learned it at school, although he afterwards neglected it while a student at Cambridge, probably because at Christ's College, to which he belonged, Hebrew was then but little followed, compared with the attention paid to it at Trinity,* etc.

From what has already been said respecting the erudition of Elizabeth's time, it will not surprise us that no difficulty was found in procuring an adequate number of oriental scholars for our present version of the Bible, which was determined on in the first year of James's reign. The twenty-five translators of the Old Testament were eminent Hebraicians. Among them were six who, either at the time or subsequently, were professors of Hebrew at Cambridge or Oxford. Two other translations of the Bible from the original were, about this time, in progress, although never published. The one was by archbishop Usher's brother, the other by Jessey and Row.

During this reign, Hebrew printing in England appears to have been confined to a privileged party in London. No such printing had as yet been executed at either of the Universities. There was indeed but little need for it. The demand was, comparatively speaking, small. The Hebrew Bibles of Plantin and Stephens were those generally in use, together with the Cologne, Leyden and Geneva editions of the grammars of Bellarmine and Cevallerius, and the Leyden, Paris, Antwerp and Basle editions of the Lexicons of Pagninus, Munster and Forster. Most of these works were readily obtained not only of London booksellers, but even in many country towns, as is evident from numerous sources.

The study under review advanced rapidly during the reign of James's unfortunate son. In the promotion of

* In the election for the Regius professorship of Hebrew at Cambridge, preference always was and is given (cæteris paribus) to Fellows of Trinity College. Thus, all the eight professors of Hebrew in the eighteenth century were of that College.

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oriental learning, the all-powerful Laud materially aided. He urged his sovereign to collect oriental manuscripts—in which he also spent large sums, munificently befriended the celebrated Hebrew professor and Arabic scholar, Pococke, and others, established an Arabic professorship at Oxford, and gave to that University 1276 valuable manuscripts in Hebrew, Arabic, etc. To him was dedicated Viccar's "Decapla in Psalmos," containing some of the first specimens of Syriac and Arabic printing executed in England. This it is but just to say, although in every other respect, "we," to use the language of Macauley, "entertain" for the archbishop "a more unmitigated contempt than for any other character in our history."

Towards the close of this reign, Christian Ravis taught Hebrew in London House. This Berlin scholar was assisted and patronized by archbishop Usher. The Hon. R. Boyle, referring to the same period, says:—"After I had almost learned by rote an Hebrew grammar, to improve myself in Scripture criticism, I, not over cheaply, purchased divers private conferences with one of their skilfullest doctors; of whom I received few lessons, that cost me not twenty miles' riding, at a time when I was in physic and my health very unsettled."* From Burnet we learn that in Scotland at this time a knowledge of Hebrew was required of all who sought admission into orders in the Presbyterian church.†

It might, at first view, be supposed that the anarchy caused by the struggle between the king and the parliament, and which, after the death of Charles, continued till the "crowning mercy" of Worcester, would have exerted a baleful influence on Hebrew study. Professor Lee asserts that this was the case. His words are,—"The unhappy events which took place in the days of the first Charles, and continued for some time after to harass the country, had the effect of bringing the study of the Bible into disrepute." This, however, was not the case. The enlightened and determined advocacy of civil and religious liberty always stimulates to mental exertion and intellectual greatness. That advocacy, being in fact the utterance of awakened powers—the indignant remon-

* Boyle's MS.

† History of his own times, ed. of 1734, i, 35, ii, 674.

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strance of spirits conscious of their destiny and their native right, will, the more earnestly and authoritatively it is maintained, give birth to loftier desires and more vigorous efforts. Hence it is that English oriental and Biblical scholarship flourished in its palmiest state during the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and a few subsequent years.

Amid the very din of strife, some of the most erudite works of Pococke, Lightfoot, Selden, Usher and others first saw the light. Between the battles of Naseby and Dunbar, two editions (the first and the second) of Leigh's Critica Sacra—the best Hebrew-English Lexicon of the age, appeared. During the same period, the first Hebrew Grammar ever printed at Cambridge, and the first Hebrew Lexicon published in London, were issued. The only ordinance ever framed in England, requiring a knowledge of Hebrew on the part of all candidates for the ministry, was then passed. "It was likewise," says Leigh, in his Preface to the Critica Sacra, addressed to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, "a worthy task for our Parliament worthies, assisted with a Synod of judicious Divines, both to order the speedy publishing of excellent notes and animadversions upon the whole Bible, and also to provide (in the Directory for Ordination of Ministers) that all such as shall hereafter undertake the holy function of the ministry, shall first be examined touching their skill in the original tongues." In the very year of Charles's death, the English booksellers offered to purchase six hundred copies of Le Jay's Biblia Sacra Polyglotta in ten folio volumes. One year after the battle of Worcester, proposals were issued for the publication of Walton's celebrated Polyglott—the first book ever published in England by subscription. The first volume of this great work appeared in 1654, the last in 1657.* Significant and all-important facts these!

At this period, in the Universities, according to Anthony

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* The following eulogium on this work is taken from an oration of Lightfoot's in 1665, as vice-chancellor of Cambridge University:—"Opus æternæ famæ, monumentum memorabile in sempiterna sæcula futurum, summæ eruditionis, zeli, et in Deo bonarum literarum protectore fiduciæ cleri Anglicani jam tum summi periclinantis Macti estote, viri venerandi et doctissimi, qui in opere tam magnanimo desudatis. Pergite quod facitis trophæa vobis erigere, patriæque; et perlegant ope vestra omnes gentes sacra Biblia suis linguis; atque iisdem linguis, eadem ope predicentur fama eruditionis et literatura gentis Anglicanæ."

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a Wood, whose testimony is truly in this instance impartial, "education and discipline were more severe than after, when scholars were given more to liberty and frivolous studies." At Oxford, the celebrated oriental scholars Pococke, Gale, Harris, Langbaine, Clarke, Hyde and Bernard then resided, while Marsh, Huntingdon, Cumberland, Cawton and others, celebrated in after years for their erudition, were enjoying the privileges of the University. "Learning," says Bishop Burnet, "was then high at Oxford; chiefly the study of the oriental tongues, which was much raised by the Polyglott Bible then set forth." Nor were these pursuits less zealously followed at Cambridge, patronized as they were by Lightfoot, Wheelock and others. Numerous teachers of Hebrew, too, were engaged in instruction in various parts of the kingdom. Roger Williams was for some time thus employed in London.

At no time, either previously or subsequently, was English philosophy held in such repute as at this period. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards England. The most learned men on the continent, such as Alting, Bochart, Hottinger, Golius and Ludolf eagerly sought correspondence with its scholars, whom they regarded as second to none, and in many instances begged to be led by their direction. Foreigners from all parts repaired thither, attracted by the fame of Pococke, Lightfoot, Gataker and Usher.* Hottinger writing to Pococke by F. Miege, son of the vice-chancellor of the Elector Palatine, who had visited the Universities of Germany, tells him that the young scholar was on his way to England, "abstrusioris literaturæ sedem." Le Grange le Capellain speaks of one as going to the same country to pursue his

*The celebrated Locke thus writes of Pococke: "His name, which was in great esteem beyond sea, and that deservedly, drew on him visits from all foreigners of learning, who came to Oxford to see that University." "There are many," says J. H. Otho, addressing Lightfoot, "who have not enjoyed the privilege of making your acquaintance, who yet among other nations have heard of your fame, and who, after the perusal of your admirable works, have entertained for you the utmost veneration." Clarke, in his life of Gataker, speaks of "foreigners that sojourned with him, and were as ambitious of being entertained by him as if they had been admitted into a University." "His house," he says in another place, "was a private seminary for both Englishmen and foreigners, who resorted to him, lodged at his house, and received instruction from him." The celebrated Vossius in speaking of Usher, says:—"I cannot speak any thing so high of him, but his worth doth surpass it." And Paulus Testardus Blesensis styles him "the greatest honor of the church and age."

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oriental studies, "tanquam ad fontem unde felicius et uberius hauriri possit." The celebrated critic Otho, who studied some time at Oxford, eulogizes Pococke, Lightfoot and Guise in the highest terms, and acknowledges the great value of their advice and instruction. Indeed he professes his inability sufficiently to praise them. "What other land," says Surenhusius, having in view the period under consideration, "is more abundant in men born to oriental studies than England?"

The productions of these English Hebraicians were eagerly sought on the continent, frequently translated, and more highly esteemed than in England. The most celebrated continental scholars frequently dedicated their productions to these eminent men. Thus Spanheim, Ludovicus de Dieu and Morus dedicated works to archbishop Usher, and Sixtinus Amama to Langton and Prideaux.

The direct efforts of English scholars were not confined to their native land. Dr. Marsh, an intimate friend of Pococke's, and provost of Dublin University, says with reference solely to Ireland:—"We have not many that can judge of the original; but I hope to breed up good store that way, since we have an Hebrew professor's place lately settled in the college, to which lecture I make all the Bachelors of Arts attend, and be examined thrice every week; and they are likewise to be publicly examined in Hebrew before they can take their degree of Master of Arts, which I sometimes do myself."

To America, also, English students carried a knowledge of the Hebrew language. The studies of Harvard College at its origin, embraced Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac. From the book entitled, "New England's First Fruits," published in London, 1643, the following extract is taken:—"The fifth day reads Hebrew and the Eastern tongues. Grammar to the first year, houre the 8th. To the second, Chaldee, at the 9th houre. To the third, Syriac, at the 10th houre. Afternoon. The first year's practice in the Bible at the 2nd houre. The second, in Ezra and Daniel at the 3rd houre." From Neal we learn that at the Commencement of the same college, one of the candidates was required to pronounce an oration in Latin, Greek or Hebrew.

Such then was the state of Hebrew learning in Eng-

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land till the death of Cromwell. "Then came those days, never to be recalled without a blush—the days of servitude without loyalty, and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot and the slave." Amid such a state of things, the study under consideration of course declined, though somewhat gradually, as might be expected from the great attention hitherto paid to it.

Nine years after the Restoration, Castell's Heptaglott Lexicon made its appearance. It had been begun in 1657. At this work Castell labored for seventeen years, and maintained for that space of time at his own cost, seven Englishmen and seven foreigners, as transcribers. These all died before the work was finished. After having spent his own fortune, this indefatigable scholar was obliged to apply to Charles II for assistance, "that a prison might not be the reward of so many labors and such an outlay."* The king, and twenty-nine English and Irish bishops warmly solicited pecuniary aid for him, but without success. The nation had become impoverished and frivolous, and, more than all, oriental studies were on the decline. Folly was fashionable.

Previous to this, Bee's Critici Sacri, in nine folio volumes, had been published, and subsequently, Poole's Synopsis, in five volumes folio. Thus in about twenty years, "works printed in Hebrew, forming twenty-two vast folio volumes, were begun and finished in London by the industry and at the expense of a few English divines and noblemen." What other city can boast of the publication of such works in so short a period?

The Act of Uniformity, passed 1662, ejected very many ministers of the gospel from their pulpits. Of these, nearly one hundred are known to have been excellent and indeed profound Hebrew scholars. This rigorous usage, together with the levity of the times, the reaction

* In his Epistle Dedicatory, Castell gives the following account of his astonishing labors:—"I considered that day as idle and dissatisfactory, in which I did not toil sixteen or eighteen hours, either at the Polyglott or Lexicon." Who can read the following passage without a sigh:—"I had once," says he, "companions in my undertaking, partners in my toil; but some of them are now no more, and others have left me, alarmed at the greatness of the undertaking. I am now, therefore, left alone, without transcriber or corrector, far advanced in years, with my patrimony exhausted, my bodily and mental strength impaired, and my eyesight almost gone."

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of the somewhat austere and forcibly imposed religion of the Commonwealth, brought oriental and especially Biblical studies into disrepute. Castell's Arabic lectures, at first listened to with great applause, were soon so much neglected that he put over the school gates the following inscription:—"Arabicæ linguæ prælector cras ibit in desertum." Dr. Greaves, writing from Fulham, says of oriental studies:—"in these parts, for aught I observe, they are not much followed or regarded, and receive small encouragement from those who, I thought, would have been fautors and promoters of them." Nor does this decline appear to have been wholly confined to England. Professor Harder of Holland, successor to F. Golius, could not publish a work of his, "because oriental learning decays there, and books of that nature will turn to no advantage."

This inattention to Hebrew study, thus noticed as commencing, became more and more apparent. Towards the close of James the second's reign, Bishop Kidder uses the following language:—"The study of the Hebrew language hath, (I know not by what means,) been too much laid aside, and we have by this neglect been less able to convince the Jews. 'Tis certain that this study hath not only been neglected, but ridiculed also. . . . . The Jews are well pleased with our neglect of these studies: and those of them that are now in England, have been observed of late years, when a learned Christian hath died, and his books have been exposed to sale, to buy the whole collection of Jewish books. . . . . I knew a very choice collection or two of late, thus unhappily disposed of." In another place the learned bishop thus writes:—"The time hath been, even in the last age, that our kingdom hath been furnished with men as eminent this way, as any that ever appeared in the world; men that understood the Jewish learning incomparably better than the most learned of the Jews themselves. But these men are dead, and those studies have been too much neglected, and by too many despised also."

In the Universities especially, this decline in Hebrew learning became increasingly evident. Their present condition in this respect, as given by Professor Lee, himself Regius Professor of Hebrew in Cambridge University, has been their state for many, many years. It is

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thus described:—"Not only do the statutes of our colleges generally provide, that their societies should cultivate theology, but in many instances a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures is made necessary for the admission of their Fellows; and, in others, Hebrew lectureships have actually been established, which have unhappily degenerated into sinecures. The statutes of the Universities, too, require that candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity shall study the original Scriptures; and to meet this, Hebrew and Arabic professorships have been established, which have been either converted into sinecures, or have been almost entirely neglected." In another work, the same admirable scholar says, alluding to Walton, Castell, etc.: "After their day, indeed, Biblical and oriental literature greatly declined in this country. The unhappy events which took place in the days of the first Charles, and continued some time after to harass the country, had the effect of bringing the study of the Bible into disrepute: which, aided by the ribaldry of a vicious court, succeeded in completing the lamentable declension in this literature just now noticed. This, as it was likely, influenced our seats of learning. Professorships consequently became sinecures; and the only branches of learning cultivated, were those which were exclusively secular."

Surveying the whole period over which we have now glanced, a few things strike us as worthy of remark.

Hebrew printing was, as we have seen, confined by a patent to but one party in London during the reign of James I. It was not till some few years after this, that it was executed at either of the Universities. In 1638, we find W. Turner printing Hebrew at Oxford. A Hebrew press founded at the charge of the University, was not, however, in operation till the year 1655. The first work printed at it was Pococke's Porta Mosis. Indeed these letters, Dr. Twells tells us in his life of Pococke, were procured at the charge of the University, upon the assurance which Dr. Langbaine gave, "that something of Mr. Pococke's should be speedily printed with them." Before that time, many works had been printed at Cambridge in that language.

Even then, oriental printing was by patent confined to London, Cambridge and Oxford. In May 1636, an act

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was passed purporting to give encouragement to learning. It was to the following effect:—"That whereas in his Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and in his city of London, divers books, *not elsewhere printed*, have been reprinted in the dominions of foreign princes.... the king.... doth charge and command, that no person whatsoever shall import into the realm of England or Ireland, or dominion of Wales, out of the dominions of any foreign prince, or shall offer to put to sale any foreign edition, or any books or copies, either in Latin or Greek, or in the *Hebrew, Chaldea, Syriac and Arabic tongues;* the first edition of publishing whereof, hath been first come out of any press or house of printing in the *said universities*, or out of the *city of London.*" Rushworth p. ii. 322. Even as late as the seventh March, 1642, the printers of London presented to the Committee of the House a petition "for a better regulating of the art of printing, and the calling in of four several patents, which they conceived to be monopolies." The third of these was for printing books in *Hebrew*, Greek and Latin.

No sooner were the restrictions removed, than many engaged in this line of printing. From that period till the close of the century, the following printers, and probably others, were furnished with Hebrew type, viz: J. Junius and Ball, R. Cotes, Allestry, J. Dawks, S. Roycroft, A. Miller, R. Daniel, M. Flesher, M. Simonds, Bee, A. Mathews, J. Haviland and E. Millington of London, and Field, Hayes, Turner, etc. of Cambridge and Oxford. Most of these were contemporaries. At the beginning of this period, we learn from Sixtinus Amama, that in the celebrated Dutch University of Franckar only one printer possessed Hebrew type. This was the more surprising, since, by the efforts of that professor and Drusius, many synods had refused to admit candidates to the ministry unless they well understood Hebrew.

At first the type in use, which was obtained from the continent, was extremely inelegant. Soon, however, the illustrious Hebraicians of England effected a great change for the better,* as may be seen by comparing the He-

* Scholarship always effects this more or less with every language. Pococke was very particular about Arabic type. In a letter of his to Dr. Langbaine, he expresses his dislike to an Arabic character, and his desire that his friend would procure for him from London a new punchion and matrix. From Guigne's No-

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brew type in Gataker's "Lots," Godwin's "Moses and Aaron," "Fulke on the Rhemish Testament," and such-like works, with the university edition of Lightfoot and Pococke, and the London Polyglott. Matrices were readily cut in London under the direction of the best scholars.* Dr. Walton accounts for some delay in the publication of the Polyglott, by saying that "the Hebrew types were mending," having been pronounced by Pococke, in need of alteration. Such was the esteem in which the oriental printing of England was at this time held, that many continental authors sent their manuscripts to London to be published. Thus Bochart's Hierozoicon was first printed by Allestry with the very types used in the Polyglott—an edition "satis splendide," says Dora.

A fondness for Hebrew study was not, during this century, confined to ministers of the gospel. Many in high rank were distinguished for their oriental erudition. The earl of Lauderdale, Lord Harley, Lord Cambden, the Hon. R. Boyle, the Hon. O. Bridgman, Sir W. Maurice, Sir T. Borograve, Sir R. Cotton, Sir Norton Knatchbull and others, were good Hebraicians. "We owe," says the celebrated Surenhusius, adverting to oriental pursuits, and especially to Hebrew, "very much to the nobles of England."

It has been asserted by many authors that Hebrew learning was, during the period under consideration, ostentatiously exhibited in the pulpit, little to the edification of the hearers. True it is that Burnet in his Lives, speaks of preaching that "was over wise with pedantry .... full of many sayings of different languages;" and in his History of his own Times, tells us about Gunning of Ely, whose sermons were full of Hebrew and Greek, to the great delight of certain courtly ladies, who went to

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tices et Extraits des Manuscripts de la Bibliothèque du Roi, we learn that in 1700 the University of Cambridge applied to the king of France for a cast of Stephens' Greek type. The celebrated printers, the Aldine family, Stephens, Plautin and others were scholars. The oriental and Greek typography of Germany would never have been so elegant as it is, had it not been for German learning.

*From Rushworth, it appears that by a decree of the Star Chamber, dated July 11th, 1637, "four founders of letters for printing were allowed, and no more." The same decree limits the number of printers to twenty, and of presses to each printer to three at most. The pillory and the lash were the penalties affixed to the infraction of this ordinance! The approach of times more favorable to liberty, of course removed this disgraceful and tyrannical restriction.

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hear him preach, according to Charles II, because they did not understand him. This, however, was not the case with the really learned men of the day. Usher used in his sermons great plainness of speech. Who, on reading Leighton's Commentary on Peter, would suppose him to have been a good Hebrew scholar? Yet such was the case. "Our parson," said a poor country-man, "is one Mr. Pococke, a plain, honest man; but, master, he is no Latiner." And yet this man was the glory of his age. Bishop Beveridge, although a profoundly learned oriental scholar, has left behind him works, the most simple and thoroughly Saxon of any in our language, with the exception of the Pilgrim's Progress. True learning differs widely from pedantry. The one is modest from what it does not know, the other proud from what it fancies it has acquired.

Having rapidly glanced over the efforts made by English Hebrew scholars, and the celebrity which they in consequence enjoyed throughout the learned world, we are induced to inquire into the opinion to be entertained of their acquirements in the present enlightened age.

Let us turn to Pococke. Who can read his commentaries, and his valuable notes to the Porta Mosis, without being struck with the depth of his erudition? In an age of almost slavish dependence on Jewish tradition, this eminent scholar declared that he placed little reliance on Talmudical and Cabbalistic writings, "unless backed by better authority, or when they make for confessing some truth against themselves." At the same time it must be allowed that he inserted in his works far too much Rabbinic trash. He advocated the study of the cognate dialects in connection with the Hebrew, and frequently made good use of them in explaining the meaning of words. His dislike to have recourse to various readings, and his skill in reconciling difficult passages, remind us of modern German scholarship. The following is a singular instance of Pococke's acuteness. He pronounced the Hamyaritic language, from the few words that came to his knowledge, to have a much nearer agreement with the Hebrew and Syriac, than with the dialect of the Korashites. This conjecture has been remarkably borne out by the discoveries of Wellsted, Roediger and others. In a paper on the Hamyaritic Inscriptions in Southern Arabia,

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published in the Quarterly Register of the American Education Society, the following result is stated. "The slight acquaintance with the ancient language which we have already obtained by means of the inscriptions, is sufficient to show us that it was a Shemitish dialect, approaching nearer than the northern Arabic to the *Hebrew*, and probably to the *Aramaic*.

Cartwright and Ainsworth have in their respective works manifested great skill and much correct criticism. To the former, Rosenmüller is greatly indebted. The latter was an admirable adept in unfolding the *usus loquendi* of the original. Some of his conjectures are singularly happy, and accord most strikingly with the latest results of German criticism. We will refer to a few which he makes with reference to the titles of the Psalms. Ainsworth explains the *al-alamoth* of Psalm 46, thus,—"Virgin tunes, having high and shrill voices." This is the opinion of Gesenius, Tholuck and Hengstenberg, who appear to give to Gousset the merit of this explanation. The epithet Maschil, which is found in the title of thirteen Psalms, Ainsworth translates by "an instructing Psalm." Hengstenberg says: "The most obvious explanation of this term is that of *Instruction*,—a didactic poem;" with this Tholuck also agrees. Our author renders Higgaion, Ps. 9: 16, "meditation;"—"meaning that this is a prayer of deep meditation, worthy to be well minded, and spoken or sung with earnest consideration afterwards"—the opinion, too, of Tholuck and Hengstenberg. The expression *al-hasshehinith*, Ainsworth renders, "upon the eighth, meaning the eighth tune, which was grave, as that which we call the bass." So Gesenius, Tholuck and Hengstenberg.

It were needless to speak of Selden, Usher and Lightfoot. Their works are too well known to need our recommendation, and their scholarship is too evident to require pointing out. We must, however, trespass on the patience of our readers by referring to the youthful yet profoundly erudite William Guise, whose notes on many portions of the Mishna are preëminently valuable, and of Thomas Gataker. John Henry Otho speaks of him and Bernhard, of John's College, Oxford, as being men of astonishing erudition, in whom all oriental literature dwelt, "especially," says he, "in W. Guise, even to a miracle." He died at the age of twenty-four, la-

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mented but not lost. Of Gataker it may be said, that in the age in which he lived few were his equals, none his superiors. His extreme modesty adorned his profound attainments. His correct and well-matured judgment kept him free from many of the errors of his times. His intelligent and heart-felt piety directed his views, increased his influence, and shed a glory on his death.

The opinion of modern scholars in the matter before us, is, as will doubtless be allowed by all, of great weight. What is it?

It needs not much acquaintance with the philological works of continental critics and of those speaking our own language, to see that they very frequently quote from English Hebraicians of the seventeenth century. Let any one consult Winer's Realwörterbuch, de Wette's Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung, u. s. w., Gesenius' Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache, and many other standard works, and he will meet with numerous references to the productions of Pococke, Walton, Usher and others.

Nor indeed are these learned modern scholars slow to acknowledge their indebtedness to the eminent men referred to, and to speak of them in terms of high approbation. Thus Tholuck makes mention of "the truly learned Spencer," declares that "peculiar notice is due to the Horæ Hebraicæ Talmudicæ of Lightfoot," and affirms that "the best of the older commentators on the Minor Prophets, is that of Pococke," which he pronounces to be "thorough and profound." Hengstenberg asserts that Pococke's commentaries exhibit "diligence in the collection of exegetical materials, and a mode of explanation in general natural." Michaelis, Hoffmann and Delitzsch speak in high terms of Castell. Gesenius styles Brian Walton's Prolegomena, "very learned disquisitions." Ernesti, speaking of Gataker, declares that he excels in learning all the writers on the Hebraisms of the New Testament. He also praises Cartwright, as being one of the most learned authors who have sought to illustrate the New Testament from Hebrew sources. Winer declares that Gataker wrote "learnedly." Of the same illustrious men Professor Lee says: "In our Walton, Castell, Pococke, and others of the same period, we had, indeed, orientalists of the first celebrity,—men who, by the efforts of their mighty minds and almost incredible labors,

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left behind them monuments of industry and learning never to be excelled."

It is by no means, however, asserted that these scholars were, as such, perfect. Far otherwise. Although in advance of their age, they were behind ours. There is a heaviness about their style, and a tedious enumeration and refutation of different opinions in their commentaries, far from being either agreeable or profitable. "It was not perceived in their day, that Rabbinism was only another name for ignorance and hatred to Christian truth; and that they had in their own hands means of illustrating Holy Writ, infinitely superior to those of that wretched school, and which had been allowed to make such large inroads upon their valuable time, and so materially to darken their views." They were deficient in that tact, that enlargedness of view, and that thorough knowledge of the principles of criticism and of language in general, found to distinguish the great critics of the present day. These, however, were not so much the faults of the men, as of the age. Their peculiar excellencies were their own—called forth amidst much that was uncongenial. Let their attainments and their productions be compared with those of students in the department of natural philosophy who lived at the same time, and with what advantage do they appear. The efforts of the one class are almost lost sight of amidst the advances of modern science; whereas those of the other are still regarded with merited admiration. The lapse of ages will invest the former with more and more indistinctness, the latter with an ever expanding and brightening halo of glory.

Never, till England and America produce more eminent scholars, will the names of these celebrated men be remembered with aught but the deepest respect for their talents, and the most profound veneration for their unobtrusive piety. Nor even then. Should such arise, emulating German philologians in their profound learning, and surpassing them in child-like reverence for God's Holy Word, the mantle of their brethren of the seventeenth century will have fallen upon them, their celebrity will have stimulated them, their spirit will have characterized them. Our ancient and honorable name will have been regained, and England's sons, whether in Britain or

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America, will once more be regarded, after the lapse of almost centuries, as the countrymen of Pococke, Lightfoot, Castell, Walton and Usher.

A LIST OF HEBREW GRAMMARS AND LEXICONS WRITTEN OR PRINTED IN ENGLAND UP TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

I. Hebrew Grammars.

A. D.

12—. Baconi (Rogerii) Gram. Heb. According to Bale and Bartolocci us, this was found only in manuscript. It doubtless unfolded Bacon's peculiar system of teaching Hebrew. See Ch. Rev.

152—. Wakefeldii (Roberti) Institutiones Linguæ Hebraicæ. Referred to by Bale.

1570. Exercitatio G. (Alleii) Exoniæ Episcopi, in Linguæ Sanctæ Grammaticen,—or as it is styled in English,—"An Exercise in hexameter verses in Latin, upon the whole Rudiments of the Hebrew tounge, with a large and plane explication of the same in the English tounge; for the ease of them whiche be not experte in the saide tounge." This work has never been printed. The following is a specimen of it:—

"Hebræi numerant elementa duo atque viginti,
Quorum diversas primum volo pingere formas,
Et post illorum non declarare gravabor
Voces atque sonos. De aliis tunc dicere pergam."

—— Stoky (—) Observationes Gram., Rhet., et Poëticæ, ad accuratiorem Linguæ Sanctæ cognit. This exists in manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge.

1593. Udall's Key to the Holy Tongue, 12mo. This work is stated by Wolf to be a translation of Pet. Martinius' Technologia Gram. Ebr. Whether this be the case or not, which we have no means of ascertaining, Udall was a good Hebraician, and was fully competent to write the work before us. This book was printed at Amsterdam the year after the author's decease, who died broken-hearted in the Marshalsea prison, the victim of priestly oppression. When told of his death, James I exclaimed, "By my soul, then, the greatest scholar in Europe is dead." In the copy of this work which lies before us, there is an allusion to the death of the author; and curiously enough, its printer, while apologizing for typographical faults "by reason of ower unskilfulness of the English tounge," instances only a mistake which occurs in the printing of a *Hebrew word!*

1610. Rudimenta Linguæ Hebraicæ, by Richard Knolles. This scholar was master of the Free-school at Sandwich. He is better known in the literary world as the author of the "History of the Turks." Anthony à Wood speaks of his erudition in high terms.

1635. Bythneri Institutio Linguæ Hebrææ et Chaldææ, Lond. 8vo. The next edition, which was printed at Oxford, 1638, by W. Turner, was entitled,—Bythneri Nova et Methodica Institutio Linguæ Sanctæ. A third appeared in 1648 at Cambridge, a fourth in London 1650, a fifth in 12mo. 1664, a sixth 1670, and a seventh in 1675, 8vo. Thus seven editions were published in forty years! A striking proof of increasing interest in Hebrew literature.

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1637. Hebrææ Linguæ Institutiones compendiosissimæ et facillimæ, by Row. This was printed in London in 12mo. Another edition appeared in 1644, with the Glasgow mark upon it, and was then entitled,—Hebrææ linguæ Institutiones a M. Joa. Row, epist. dedic. A. 3. b. Glasguæ, 1644. A third was printed in 1649, with "Amsterdam" on the title-page. Le Long mentions another edition in 1677. Townley states that Row's grammar was the first published in the English language, but this is a mistake.

1650. A General Grammar for the ready attaining of the Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic, and the Ethiopic Languages, by Christian Ravis, of Berlin. London 12mo. This work was dedicated to Archbishop Usher, and was especially designed for the author's pupils. Though it contains some useful information, it is somewhat unintelligible, arising from the author's little acquaintance with English. Wolf mentions a previous edition of this work, printed in London in 1648 in octavo.

1654. Introductio ad lectionem Linguarum Orientalium, &c., by Dr. Walton. This tract, which was republished with additions in 1655, merely contains different alphabets, with sundry directions relative to the reading of the various tongues.

1662. Broughton de Lingua Hebræa. Contained in his works collected and printed in London under the following title,—"The works of the great Albionean Divine, renowned in many nations for rare skill in Salem's and Athens' Tongues, with familiar acquaintance with all Rabbinical Learning." This treatise occurs in vol. iii, 664–695.

1665. Grammaticæ, Latinæ, Græcæ et Hebraicæ Compendium, &c. By Hansard Knollys.

1668. A Hebrew Grammar, by Philip Henry. This work, which was never printed, was drawn up for the use of the author's daughter. See Life of P. Henry, p. 83.

1669. Brevis et harmonica Grammaticæ omnium precedentium Linguarum delineatio. Appended to Castell's Heptaglot Lexicon.

1684. A Grammatical Opening of some Hebrew words and phrases in the beginning of the Bible. By Francis Bamfield.

1686. Guil. Robertson. Manipulus Linguæ Sanctæ. Cantab.

1686. Stennet's (J.) Hebrew Grammar. This learned man, an eminent physician, wrote this work at nineteen years of age. It was, says Crosby, well received by the public.

1698. The Taghmical Art; or, the Art of Expounding Scripture by the points, usually called accents, but are really tactical: A Grammatical, Logical, and Rhetorical Instrument of Interpretation, by Walter Cross, M. A., London. Some part of this curious but useless work is in prose, some in verse. The following is one of this author's poetic rules :—

"Silluk the sentence and the verse doth end,
Athnach in two divides, and so attends.
Segolta—three will have, or not appear;
Mercmah in verse doth to them both come near;
Inferior game Reb. Gereschate doth play,
Because as Vicar he comes in the way."

Besides these, several editions of grammars published on the continent were printed in England. Thus Buxtorf's "Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguæ Sanctæ Hebrææ," was printed at Cambridge in 1646, and again in 1658, and in London 1656. Schickard's Horologium Hebr. was reprinted in London 1639.

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II. Hebrew Lexicons.

12—. A Hebrew Lexicon by Lawrence Holbeck, of Ramsey Abbey. This curious work was possessed in manuscript by Robert Wakefield, the first Hebrew professor of Oxford.

1602. Adam's Hebrew Dictionary.—Wolf affirms that this was really Sturtevant's work, published under another name.

1635. Alabastri (G.) Lexicon Pentaglotton, Heb., Chal., Syr., Talmudico-Rabbinicum et Arabicum, fol. This singular work proves its author to have been a learned man, although slavishly attached to the unintelligible mysteries of the Jewish Cabbala.

1644. J. Row, Pastoris Ecclesiæ Abdus, χιλιας Hebraica, seu vocabularium, continens præcipuas radices L. Heb. numero 1000 &c. 12mo. In this treatise Row asserts that the primitive Hebrew words of the Old Testament number 1700.

1646. Critica Sacra: or Observations on all the Radices or Primitive Hebrew words of the Old Testament, in order Alphabeticall. By Edward Leigh. A second edition in folio appeared in 1650, and another enlarged in 1662. In Amsterdam editions were printed in 1679, 1688 and 1696. It was also translated into French. An edition was also published at Gotha.

1648. Bythneri (V.) Clavis Linguæ S. universas voces Pentateuchi &c. Cantab.

1656. Robertson's Key to the Hebrew Bible, by which most of the words in all the Historical Books, together with many, if not all, of the most used words through all the Prophecies, are unlocked and opened in an alphabetical Praxis upon the Psalms of David, and Lamentations of Jeremiah. 8vo. London.

16—. Lexicon Pente-glotton. By T. Harrison. This author was one of the translators of our present version.

1658. Bagwell's (Jo.) Dictionary of words of the Old and New Testaments. London.

16—. Robertson's First Gate, or the Outward Door to the Holy Tongue; ditto, Second Gate, or the Inner Door to the Holy Tongue, being a compendious Hebrew and English Dictionary. 12mo.

1662. Broughton's (H.) Hebrew-English Dictionary. In the preface to this scholar's collected works, this treatise is said to exist in manuscript.

1669. Castelli (E.) Lexicon Heptaglotton; Hebraicum, &c. Two vols. fol. Lond. Besides the common paper copies of this celebrated work, which are becoming scarce and dear, several large paper copies were struck off. Of these only three are known to be in existence. This book has suffered many casualties. Three hundred copies were destroyed in the fire of London. About five hundred more, having been stowed away in a room by Castell's executrix, were so damaged by rats that the whole sold only for seven pounds.

1680. Robertson's (G.) Thesaurus Linguæ Sanctæ; sive Concordantiale Lexicon Hebræo-Latino-Biblicum, 4to. Cantab. Another edition, Lond. 1686.

In addition to these there were several Lexicons printed of separate portions of the Hebrew Bible, viz., Udall's Lexicon on some of the Psalms, Bythner's Lexicon in his "Lyra," etc. Translations or reprints, moreover, of continental Lexicons were issued. Buxtorf's "Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum," appeared in London in 1646,

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and again in 1663. The edition in 1646 purports to be the first Hebrew Lexicon printed in London. It was dedicated to the celebrated Long Parliament.

F. B.

Montreal.

ARTICLE VII.

REMARKS UPON DIVINE PROVIDENCE AND HUMAN DEPRAVITY.

An Article in the Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany, entitled, "The Loss of the Steamer Atlantic." Jan. 1847.

We are greatly averse to controversy conducted in any other spirit than that of the gospel. We fully concur in the verdict of Solomon: "The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out waters; therefore leave off contention before it be meddled with." And yet it is useful to discuss, in the spirit of Christianity, important doctrines, and to "contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints."

Unitarianism has, perhaps, fewer fixed principles than almost any other faith. The canons of Unitarianism are so few, that we have long since abandoned the idea of charging upon the denomination the sentiments of any of its members. Here, to a ruinous extent, just as when "there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes." It is necessary to any denomination, while it avoids the extreme of the church's infallibility, to avoid also the opposite extreme, an entire disregard of all fixed principles. A church without some well defined positions is like a ship without helm or anchors. We do not charge the errors of the article above indicated upon Unitarianism, except so far as the general influence of that system is accountable for the mistakes of all its disciples; but upon the author and those who hold with him.

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Our objection to the author's views of Providence is not that he advances no truth. Many truths are beautifully expressed. Indeed, there is a singular commingling of truth and error in most of the paragraphs, and in some sentences, throughout the article. Like one struggling in the dark, some of his efforts seem very much to the purpose, and others far enough from it. The objection is, that he places Jehovah in an unnecessarily belligerent attitude in respect to man, on the one hand; and man in a position of freedom from blame, on the other. In attributing the distressing wreck of the Atlantic to the Providence of God, he makes no distinction between permissive and appointed Providence; and overlooks the guilty agency of man. While that disaster occurred in the Providence of God, as all evil does, that is, with his knowledge and by his permission, there is no evidence that it occurred in his Providence as do those things over which we have no control, and which occur notwithstanding our efforts to the contrary. There are occurrences in regard to which we can only devoutly say,—and it is all the Christian wishes to say in such cases,—"It is the Lord; let him do as seemeth good in his sight." So there are occurrences which, so far as we can see, have taken place by a most palpable and guilty disregard of his provisions to the contrary. The loss of the Atlantic, so far as her managers were concerned, is evidently of the latter class. We object to their folding their hands and exclaiming in self-vindication, "Well, this has all occurred in the Providence of God." They should rather say, "Jehovah in his Providence has permitted our errors to cast this gloom and distress upon the community." And this we would not speak by way of railing at them, for injuries done, but by way of vindicating God's Providence, and preventing future disregard of his provisions for the good of his creatures. Let us here give a specimen of the reasoning of the article.

"What, then, is the Providence in their case? They trust, under God, to the strength and speed of their vessel, to the tried power and precision of her nerves of steel and "her bones, like bars of iron and strong pieces of brass." But, in the order of Providence, the swelling fury of the waves strains their boat, and, beyond any anticipation of such a blow, wrenches a vital part of that safeguard asunder, and they are cast with their ship, now unmanageable, into the trough of the sea.

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Again, they trust to the strength of their anchors; but these, too, in the order of Providence, drag through the sandy bottom, clinging, and yet yielding by degrees. They trust to an abatement of the storm; but by the Providential direction it grows more fierce and resistless. They trust to a favorable change or lull of the wind; but it is providentially ordered to increase its rage and blow with more deadly aim. They bend in prayer, and call on God to save them; yet He that "rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm" does not reverse the destructive current of the elements. Under the breath of his nostrils and the blast of his mouth, they plunge from point to point amid the boiling waters; every larger wave making a breach over the groaning deck. All, all, as the Christian must say, is in obedience, not to chance or nature, but to God. Hour by hour they near the pitiless rocks,—kedging along over the huge backs of the foaming surges, drawn as by a devouring chain towards the jaws of destruction. The voyaging steam-ship comes and looks at her laboring fellow, but moves in despair away. Human eyes are upon them, but human hands cannot reach. While they hang between life and death, a sail (one before had set out, but returned) puts off to their relief, but is providentially ordered to strike and sink. As one is represented as praying of old, so they pray and hope for the light to see by, if they must be dashed upon the ragged, unrelenting shore; but, providentially, they strike, with the boding and melancholy sound of doom in their ears, before the darkness is dispersed. They trust that at least their own vital energies will remain to that degree unexhausted, that they may struggle bravely at last with the wild waters, and grapple firmly, as they shall be thrown upon the rocks; but it is ordered that the cold, piercing breeze shall chill their blood and benumb their limbs, and the white, glittering spray fly in freezing drops around them upon the wings of the hurricane. They prepare to leap when the ship may strike, and strive, as they best may with enfeebled powers, amidst the angry surf; but it is decreed that the falling beams shall stun many for an easy prey to the gaping gulf, and crush others to instantaneous death. The strong swimmer bares his arms, and hopes to find a clear path through the crested breakers to the roaring beach; but it is ordered that the grinding fragments of the wreck shall block up the way, and encumber him with their own destruction. The hedge of ruin is built thick and impenetrable about them. One leaps upon the shore, but the refluent wave is sent by Providence, and hastens him away. While a scarce living moiety are swept to firm ground, this entangling net of opposing circumstances is woven to bear the remnant helpless back. And as, with expiring groan, one after another is entombed, not in the quiet earth, with the tears of a band of mourners, but in the hollows of the overtopping waves, the strongly knit timbers of the noble but conquered vessel, the pride of the seas that now wreak their wrath upon her, are rent apart with a moaning sound."

They had no right to "trust to the strength of their vessel." Strength was sacrificed to beauty and speed. It avails nothing to say, she was built stronger than most steamers for the Sound. Many times have those con-

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cerned been admonished that it is a defiance of nature, and of nature's God, to put such frail craft upon waters so exposed to the storm-driven wave. That she was stronger than many of her frail fellows, is no vindication of the fact that she was not so strong as all experience has shown necessary. If men will presume against their own experience and conviction, upon the interference of mercy to interrupt the regular order of things for their safety, while they sacrifice to their pride and avarice a proper and necessary precaution, when injury comes, let them not justify themselves, or blame their Maker. Who, that understands the construction of "the vital part of that safe-guard," will say that it was "beyond any anticipation of such a blow, that it was broken by the straining of the boat," when he is informed that the precaution of having a joint in it, which might have prevented the disaster, was carelessly disregarded? "They trust to the strength of their anchors!" What vindication is that, when their anchors were not adapted to their necessity; and when those "upper works, which must have received at least one half of the pressure of the wind," contrary to the advice of many, were permitted to remain? When it is so evident, "that the vessel was fairly overcome in the ordinary operation of natural laws," we cannot consent to the attitude in which Jehovah is placed to her by such remarks as: "Under the breath of his nostrils and the blast of his mouth, they plunge from point to point amid the beating waters,"—"It is ordained that the cold piercing breeze shall chill their blood and benumb their limbs,"—when they would escape. "It is decreed that the falling beams shall stun many for an easy prey to the gaping gulf, and crush others to instantaneous death." We will not repeat the remaining charges against our merciful Maker which follow, when all which is true in the case is, that while he pitied their condition, he could not arrest the regular operations of nature in their behalf.

It is quite time for the public to proclaim, in thunder tones, to those who seek their patronage upon the different thoroughfares, that they must omit no precaution necessary to safety. In a country of so much travel as this, and where so many disasters, including a great amount of property and of life occur, there is no reason in any

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apology for the delinquents; much less is a false theology called for, which shall afford them, apparently, divine protection. Dr. Channing, in his discourse upon the death of Dr. Follen, who was lost in the Lexington, (and it is very evident that this, for the most part, excellent discourse, suggested the article we are noticing,) well remarks: "Undoubtedly a great amount of suffering may be traced to human ignorance and guilt." The sentiment must find a response in every mind accustomed to observation, or acquainted with the word of God. Individuals, families, communities, and preëminently those controlling our modes of conveyance from place to place, bring upon themselves and others, by their ignorance and guilt, their improvidence, presumption and avarice, much misery; and let them not charge it upon the Almighty.

In leaving this topic, let us add to the things already mentioned, sufficient to account for the disaster of the Atlantic, two others. In going to New York, shortly afterwards, we noticed that the boat on which we crossed the Sound had an entirely new mast and sail, evidently supplied since that disaster. Why did not the Atlantic have such a provision? It might have saved her. Besides, it was singular presumption to venture out in such a storm. It was equivalent to saying, we will see if we cannot go to New York in spite of the tempest! Let the experiment prove a warning to those who either ignorantly, or presumptuously, think of attempting it again.

The phrase—the "Providence of God"—is very indefinite, and means, in different uses, very different things. It is a theological rather than a scriptural phrase, never indeed occurring in the Scriptures. The providence of man, even, occurs but once in the Bible. See Acts 24: 2. The verb to provide, in relation to Jehovah, occurs a few times both in the Old and New Testaments. As specimens, see Gen. 22: 8, Heb. 11: 40. Here it is always used in the sense of procuring or causing. Scripturally, therefore, we think we are safe in affirming, nothing occurs in the Providence of God, except that which he procures or causes; not that which he only permits. A careful examination of the passages in which the verb is found is sufficient to substantiate the truth of this statement. It is very easy for any one, with a good Concordance, to examine for himself. Philologically, the "Providence of

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God" means primarily his foresight, and then his permission, for what he foresees to be necessary. In this sense, therefore, "Providence of God" is correctly used only in cases for which he has directly provided, having foreseen the necessity, and not in regard to things which he has only permitted to occur, in the progress of natural laws. Theologically, the Providence of God means, "the care and superintendence which he exercises over his creatures." So that in this sense we convey no definite meaning by the phrase, unless we add the distinction of general and particular; or permissive and appointed. The loss of the Atlantic, for instance, occurred in the general or permissive "Providence of God;" but not, as the article claims, in the particular or appointed "Providence of God."

We come now to the other topic, depravity. The article gives two compensations for the loss of the Atlantic, one of which is: "the development of character, both in bringing into exercise and strengthening human virtue." Hence he takes opportunity to laud "human virtue," and, in connection with this, to explode the "dark creed of human depravity."

It will be necessary to quote the remarks of the article on this topic.

The other compensation is the development of character, both in bringing into exercise and in strengthening human virtue. We have attempted to draw a picture of the scene. But as we look calmly at the real events, what appears the most prominent? Not the terrific sublimity of the storm, not the vast treasure sinking in the deep or lining the ragged shore, not the sharply defined images of bodily suffering, not the darker lines of mental anguish; but the strokes of moral greatness;—the calm soul confronting peril and yielding not to the hurricane,—fidelity firm at its station, surrendering self-preservation to duty,—friendship keeping alternate watch at its post,—mutual respect and justice to a common nature, practising the golden rule at the doors of death,—devotion consecrating that cabin for as holy a temple as was ever dedicated with formal and solemn rites,—Christian love overflowing the barriers of sect, and mingling differing minds below as they are above,—religious submission, with that low whisper rising above the fury of the storm, though but breathed from just parted lips,—"The Father's will be done!"—and, to crown all, self-sacrifice coming down from the safety reached on the firm shore, to breast the surf again in perilous efforts for the rescue of others. Before these things the billows sink in grandeur, the terrors of the night fade away, and the tempestuous sky and resounding rocks become but the frame and setting for the lustre of the human character. The voice of the ocean, as

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we thus hear it, loses its angry tone, and seems to have only that of paying homage to excellence, "deep calling unto deep at the noise of his waterspouts," in tribute to all that is generous and lofty in the human soul. It fills us with a sort of exultation to know that not a few were in that tempest-tost bark, whose inmost hearts, in all the tumult, leaned upon the anchor that would not drag nor give way. Their souls throw a sanctifying halo about the awful scene.

Had there been none but worldly and depraved hearts upon that deck, how comparatively sad the wreck would have been! But we are assured that there was a spirit of unselfish regard one for another, with particular instances of affectionate and disinterested consideration. These good qualities of the human heart kindle up a lustre amid those gloomy and heaving waves,—a lustre which abides after the gloomy and heaving waves have gone down, and shines brighter than a beacon fire into the souls of survivors, and makes admiration almost get the better of commiserating pity, as it reveals what this human nature of ours is capable of in its extremity, and awakens the desire, in every hard-beset condition which Providence may ordain, to emulate such magnanimity."

"Our next reflection is upon the displays of worth in human nature which trying circumstances unfold. At the *call* for nobleness and self-denial, nobleness and self-denial come. Man, so often seeming selfish and faithless, is not apt to be recreant in the time of bitter pain and fear. "The hour that tries men's souls" reveals goodness in them. The instances of disinterestedness are reported every where with the tidings of disaster. And, let us say, the generosity which danger stirs up even in ordinary minds refutes the dark creed of human depravity. Human nature is not made to be mean, but noble. The human heart, even when it has become depraved, responds to the spirit of love and self-sacrifice, and beats high with the good sentiments it sees displayed. We will not give up our faith in man."

Admitting now all that the article claims for "human virtue," still, what evidently was not in the thought of the author, "the dark creed of human depravity" remains untouched. What, when he supposes it demolished, admitting the power of his assault, is still in being? Let us see. It is by no means essential to man's depravity, to deny him "strokes of moral greatness," even to the extent claimed in the extract. It may be true that somewhere, at some time, somebody has advanced views of depravity such as the article takes for granted; but we very much doubt even this. The ordinary theological works give no such views of the doctrine. The following history of depravity is from "Knapp's Christian Theology." "The descriptions given of it by theologians are very different, as to the words employed. Melancthon describes the *peccatum originis*, as an inclination or dis-

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position to all evil, which, however, does not always manifest itself in the same way or in the same degree, and which does not appear at once, but gradually, and in all men. Others describe it as that disposition of soul by which all evil desires have an existence in it, or rather spring up whenever occasion offers, etc. But they all agree at last that the essence of natural depravity is the disturbed balance of the powers and inclinations of man, or the preponderance of the carnal desires over reason. It lies in the fact that the lower nature of man, made by God to obey, is not submissive to the reason, as the power which should give law and govern. The following definition may therefore be given of the moral depravity of man, in conformity both with experience and Scripture; it is that tendency to sinful passions, or unlawful propensities, which is perceived in man, whenever objects of desire are placed before him, and laws are laid upon him. Rom. vii. Now what is there in all this, averse to "strokes of moral greatness?" To assert that "man is inclined to all evil," is not to assert that he is, under no circumstances, inclined to any thing worthy. There may be "a preponderance of carnal desires," and, originally, inclinations of the highest order; and, under certain circumstances, manifestations of the noblest qualities. Depravity claims not that there is nothing good in man, but that "he is inclined to all evil, and that there is a preponderance of evil," which would certainly sink him to despair, but for the interposing grace of God.

But the article attributes some things to "human virtue," and "human nature," which evidently had a higher origin:—"devotion consecrating that cabin for as holy a temple as was ever dedicated with formal and solemn rites—Christian love overflowing the barriers of sect, and mingling different minds below as they are above—religious submission, with that low whisper, rising above the fury of the storm, though but breathed with just parted lips, 'The Father's will be done.'" If all this is from "human virtue," and "human nature," then indeed we have no atonement! An atonement were superfluous in such a case, and Jehovah has not provided one! Independently, however, of all creeds, we would say to our fellow men, try but the experiment of meeting your God, either by sudden casualty, or by protracted sickness, in

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reliance upon "human virtue," or "human nature." "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;" and if ye are not the "chief of sinners," yet are ye sinners, and can only meet your final account with intelligent composure, by an humble reliance upon "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

Where is the necessity for attributing such manifestations of that trying, and yet on account of them, triumphant and glorious scene, to "human virtue" and "human nature?" Does not the Bible attribute such things to the grace of God, through faith in his Son? And does not all experience confirm the truth of the Bible, by showing that on such occasions despair and agony are the result of unbelief, and sweet trust and reconciliation the result alone of faith in the Saviour? And were not the very instigators of the glorious scenes of that occasion professors of the religion of Jesus Christ? What account did that "hymn and prayer," which the article assures us they united in, amid the storm, make of "human virtue," or "human nature?" Surely the young man, who, it informs us, in health "raised the question with a friend, what example Christ would have set in the walks of business," relied upon him, rather than upon "human virtue," or "human nature," now that he was about to go to him. There can be no doubt that Dr. Armstrong united with his fellow passengers, not in hymns and prayers to "human virtue," or "human nature," but to that Saviour whom he had so long preached to his fellow men, and whose gospel he had so extensively aided in sending to the distant heathen. "It fills us," also, "with a sort of exultation to know that not a few were in that tempest-tost bark, whose inmost heart, in all the tumult leaned upon the anchor that would not drag nor give way. Their souls throw a sanctifying halo about the awful scene." But who can attribute this to "human nature?" "Human nature" bears no such fruit. Such are the results of reliance upon religion, or at least of extraordinary firmness and habits of hardihood, either of which suppositions refutes the practical creed of human virtue.

Such scenes are indeed rich in the triumphs of Christian faith; and there have been, at such times, instances

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of the victory of kindly feelings and good manners over a grovelling selfishness; but if we were to attempt a eulogy of "human nature," an argument against "human depravity," that scene and similar ones are the last places we should go to for facts. If a few instances of a noble nature "refute the dark creed of human depravity," do not a few instances of debasing selfishness refute the bright creed of human virtue? Suppose, now, there is a great preponderance of the grovelling over the noble, what then follows? Was there an instance or two "of self-sacrifice, coming down from the safety reached on the firm shore, to breast the surf again in perilous efforts for the rescue of others?" The only marvel is, on the theory of "human virtue" advocated by the article in question, that there were not more cases of the same kind, —that the mass, regardless of those left behind, as soon as their feet touched terra firma, made their way to a place of safety and comfort. Such scenes do indeed "reveal what this human nature of ours is capable of in its extremity!" Witness the humiliating facts, "reported every where with the tidings of disaster," of the cold indifference, of rude repulse, from within the circle of sufferers; and the base, blood thirsty attacks of wreckers and others from without. And all this in a civilized and Christian country, where "human nature" has long had the best of teaching. If such are her exhibitions in her best estate, what are they in her worst?

Sir Walter Scott says, that the inhabitants of the Orkney and Shetland Islands were greatly averse to the erection of light-houses on their coasts, which should diminish the wrecks upon which they had been wont to prey. Rev. Orville Dewey, a name of authority with the readers of the Christian Examiner, in a sermon before the "Shipwreck Society," of New York, gives the following portrait of human nature. He says, an eye witness related to him the following facts: "He was hunting on the sea-shore—I will not say where it was—when, as the night fell, he was overtaken by one of those fearful storms, which upon the sea-shore, more than any where else, seem to leave all nature shelterless and exposed to its fury. As he drew near to a lonely tavern on the beach, and night closed in thick darkness around him, and the roar of the thundering surges rose upon his ear, mingling

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with the wailings of the tempest, he could not help thinking almost with awe, that some hapless voyagers might be driving upon their destruction, almost at his very feet. What then was his surprise on entering the house, to find it brilliantly lighted up, and occupied by a party of wreckers, at the highest pitch of glee and merriment. The revel lasted quite through the night, and was only interrupted by the sallying forth of the party at day-break with much noise and hilarity to walk upon the beach. In about an hour they returned, as completely changed as if every one had been seized with a sudden illness; every trace of mirth fled from their faces; sad, spiritless and dejected, looking like mourners at a funeral. They had found no wreck! Yes, it is true; they had sung and revelled all that night, in the hope that the wild and desolate shore without had been resounding with the shrieks and agonies of "shipwreck!"

We do not claim that isolated facts alone prove "human depravity;" but they are as forcible as when used to prove "human virtue." And when we consider how much more numerous facts unfavorable to human virtue are, particularly where there are fewest restraints of Christianity and civilization, they are an irresistible confirmation of the truth upon this subject, already established in the Bible.

If the question arises, why attempt to enshroud in gloom bright views of "human nature?"—we answer, human nature gains nothing by flattery. It is much better for her to take a sober, truthful view of her case. Besides, it is insulting to truth and to its author to represent human nature differently from what it has been represented, both upon the page of Scripture and of experience. And last, though not least, it is ruinous to man, to flatter him as to his natural condition, in relation to sin and to the atonement. Just in proportion as the idea prevails, that human nature is in and of itself right, will man feel independent of that "blood, without which there is no remission" of sin. And just in proportion as he feels safe in himself, does he promote his own ruin. O that all teachers of religion would study the experience of that great and good man, Dr. Chalmers, related in his "address to the inhabitants of the parish of Kilmany." Alluding, in a tender manner, to what he now considered an

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erroneous method of preaching, which he had practised among them for "twelve years," he remarks,—"During the whole of that period, in which I made no attempt against the natural enmity of the mind to God, while I was inattentive to the way in which this enmity is dissolved, even by the free offer on the one hand, and the believing acceptance on the other, of the gospel salvation; while Christ, through whose blood the sinner, who by nature stands afar off, is brought near to the heavenly law-giver, whom he has offended, was scarcely ever spoken of, or, spoken of in such a way as stripped him of all the importance of his character and his offices, even at this time I did press the reformations of honor and truth and integrity among my people; but I never once heard of any such reformation being effected among them. If there was any thing at all brought about in this way, it was more than I ever got any account of. I am not sensible that all the vehemence with which I urged the virtues and the proprieties of social life, had the weight of a feather on the moral habits of my parishioners. And it was not till I got impressed by the utter alienation of the heart in all its desires and affections from God; it was not till reconciliation to him became the distinct and the prominent object of my ministerial exertions; it was not till I took the scriptural way of laying the method of reconciliation before them; it was not till the free offer of forgiveness through the blood of Christ was urged upon their acceptance, and the Holy Spirit given through the channel of Christ's mediatorship to all who ask him, was set before them as the unceasing object of their dependence and their prayers; it was not, in one word, till the contemplations of my people were turned to these great and essential elements in the business of a soul providing for its interest with God, and the concerns of its eternity, that I ever heard of any of those subordinate reformations, which I afore time made the earnest and the zealous, but I am afraid at the same time, the ultimate object of my earliest ministrations."

There are other things in the article which seem to us singular, both as to their logic and their theology. We can only give them a passing notice. For instance,

"It is said that all suffering is the consequence of sin, and is sent to punish and reform. But this is not true to Scripture or to fact. The

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innocent suffer. 'Many are the afflictions of the righteous.' The idea of penalty, of retribution, cannot explain all the pangs of human life. And if He, who in the physical universe provides a compensation for every disturbance only to accomplish more perfectly his wise and gracious designs, provide no equivalent compensation for the providential disturbances of his children's peace, then clouds and darkness are indeed around his throne, through which no light penetrates. But there is blasphemy in the thought. The compensations exist."

Suppose we admit for a moment the theology, what must we say to the logic? "The innocent suffer." How so? "Many are the afflictions of the righteous." Are the righteous then innocent, undeserving punishment? If they are, still it is here an assumption without proof, which improves very little the logic. But is it so perfectly clear that the righteous, that is, the best men among us, are innocent,—undeserving of punishment, and beyond the necessity of it for their reformation? This, evidently, is true neither from fact nor Scripture. We surely need not refer to particular facts or texts; the least reflection will suggest them. "If all suffering is" not "the consequence of sin, and sent to punish and reform," what then, in the logic of the article, is the cause and object of suffering? It gives no cause of suffering. If sin is not the cause, the article should at least attempt to show what it is. It however is more consistent on the other point; the object of suffering is not always to punish and reform, but for a "compensation." Singular reasoning! Here is a kind parent, permitting or causing his child to be punished that he may compensate him for it; he pains him, that he may soothe him. It is much better logic certainly—as to its being better theology no one can doubt—to take the old Bible ground, that all suffering is occasioned by sin, and is permitted or ordained for punishment or reformation. Still, as advantage is, in some instances, the natural result of both suffering and punishment; and as, in infinite wisdom and goodness, Jehovah causes good to spring out of evil, and causes all things to work together for the good of his people, we are compensated for what we suffer.

"But there is blasphemy in the thought." What thought? The thought that Jehovah does not for every suffering grant us a compensation? Under what obligation is he to do that? And where is the compensation for

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the suffering of an agonizing death to him, who by it is hurried to that condition in another world, which in the Bible is termed "everlasting punishment?" If it is replied, the death of a bad man is compensated for in the fact that as it shortens his days of rebellion, it prevents an accumulation of guilt and misery; still, we answer, there is no evidence that his death was sent as a compensation. In Bible phraseology, it is a penalty. What then is the blasphemous thought? That "clouds and darkness are indeed about his throne, through which no light penetrates?" And has it come to this, that the creature is at liberty to interrogate the Creator; that the child of a moment must comprehend the Almighty? That Jehovah is pleased to reveal many of his methods to man is evident; that he is under any obligation to do it, or always does it, is another thing. The Psalmist exclaims, "Clouds and darkness are round about him;" and this passage suggests any number of passages, indicating the direction of blasphemy on this subject.

One of the compensations for the wreck of the Atlantic is stated in the article to be, "the fact of immortality." See page 123. Our difficulty here is not with the inaccuracy of the expression, though we might well ask for evidence that "immortality" is any way dependent upon death; but if we mistake not, the article does (though, of course, not intentionally!) covertly deny future punishment. "Indeed, if to them that perish, death be the end, there is no adequate compensation." What then if death be the end of happiness; more, the commencement of "everlasting punishment," where now is the compensation? Death is indeed an unspeakable favor to Christians; but if it would be no favor to persons annihilated, how is it to those, who "go away into everlasting punishment?" If the author's theology, in regard to future punishment, is right, (he of course believes in it!) then his theory of "compensation" is false.

D. C. H.

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ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

I. Biblical Literature.

1. *A New Translation of the Book of Psalms, with an Introduction and Notes chiefly explanatory.* By George R. Noyes, D. D. Second edition. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1846. 367 pp. 12mo.

The first edition of this work has become well known to the public. In this new edition, the author informs us that he has revised the translation, and added a number of pages to the Introduction, and several explanatory notes. The general principles of the work are, of course, unchanged. The Introduction contains much valuable information, pertaining to the understanding of the Book of Psalms. The explanatory notes are in general brief, simple and correct. The author, however, seldom ventures to speak very decidedly on difficult passages, and avoids extended discussion on points which involve important principles of interpretation. The translation arranges the stanzas in such a manner as to exhibit the poetic element of the original; it may be looked upon as a useful help to the study of the Psalms; but will not satisfy the critical student. It is not sufficiently thorough or extensive. Any one who wishes to go into the profound exegesis of the sacred authors, and to understand the fundamental questions pertaining to their interpretation, must look to some other source.

Dr. Noyes often quotes de Wette, whose opinions, in many respects, he adopts. It is not strange, therefore, that he often walks in a different path from orthodox commentators both in this country and in Germany. It seems to us that he treads in wrong paths, dangerous to the interests of a sober faith and sound interpretation. Without descending to his observations in detail, we have a remark or two to make concerning his views of inspiration, and of the Messianic psalms. In both, he seems to us to have fallen into errors, serious in themselves, and serious in their consequences.

In respect to the Messianic psalms generally, following de Wette, Dr. Noyes seems to intimate that there are no psalms which have exclusive reference to the Messiah, and at the same time he rejects any typical or allegorical interpretation, which would give to any of them such a reference. He says,—"At first view, it would be natural to expect that the lyrical productions of the Jewish poets, as well as the writings of the prophets, would contain allusions to the Messiah. But when we come to examine those which have been chiefly referred to as containing the Messianic hopes, such as the ii., xvi., xxii., xl., xlv., lxxii., cx., we seem to find, on the principles of historical interpretation which are applied to all other books, in some of them no predic-

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tions whatever, but only references to the past or the present; in others, only glowing anticipations, which seem to refer to the writer of the psalm, or to Jewish kings contemporary with him." This seems to cut off entirely the Messianic character of all the Psalms. The question then will immediately arise, Do not the writers of the New Testament, and does not our Lord himself affirm, that some of the writings of the prophets contain predictions concerning the Messiah? "All things," says Christ, "must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and the psalms concerning me." "What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. Jesus answered and said unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thy enemies thy footstool. If David call him Lord, how is he then his son?" In the second of Acts, Peter, referring to the sixteenth psalm, says, "David speaketh concerning him," viz. Christ. And afterwards, in his comment on the same, he adds, "David—being a prophet—and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne, he, seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption." Paul in Heb. v. 5, quoting Psalm ii., says, "So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high-priest; but *he that said unto him*, 'Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee.'" And in vii., 21, "For those priests were made without an oath; but this with an oath, by *him that said unto him*, The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedek." See also Heb. x. 5—10. Dr. Noyes, following some of the German and other commentators of lax views, suggests a variety of methods of accounting for these passages without allowing them a Messianic reference; yet in so cautious a manner as to avoid, for the most part, the responsibility which would make him liable to be accused of adopting those lax opinions; but he equally avoids the frank, full and free-hearted avowal of his belief in their Messianic signification. The question, however, seems to be a very simple one. The New Testament writers and Jesus Christ himself being witnesses, there are Psalms of a prophetic character—prophetic of the person, the character, the sufferings, the triumph and the times of Christ. This is distinctly asserted, in terms which signify this, or they signify nothing. We may appeal, for example, to the passages quoted above, and to other passages of a kindred character and spirit. We may appeal also to passages such as Acts i. 16, where the apostle Peter says, "The Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake this before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus." In respect to these passages, the remark of Dr. Noyes—"It deserves consideration, whether Christ may not be said to have fulfilled what is written in the Psalms concerning him, when he *filled out* or completed, what was valuable in the experience, or precious in the hopes, of David and other servants of God, which are the proper subjects of the Psalms. His life and sufferings were analogous to theirs, but of a higher character, and attended with more glorious results"—this remark, we say, seems to us by no means to come up to the demands of the case. It denies, after all, that these prophecies in the

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Psalms were spoken concerning Christ. Moreover, we have no occasion to allow a mystical or allegorical sense. Even the suggestion that our Saviour and his apostles employ the argument *ex concessis*, in some of the instances involves an absolute impossibility, and in many others is wholly insufficient and unlikely, not to say absurd.

But we are most of all surprised at a suggestion which strikes at the root of inspiration. Dr. Noyes says—"In regard to some of the references made to the Psalms by Paul and Peter, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, it seems necessary to suppose that they were not inspired as critics and interpreters, but that they argued according to a mode of reasoning and of interpretation which they held in common with their contemporaries, but which cannot be regarded as valid at the present day. Now it is an indisputable fact, that the ancient Jews, without regard to any just laws of interpretation, and especially in pursuance of the typical or the allegorical method, applied hundreds of passages of the Old Testament to the Messiah, which no one in modern times can suppose to relate to him. It would be singular, therefore, if we did not find traces of the same mode of applying scriptural passages in the writers of the New Testament." In another place he asks, "Why should not the *language* of David, as well as his *conduct*, be sometimes inconsistent with what is right?" Without stopping to show, in detail, the incorrectness of the views here suggested, we deem it sufficient, in general, to say that since "ALL Scripture is given by inspiration of God," and "Holy men spake *as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*," then, if there are in the New Testament errors of reasoning or of interpretation, in respect to the prophetic or Messianic psalms, so called, they are the errors, not of Jewish writers merely, but the errors of the Holy Ghost,—the errors of God. From such a conclusion, who does not shrink back with horror? Who can put confidence in a theory which leads to such a result?

We learn from a casual remark in another part of the Introduction that Dr. Noyes's views of inspiration are, by no means, equivalent to the declarations of the sacred writers themselves. He says, "The most probable account of this matter in my humble opinion is this, that God Almighty (though in a particular sense the God of Abraham and his offspring), did not interpose by his grace, or act upon the minds of his peculiar people, not even of their *prophets*, in an extraordinary manner, except when he vouchsafed to suggest some future event, or any other circumstance that might be for the public benefit of mankind. In all other respects, I apprehend they were left to the full exercise of their free will, without control of the divine impulse." This, for aught we can see, denies inspiration substantially, except in the case of prophecy. But so small a portion of the Scriptures is prophetic, that to deny inspiration to all other parts is very nearly equivalent to an entire denial of it. And then, what becomes of the statement, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God?" With such views, whenever a doctrine or statement, not distinctly prophetic, clashes with a person's opinions, he has no trouble in affirming that it is not inspired, that the writer is in error. And in this view, the great Protestant principle,—"the Scriptures are the only and all sufficient rule of faith and practice"—is no longer of any value. While we rejoice in the accumula-

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tion of means for the understanding of the word of God, we greatly dread the promulgation of sentiments adapted to undermine our faith and to shake the confidence of men in the divine revelation.

II. General Literature.

2. *The Baptist Almanac and Annual Register for the year of our Lord* 1847. *Adapted for use in every part of the United States.* Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, 1847. Boston, Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.

This useful manual deserves more than a passing notice. Though it is designed to be only an annual pamphlet, it contains a great body of statistical information respecting the Baptist denomination, which commends it to the regards of those who have occasion to consult authentic records. It does honor to the industry and wisdom of the editor. Besides the usual calendar pages, we have 1. Tables of all the Baptist Associations in the United States, with the number of churches, ministers, members, etc., and the corresponding secretary of each, with his address. 2. A General Summary, shewing the number of churches to be 9,795; of members, 722,404; ministers, 5,564; licentiates, 1,175; baptized within the last year, 36,917. 3. Baptist Associations in the British Provinces and West Indies. 4. Anti-Mission Baptist Associations in the United States. 5. Statistics of Baptist churches throughout the world. 6. Other religious denominations in the United States. 7. Table of Baptist Colleges and Theological Schools in the United States, Great Britain and the British Provinces, with the usual tabular information respecting them. 8. National Baptist Societies. 9. Baptist Periodicals in the United States. Of these, there are twenty issued weekly; one, semi-monthly; ten, monthly; three, quarterly, and one, annually. Seven are established in Massachusetts; five in New York; in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, three each; in Ohio, Illinois and Georgia, two each; and in seven other States, one each. Such a Manual is of great value and must demand great diligence in its execution.

3. *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the year* 1847. Boston, James Munroe & Co. pp. 351. 12mo.

The American Almanac has been published for eighteen years, and is widely circulated and highly esteemed both in America and Europe. As an accurate and extensive repository of general and statistical information, it stands unrivalled. Many new tables and other articles will be found in the present number, in the various departments of politics, literature, commerce, geography, science and law.

4. *Schiller's Homage of the Arts, with Miscellaneous Pieces from Rückert, Freiligrath, and other German Poets.* By Charles T. Brooks. Boston, James Munroe & Co. 1847. 151 pp. 16mo.

In versions of the poetry of one language into another, the spirit of the original too often vanishes away, and the spirit of the translator takes its place. Of this remark we could cite many examples. But the author of these translations, some years since, gave to the public a very favorable pledge of his abilities in this kind of imitations in the

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twelfth volume of the "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature." The present little volume is a smaller collection of "specimens," preserving, in a happy manner, the spirit and freshness of the original. We are gratified with these life-like imitations, because they present us a genuine fac-simile of the German mind, in its moments of playful fancy and poetic inspiration. The volume is tastefully printed and bound, and will be an acceptable offering to the lovers of this department of German literature.

5. *Christianity and Civil Liberty. A Thanksgiving Sermon delivered in the Meeting House of the First Baptist church, Providence, R. I., Nov.* 26, 1846. By JAMES N. GRANGER. Providence. G. P. Daniels. 1847. pp. 27. 8vo.

This excellent and timely discourse shows that a "pure Christianity is the great bulwark of civil liberty." It is a serious, intellectual and manly plea for Christianity in its political bearings. By showing the nature of Christianity and the meaning and extent of civil liberty, together with the connection between the two, the author is led to speak of some of the abuses and errors of the age, in terms of kind, but rational rebuke, and to show that they are the legitimate offspring of wrong views. The discourse will highly approve itself to all reasonable and thinking men.

6. *Apollos, or the Preacher.* A Sermon preached before the Maine Baptist Convention, holden at Brunswick, June 16, 1846. By Rev. J. T. CHAMPLIN, Professor in Waterville College. Portland. C. Day & Co. 1846. pp. 32. 8vo.

This discourse is founded on 2 Tim. 2: 15—"Rightly dividing the word of truth." Prof. Champlin shows that, in order to be a minister "that needeth not to be ashamed," the preacher should rightly divide the word—1. In respect to its topics of excitement, edification and consolation. 2. In respect to its sterner and milder features. 3. In respect to the moral constitution of man. 4. In respect to the social state of man. 5. In respect to the particular condition of his own people. The sermon is well conceived and well expressed; alike honorable to the author, and to the audience who requested its publication.

7. *Memoir of Asahel Grant, M. D., Missionary to the Nestorians.* Compiled by Rev. A. C. LOTHROP. Containing also an *Appeal to Pious Physicians*, by DR. GRANT. New York. M. W. Dodd. 1847. pp. 216. 18mo.

This little volume is another delightful contribution to missionary biography. The amiable, affectionate and pious spirit of Dr. Grant, as well as the scenes of danger and of stirring enterprise through which he passed, give the brief record more than ordinary attractions. As a suitable tribute to his worth, it will, we doubt not, lengthen out the usefulness of his too short life, by still diffusing the influence of his spirit and labors. Dr. Grant was born in Marshall, Oneida Co., N. Y., August 19, 1809. He made satisfactory progress in study in early

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life, but never enjoyed the advantage of a liberal education. He pursued the study of medicine at regular institutions, and was settled in lucrative practice at Utica, N. Y., when he conceived it to be his duty to devote his life to the promotion of the cause of missions. He sailed from this country in May, 1835, and died April 24, 1844, having been a most earnest, devoted and useful servant of God. He was twice married. The first Mrs. Grant died before his first embarkation, leaving two sons, for whom, though left behind, their father ever manifested the deepest interest and anxiety. The second Mrs. Grant was distinguished by her energy and piety, and died after spending about three years in the mission. A memoir has been some years before the public, describing her character and labors. Dr. Grant has made himself very widely known by his volume maintaining the identity of the Nestorians with the Lost Tribes of the Hebrews. His latest labors were among the mountain Nestorians. Just before his death the station was broken up by the hostile proceedings which, ripening since that time, have recently swept hundreds of that interesting people, by an unsparing slaughter, from the face of the earth.

8. *Biography of Self-Taught Men: with an Introductory Essay.* Vol. I. Boston. B. Perkins & Co. 1846. pp. 324. 16mo.

The substance of this volume was prepared several years ago by Professor Edwards, of the Andover Theological Seminary, with the design of encouraging young men who are endeavoring by their own efforts and resources to rise to respectability and usefulness. The subjects selected are well adapted to this end, and the various lives constitute a deeply interesting volume. The deserving class of persons for whose benefit the work is written, have many and severe struggles with difficulty; and it must be a source of great consolation to them to see that as great or greater difficulties have been mastered by others. Among the names in the table of contents, we are glad to find those of Thomas Baldwin and Lott Carey. The introductory essay is a production in the same spirit as the several memoirs, and worthy of a place in such a book. It is the design of the publishers to issue an additional volume in the course of a few months, and others as materials may present themselves and the public patronage may warrant. The number of memoirs in this volume is twenty-six. They describe the struggles and successes of men devoted to the various professions, and belonging to various nations. The history of Count Rumford, not found in the former issue, is appended to this, and several sketches which appeared before are now omitted, with reference to future publication in an enlarged form.

9. *Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. A Book for the Times.* By an American Citizen. With an introductory Essay. By Calvin E. Stowe, D. D. Salem and Boston. John P. Jewett & Co. pp. 239. 12mo.

This work, which has already excited considerable attention, fully answers the object announced in the title. It is a dispassionate, philosophical statement of the principles of the gospel, in a manner adapted to win the unquallified assent of a thinking mind. The volume is un-

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derstood to be the production of a legal gentleman of the State of Ohio. We rejoice to see the ability and learning of the other professions poured in, after this manner, into the treasury of the gospel. The work deserves a serious perusal.

10. *The Field of Promise, or Illustrations of the Importance and Usefulness of Sunday Schools.* By JOSEPH BELCHER, D. D. Boston. New England Sabbath School Union. pp. 157. 18mo.

In seventeen brief narratives, under attractive titles, Dr. B. illustrates the usefulness of Sabbath Schools. They are simple and quiet pieces, and will interest many of the children for whom they are designed.

11. *Onward! Right Onward!* 16mo. *I will be a Lady. A Book for Girls.* 16mo. *I will be a Gentleman. A Book for Boys.* 16mo. *Boy of Spirit. A Story for the Young.* 16mo.

These four little books, all by Mrs. L. C. TUTHILL, and published by Crosby & Nichols, Boston, form an admirable series for the entertainment and instruction of children and young persons. They are written with great vivacity and spirit, beautifully printed, and attractive in their appearance, and cannot fail to please as well as profit, and to profit as well as please.

12. *Light in the Dwelling, or a Harmony of the Four Gospels, with very short and simple remarks, adapted to Reading at Family Prayers, and arranged in 365 sections, for every day in the year.* By the author of the Peep of Day, &c. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1846. 548 pp. 8vo.

The plan and execution of this book are worthy of high commendation. A devotional reading of the Scriptures is of the greatest utility, and every help to it is to be warmly welcomed. The present book will be of great assistance to persons in the common walks of life, enabling them to extract from every passage its instruction, warning or comfort, and to use every portion of the word of God contained in the selections for some practical benefit.

13. *The Primary Phonotypic Reader, for the use of Schools and Families.* By S. P. ANDREWS and AUGUSTUS F. BOYLE. Boston, 1847.

The Phonographic Reader: a Complete Course of Instructive Reading Lessons in Phonography. By the same. Boston, 1846. Fifth edition.

The Complete Phonographic Class Book; containing a strictly inductive Exposition of Pitman's Phonography. By the same. Fifth edition. Boston, 1846.

The Anglo Saxon. A weekly Newspaper devoted to the Diffusion of Phonotypy. By the same. Vol. I, No. 1, Dec., 1846.

The Phonotypic Journal. July, 1845. February, 1846. Bath and London.

Phonography is the art of writing by letters or signs, which precisely represent the sounds of words. Phonotypy is the printing of words

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spelt according to the sound. The inventor of the art is Isaac Pitman, of Bath, England, whose present age is about thirty-five years. He "enjoyed only the education of a national school," from which he was taken at the age of twelve years, and became under-clerk in the establishment of a clothier in the West of England, where his father was manager. While engaged in this business, he made strenuous and praiseworthy efforts to promote his literary culture, and at the age of nineteen he embarked in the work of teaching, under the auspices of the British and Foreign School Society. During his clerkship, he commenced the practice of short-hand, out of which gradually sprung his system of phonography; and out of this the kindred system of phonotypy. To the former, as a system of stenography affording valuable aid to reporters and others who have occasion to write briefly and with great rapidity, we see no objection. The stenographer, under any circumstances, must translate his manuscript at his leisure, to make it intelligible to others; and if his system is brief, flexible, convenient to himself, and capable of clear and ready interpretation by the writer, we know not why any one should object to it.

Of phonotypy, as it appears in the works at the head of this notice, we do not feel prepared to speak with approbation. Undoubtedly, our language exhibits numerous and singular anomalies in the spelling of words; but the authors of the new system seem to us to have greatly overrated them, and the inconveniences resulting from them. Having become stereotyped and incorporated among the living forms of the language, they occasion comparatively little inconvenience to readers. And, if they occupy the time of children who are learning to read, it is while they are at an age in which their time is of comparatively little value to them. Indeed, since our literature is, and for a long period to come is likely to be enshrined in the language as it is now printed, the present forms of orthography must be learned at some time; and we see not why they should not continue to be learned at the beginning, and once for all. To us it does not seem absolutely essential, as phonographers contend, that the sounds of letters should be invariably expressed by their names. It might be convenient in reducing to writing the language of a barbarous tribe. But the world has made respectable proficiency in literature, and in the arts and sciences of civilized life, notwithstanding this barrier to improvement. Nor can we think, with a writer on the new system, that the ignorance of the lowest classes, especially in Great Britain, is to be attributed chiefly to the prevalence of another mode of printing and writing than that which is set forth in the theory of Mr. Pitman. The writers on this subject are extremely sanguine of its success. We admire and respect their enthusiastic devotion to what seems to them a worthy cause. When, however, they speak of their system as an extraordinary reformation, of its making a great impression, and of its seeming "inevitably destined to a most rapid and successful career, until it shall at no distant day entirely supersede our present method of writing in the general business of life," we think they take counsel too confidently of their hopes; or perhaps rely insensibly upon that principle of human nature which prompts men to go wherever there is a crowd, or to run after any thing which is reported to have produced a wonderful excitement. There are some

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difficulties, however, which prevent us from giving our assent to the innovation proposed.

The beautiful study of etymologies must be swallowed up by this new method of spelling, which to our minds would be a serious objection. Even if it be affirmed that the learned would still retain a knowledge of the present mode of writing and printing, it is obvious that they must, in the event of the general prevalence of phonography, be burdened with the learning of two systems of orthography instead of one, and be constantly compelled to translate the phonotypic into the etymological orthography.

In order to make out as strong a case as possible in favor of the new method, our phonographers seem to us to overshoot the mark by making the case too strong, and reducing the whole matter to ridicule. Thus the author of the Phonographic Reader (p. 10) asserts that, so anomalous is the customary method of spelling in our language, that "a foreigner who had never seen the word *scissors* might write it in any one of 1,745,222 different modes, and in every case find authority in other words of the language to justify him for his use of each letter or combination." As an example, he spells the word *scissors* in the following manner, being only one method out of the hundreds of thousands,—*schiesourrhce*. In an article in the Bath Phonotypic Journal, we find several more precious specimens of kindred orthography; as, *gnuitheierrh*—neither; *phaigkpheaworaibt*—favorite; *psourrphuaknrw*—servant; *eolotthowghrhoighuay*—orthography; *psoughphthleigh*—softly. If a letter or combination of letters have a peculiar sound in one word in the language or in a class of words, would a foreigner be likely to suppose that this exception must be necessarily the general rule of the language? Could a foreigner, not divested of common sense, be found, who would write *scissors*, *orthography*, or *softly*, in the manner described above? *Credat Judæus.* We contend that no person would be likely to hit so far from the truth. But the design of the reformers is to institute a method which will save children and adults the necessity of learning to spell. Truly, a royal road is opened here also. In an age when knowledge is masticated for the use of babes, in all departments, the science of spelling, likewise, is to be put into the phonetic hopper, and comminuted to order for the toothless who cannot, and for the indolent who will not, grind it for their own use in the old fashioned way.

The phonographers affirm that by the use of this system, new facility will be given in learning foreign languages; and "all the immense variety of existing alphabets may be merged into one, and thus one great stumbling-block to the student of languages, especially of oriental languages, immediately removed." We suppose the plan is, to apply the phonetic alphabet to all languages; this, however, has not been done; nor, we suspect, will all nations consent that it should be. And if all literature, European, Asiatic and African, is not written and printed phonotypically, we cannot conceive how the system is to facilitate the learning of foreign languages. But the writer seems to imagine that the chief labor of learning a foreign language is to learn its alphabet and sounds. This, however, is in effect no "stumbling-block" at all. To collect, compare, comprehend and become familiar

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with the grammatical forms and the idioms of a strange tongue, "*hoc opus, hic labor est.*"

The phonographers themselves seem not to have settled fully their phonetic signs. Thus, the "Class Book" (1846) has a form, the capital letter of which resembles the Greek *Psi*, and has the force of *ew;* the "Reader" (1847) omits this character. The latter work has a character representing the sound of *u* in *tube;* the former omits it entirely.

There is also an uncertainty in the spelling of words by this new system. Comstock's system differs from Pitman's; and some practitioners express their words in forms differing from both. The orthography of words is subjected to the greatest uncertainty. The authors say, (Phonographic Class Book, p. 15), "It is not the province or business of phonography to teach the pronunciation of words, but merely to furnish the means of writing them in whatever manner the writer may choose to pronounce them. In this manner we shall be able to show how different writers actually do pronounce, which cannot be ascertained by the old method of writing; and thus phonography will doubtless be the means of finally settling pronunciation by one uniform standard among all who speak the language." If this be so, every writer having the liberty, according to this system, of spelling his words according to his own taste and his own pronunciation of them, the foundation is laid for endless uncertainties. No standard exists in the language, except the varying pronunciation of different persons, learned or ignorant, and, for aught that appears, one is as correct as another. We have, in this diversity, no index to that which is correct, no basis for a personal judgment in the case; but only the privilege, the helpless privilege, of discovering "how different writers actually do pronounce." And missionaries, so far from being able to print a foreign language with ease and certainty, mingling as they will with all ranks in society, and having from various quarters a varying pronunciation, will never be able to decide what language they are printing, or whether they are printing a language generally intelligible at all.

So, in the actual spelling out of sounds, we find that these phonographers have committed, what, in our view, are serious errors in pronunciation. But, as in some religious sects which have no written creed nor common platform, as a universal standard, so here, these errors in question are chargeable not to the system, but to the individuals committing them. Thus in the phonotypic form of the Lord's prayer, we have the last syllable of the word "evil," represented by the letter *u*, as sounded in cùr. But we have the same expression of the sound of the vowel in the last syllable of kingdom, deliver, temptation, innocent, impotent, and in the first syllable of additional, appendix, catholical, catholicism. Now to a not very delicate ear, we think a difference is perceptible between the sound of the vowel in the last syllable of the word "evil," and in the last syllable of the words "kingdom, etc." And to pronounce the first syllables of the four other words without reference to the *a* sound, seems to us a barbarism of which no etymological scholar would ever be guilty.

In applying the system of phonotypy to foreign languages, for example to the French, the whole train of grammatical laws seems to be necessarily obscured, if not subverted. The eye ceases to guide the

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young student to the forms of grammatical analysis. A phonographic grammar is demanded to each language, or the scholar in the elementary periods of his study, is lost in a sea of inextricable difficulties; neither sail, nor helm, nor oar, sun nor star is left him, and in vain does he seek help from the forms of words, "in wandering mazes lost." Indeed, in the modern languages of Europe, in which, to so great an extent, the same letters and combinations of letters uniformly represent the same sounds, we see far less reason for the so called reform, than in languages so abnormal, in this respect, as our own.

Several phonographic magazines have been established in England, societies organized, and a "printing-reformation fund" instituted. Two or three more important works have also been either completed or commenced in phonotypy, as the Bible, Milton's Paradise Lost, and the Vicar of Wakefield. The Normal Schools of Massachusetts, we understand, give some attention to the system, especially as it illustrates the force of the various letters and combinations of letters. Some gentlemen of high standing have petitioned for its introduction into the public schools; and if we are correctly informed, the public schools in two important cities in the State of New York make it a part of the daily instruction of the children. While we feel high respect for the character of the gentlemen principally concerned in advocating this innovation, we are unable to accord to it our praise. We are anxious, in every possible way, to secure the promotion of education among the people; but we have no confidence that this system will in any important manner, conduce to that end.

14. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays.* By ALEXANDER H. EVERETT. Second Series. Boston, James Monroe & Co. 1847. pp. 475. 12mo.

The Essays of Mr. Everett collected in this volume are highly interesting, and deserve a place among our permanent literature. They are sufficiently varied in character to attract the attention of most readers, and cannot fail to impart instruction, pleasure and intellectual enlargement. We are glad to see them in such a form, and cheerfully commend them to the notice of the admirers of elegant literature.

15. *An Introduction to the Study of the Greek Language, containing an Outline of the Grammar with Appropriate Exercises.* By A. C. KENDRICK, Professor of Greek in Madison University. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Hamilton, N. Y. Boston, Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. pp. 173. 12mo. 1847.

This excellent introduction by Prof. Kendrick has attained an extensive and well deserved reputation. It teaches Greek thoroughly and philosophically, and indicates in the author a praiseworthy degree of skill in elementary knowledge and in the power of instruction. A student commencing the study of Greek with such a Manual, we are confident will make great progress, and from its faithful use will reap the highest advantage. It is an honor to the author, and to the University from which it proceeds, and may be set by the side of the small Greek Grammar of Kühner, as a more condensed introduction to the rudiments of Greek literature.

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ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICA.

Gould, Kendall & Lincoln have in press Principles of Zoölogy; or History of the Races of Animals, both extinct and living, with reference to their structure and purposes, for the use of Colleges and Schools. By Prof. L. AGASSIZ and A. A. GOULD, M. D.

The same firm are about to issue a volume on church order and discipline, after the scriptural model, by WILLIAM CROWELL; with an Introductory Essay by Prof. H. J. RIPLEY.

Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, from the same publishing house, has reached the fifth number, extending to Dr. Barrow, A. D. 1689. The work is admirably adapted to the wants of those who, with small means and a literary taste, desire to see specimens of English literature of every successive period, with brief biographies of the principal authors. Such has been the demand for the work, that it has been found necessary to issue a second edition of the first three numbers. Besides the embellishments of the Edinburgh edition, several fine steel-plate engravings have been added. Shakspeare and Addison have appeared, and future numbers are to be adorned with a fine engraving of Byron, a full length figure of Dr. Johnson, etc.

The new translation of Neander on the Planting of the Christian church, from the press of Crocker and Brewster, is nearly ready. The first volume will be issued as soon as the sheets can be struck off from the plates, and the second will probably follow in three months.

A work on the subject of Atonement, entitled "Atonement and Sacrifice," by Rev. S. W. LYND, D. D., is announced as in press, by the American Baptist Publication Society.

ENGLAND.

Among new publications, we notice that Alison's History of Europe is to be issued in London in eighteen or twenty monthly volumes. The second volume appeared in February. It is to be hoped that this edition will omit the errors in respect to American manners, history and institutions which detract from the value of the work, and which have been largely pointed out in some of our Reviews; especially in the Christian Examiner.

The life of the late Rev. William Yates, by JAMES HOBY, D. D., was advertised to appear in London the first of March.

Milton's Paradise Lost has just been issued in England in phonotypic characters. It is stated that the number of converts to the system amounts to 20,000. The Gentleman's Magazine speaks not unfavorably of the system of phonography; it affirms that there is no reasonable objection to it on etymological grounds, inasmuch as scholars will always retain the Johnsonian spelling of words, and be easily able, passing through an additional step in the process, to arrive at the elements. The statement that Messrs. Andrews & Boyle, of Boston, have successfully taught a class of adult negroes, entirely illiterate, to read in seventy-two hours, is thought to be an argument in favor of the system.

A new and cheap Lexicon, the "National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge," is appearing in London in twelve volumes, demi-octavo, of more than 500 pages each. It is issued in monthly and weekly parts, and in volumes, one in four months. It is described as a much fuller and cheaper work than the Penny Cyclopædia.

A new era seems to be commencing in England in respect to the pursuits of Biblical literature. Though the publications issued may not, in general, indicate the most extensive and profound erudition, it is cheering to see a reviving taste for works in this department. Among them we notice the following:—The Psalms in Hebrew, with a Critical, Exegetical and Philological Commentary, by GEORGE PHILLIPS, B. D., of Cambridge. Also, a Lexicon of the Hebrew

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Language, by THOMAS JARRETT, professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. It is in two parts, Hebrew-English and English-Hebrew. It has an Introduction containing a Hebrew Grammar, a separate Vocabulary for each chapter, and a Grammatical Analysis of every word in the Book of Genesis. It has also an Appendix, containing a Chaldee Grammar, a Lexicon of all the Chaldee words in the Old Testament, and a Grammatical Analysis of all the forms that occur. This work is in press. From the above account of it, it is evidently sufficiently full, and more than sufficiently minute in its analytical praxis. A thorough analysis of a very few chapters would be abundantly sufficient for all the purposes of the student. To extend it to every word in the Book of Genesis is a superfluous labor.

Another work in the same department of literature is in course of publication in London. It is issued quarterly in octavo. Vol. I Part I only has appeared. It is a Synopsis of Criticisms on those passages of the Old Testament in which modern commentators have differed from the authorized version, together with an explanation of various difficulties in the Hebrew and English texts. It exhibits 1. The Hebrew Text. 2. The Septuagint. 3. The Authorized Version. 4. The explanations of commentators who support the present version, and who support the Hebrew Text as it has been corrupted or misunderstood by translators. The explications of the various commentators are given in succession, from the earliest writers downwards. The editor is Rev. RICHARD A. F. BARRETT, of King's College, Cambridge. Vol. I Part 2 was to be issued March 1.

GERMANY.

We find it stated in a London periodical that the sum of 4000 thalers, the produce of the Lectures delivered at the University of Berlin during the last winter, is to be devoted to the establishment of "Libraries for the People," in different parts of the town, whence the poorer classes may obtain gratis instructive works for perusal. The plan originated with Prof. Raumer, who has been entrusted with the appropriation of the money for the purpose.

We see also advertised an Attempt at a Polyglott of European Poesy, by ADOLF ELLISEN. It originated in the idea that the intellectual development of all nations is reflected in their poetry. The work exhibits the original and a German translation. The Basque and Celtic poetry occupies the first place. After this is to follow the Greek, then the Roman, and so on, until the present time. Such a work must have great interest for an enthusiastic student of European literature.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Chinese Professorship has been established in the London University. But notwithstanding the free intercourse of England with the Eastern world, it is said to be extremely difficult to find an individual with knowledge sufficiently profound to fill the office.

It is stated by a writer in "Il Mondo Illustrato,"—an Italian periodical published at Turin,—that in Italy in 1836, the number of periodical publications was 171; in 1845, 205. The table which presents the details exhibits a decline in the Venetian States, but an advance in all other parts of Italy. The greatest advance is in the States of the Church. A large proportion of the Italian periodicals is devoted to the abstruse sciences, mathematics, physics, jurisprudence, medicine, surgery, the fine arts, etc. Very little free discussion on political questions is ventured. Hence the number of Italian periodicals is no index to the general intelligence and diffusion of enlightened views among the people.

The same writer gives the following statistics of the periodical literature of several countries in Europe: Austria, including the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, 159; Germanic Confederation, including the Austrian and Prussian Dependencies, 1836; France 1294; Belgium 140; Great Britain 541; Russia 139.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

EDWIN H. BAILEY, West Hartwick, Otsego Co., N. Y., Feb. 6, aged 33.

MILTON W. BALL, (licentiate), Dublin, N. H., Dec. 28, aged 25.

GEORGE W. LATHAM, Norfolk, Va., Jan 21, aged 41.

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CHARLES A. LEWIS, Goshen, Va., Feb. 7.
JOHN NEALE, Fauquier Co., Va., Jan. 12, aged 76.
HUMPHREY POSEY, Georgia.
NATHAN D. WRIGHT, Maryland, Otsego Co., N. Y., Nov. 10, aged 67.

ORDINATIONS.

CALVIN L. BAKER, Dublin, N. H., Jan. 28.
NORMAN B. BALDWIN, Monticello, Sullivan Co., N. Y., Jan. 20.
LEWIS BALL, Cherry Creek chh., Miss., Dec. 16.
SYLVESTER BESSE, Lincoln, Maine, Jan. 1.
A. D. BLACKWOOD, Mt. Pleasant, Ala., Dec. 12.
S. J. BRONSON, Millbury, Mass., Dec. 16.
B. F. BRONSON, Ashland, Mass,, Dec. 17.
JOSEPH P. BROWN, Charlestown, R. I., Jan. 28.
ELIJAH BROWNEN, Cherry Creek chh., Miss., Dec. 16.
J. T. BURMAN, East Sullivan, Tioga Co., Pa., Oct. 7.
ROBERT BURTON, Mt. Zion, Lunenburg Co., Va., Nov. 29.
JEFFERSON CHAMBERS, McConnelsville, O., Dec. 23.
HOMER CLARK, Pleasant Valley, Fult. Co., N. Y., Jan 27.
NELSON COMBS, Fort Ann, Wash. Co., N. Y., Jan. 27.
PETER C. EDWARDS, Society Hill, S. C., Nov. 20.
C. F. JOHNSON, Richmond, Va., Jan. 31.
S. LANDRUM, Salem, Oglethorpe Co., Ga., Oct. 23.
——— LAWRENCE, Cypress Creek, Lafayette Co., Miss,, Oct. 25.
E. LEWIS, Buck Run, Frankfort, Ky., Sept. 10.
R. R. LILLARD, Laurenceburgh, Ky., Oct. 24.
ALBERT D. LOW, Camden, Lorain Co., O., Jan. 6.
J. MITCHELL, Olive Branch chh., Conecuh Co., Ala., Nov. 20.
B. T. QUIN, Buck Run, Frankfort, Ky., Sept. 10.
GIDEON SEYMOUR, Norristown, Carrol Co., O., Nov. 29.
DAVID M. SMITH, Nelson, N. Y., Nov. 19.
LEVI STONE, Mead's Creek, Steuben Co., N. Y., Jan. 6.
DAVID TAYLOR, Leominster, Mass., Jan. 27.
J. L. TRUEMAN, Petersburg, Va., Feb. 11.
ALFRED WELLS, Milo, Yates Co., N. Y., Feb. 1.
P. S. WHITMAN, Bolton, Mass., Dec. 22.
ABRAHAM WHITSON, Paris, Tenn., Nov. 14.
S. WILDER, Cohoes, N. Y., Nov. 24.
JAMES WILLIAMS, Montville, Me., Jan. 27.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Ricreall River, Oregon.
Yamhill River, Oregon.
Effingham C'd, Ga., Sept. 19.
Cincinnati, O.
Youngstown, O., Dec.
Windham, Con., Dec. 9.
Adams, Jefferson Co., N. Y., Dec. 17.
Mobile, Ala., (colored) Dec. 20.
Sparta, Caroline Co., Va., Dec. 23.
Richmond, Wash. Co., Ill., Dec. 27.
Newport, R. I., Jan 7.
Lexington, Oglethorpe Co., Ga., Jan. 9.
Avoca, Steuben Co., N. Y., Jan. 13.
Abingdon, Va., Jan. 16.
East Brooklyn, N. Y., Feb. 11.

DEDICATIONS.

Peoria, Ill., Oct.
Spring Prairie, W. T., Oct.
West Union, O., Nov. 28.
Carlton, Orleans Co., N. Y., Dec. 1.
West Royalston, Mass., Dec. 3.
Terra Salis, Va., Dec. 6.
Windham, Con., Dec. 9.
Lewisburg, Pa., Dec. 15.
Salem, N. J., Dec. 17.
Hillsboro', O., Dec. 20.
English Neighborhood, N. J., Dec. 24.
Bridgeport, Mad. Co., N. Y. Dec. 31.
Carlton Central, Orl. Co., N.Y., Jan.
West Tisbury, Mass., Jan 6.
East Greenwich, R. I., Jan. 7.
Watertown, N. Y., Jan. 7.
South Abington, Mass., Jan. 13.
West Acton, Mass., Jan. 19.
Vienna, Ontario Co., N. Y., Jan. 20.
Freedom, Catta. Co., N. Y., Feb. 4.
Mechanicsburg, Champaign Co., O., Feb. 11.
New Marlboro', Mass., Feb. 24.
New Haven, Con., (2d chh.,) Feb. 24.
Newton, Sussex Co., N. J., Feb. 25.

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THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

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THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

NO. XLVI....JUNE, 1847.

ARTICLE I.

"PERFECT IN ONE."

1. *Appeal to the American Churches, with a Plan for Catholic Union.* By S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, Gettysburg, Pa.
2. *Historical Sketch of the Evangelical Alliance.* By Rev. DAVID KING, L. L. D.
3. *Articles on "Christian Unity" and "Christian Union,"* in the New Englander, Vol. IV.

The union of Christians! The unity of the universal church! There is something in the words, which, as we write them, warms the blood in our veins, and wakens visions enrapturing to the believer's heart. They carry us back to the apostolic age of the church, her "sweet hour of prime," when she inhaled the morning breath of the gospel day, and, however foes might rage without, all within was harmony and peace. They carry us forward to the time when the whole assembly and church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven, shall be gathered around the throne of God and the Lamb; and there, amid the blaze of celestial glory, the fulness of immortal joy, the gushing transports of perfect love, shall

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lose all remembrance of the petty feuds that now divide them, while from the vast unbroken throng of happy spirits shall continually ascend the strains of that "new song"—forever singing, yet forever new: "THOU art worthy; for thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation,"—and not one harsh discordant note be ever heard to impede the current of the immortal theme. They call up too a conception of the church universal on earth, on which, though existing as yet, alas! in conception only, the Christian heart will dwell with never-tiring delight; and to the realization of which, Christian hope clings, as the promised consummation of the Redeemer's work, the finished demonstration of his power to save. That vision filled his soul, when in the last words of his last recorded prayer, leaving the wants of his immediate disciples, his mind ran down along the track of coming ages, and expanded with the spreading triumphs of his kingdom, and he prayed, "not for these alone, but for them also which shall believe through their word. That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may know that thou hast sent me. The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one even as we are one, I in them and thou in me: that they may be made PERFECT IN ONE, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me." Wonderful prayer! where has been the spiritual discernment of the Church, that she has so long overlooked its profound and pregnant significance? Blessed prayer! suggesting at once to the attentive mind, and beyond all the power of logical discussion, the true divine ideal of the Christian society on earth, the most urgent and affecting plea for the restoration of its perfect unity, and an implicit pledge that the world shall yet see and acknowledge this irresistible evidence of the divine mission and all-conquering love of our Lord.

Until very lately, however, nothing has appeared in the signs of the times to indicate the near approach of this consummation so devoutly to be wished. The only distinct, unfaltering witness for a catholic unity of the church, was Rome; and her testimony on this, as on all

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other subjects, was so monstrous and palpable a lie, that multitudes of spiritual minds were driven to the opposite extreme, and the idea became at length a very popular one, that the sectarian form which Christianity has assumed in these last days, is really a matter of congratulation to the church and of thanksgiving to God! Of course, the war of sects went on; and even in their efforts to promote the truth which, for substance, they held in common, the churches of Protestantism proceeded on as distinct, dissimilar, often hostile and mutually destructive plans, as though they were serving rival masters and had opposing interests to consult. An unbelieving world looked on and mocked. It was in 1815, we think, that an eloquent writer of our own denomination depicted, in the following language, this melancholy state of things.

"Though this rending of the seamless garment of our Saviour, this schism in the members of his mystical body, is by far the greatest calamity which has befallen the Christian interest, and one of the most fatal effects of the great apostacy foretold by the sacred penmen, we have been so long familiarized to it as to be scarcely sensible of its enormity; nor does it excite surprise or concern, in any degree proportioned to what would be felt by one who had contemplated the church in the first ages. Christian societies regarding each other with the jealousies of rival empires, each aiming to raise itself on the ruin of all others, making extravagant boasts of superior purity, generally in exact proportion to their departure from it, and scarcely deigning to acknowledge the possibility of obtaining salvation out of their pale, is the odious and disgusting spectacle which modern Christianity presents. The evils which result from this state of division are incalculable: it supplies infidels with their most plausible topics of invective; it hardens the consciences of the irreligious, weakens the hands of the good, impedes the efficacy of prayer, and is probably the principal obstruction to that ample effusion of the Spirit which is essential to the renovation of the world." Hall's Works, Vol. I, p. 289. (Harpers' edition.)

Thirty years have passed since this good man proposed *his* remedy for the evil, and this is still a faithful portraiture of the existing state of things; though we cannot but hope that the state of feeling in regard to it, is beginning to be changed. The time is past, we trust forever, when it could with truth be said of the Christian world, that they are "insensible of its enormity;" that "it does not excite surprise or concern;" or that nothing is doing for its removal, and for the restoration of that universal

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fellowship, that free fraternal intercourse and coöperation, which distinguished the Christian community in the first ages. Within the past few years, there has been an almost simultaneous, and, in many respects, a very remarkable waking up in all parts of spiritual Christendom to the claims of this subject; and our readers are familiar with the progress of an interesting experiment, recently commenced on an imposing scale for the purpose of giving this impulse a practical direction; an experiment, which, whatever may be its immediate results, can hardly fail to render the year 1846 memorable, as the opening of a new era in the history of spiritual Christianity.

We refer of course to the organization of the *Evangelical Alliance*, at London, in the month of August last. That organization we are constrained to regard as the form in which a deep, pervading and powerful feeling, long at work in the very heart of the church and now forcing its way outward thence, has been providentially led to embody and express itself. Individuals there may have been, parties, and, for aught we know, entire sects, who united in this movement and were even active in setting it on foot, as has been asserted, from the suggestions of a selfish policy, and with a notion that they might turn it to account in the furtherance of sectarian ends. But it would be idle to suppose that an element of this kind entered to any formidable extent into the ultimate composition of the Alliance. The success of such schemers, if with such the measure originated, has been to call up a spirit which will neither act at their dictation nor down at their bidding—a spirit which, instead of working in blear-eyed subservience to sectarian designs, has grasped the very pillars of sectarianism, and will do what it can to prostrate the whole fabric with its supporters.

We have, then, no fears that this organization will become the tool of a party. It has too many edges, cutting too many ways, to be safely handled for such a purpose. It is watched by too many vigilant eyes; it has spread itself too far, having already incorporated into its constituency members of numerous and widely separated religious sects, citizens of many countries, even the inhabitants of different continents; above all, it is animated by a spirit too genuine and pure, too definite in its aims and too determined in its manifestations, to warrant any

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remaining fear that its influence, be that more or less, will be other than antagonistic to the present organization at least of sectarian Christianity. Its testimony will be against the spirit, if not against the fact of sect; and though it should never again be convened, its testimony will not be wholly in vain. Whether it is destined to survive or to perish, to act with increasing energy in the life and form of Christianity in the times to come, or to pass away in a transient burst of generous feeling; whether, on the former supposition, its success will be the triumphant restoration of the true church catholic, or a mere re-organization of the church sectarian, and the introduction of some subtler device, of human or of diabolic invention, to mock the hopes of the Christian, and embarrass the progress of the truth: this, in our judgment, will depend almost entirely, under God, on the degree of practical respect paid to the word of God in the detailed development of its plan, and the future conduct of its operations. If it be of God, it will stand; and so far as its action accords with his revealed will, and no farther, will its influence be benignant and lasting.

But it is time for us to take a nearer view of the plans which are proposed for the promotion of this sacred cause, and to determine, if possible, the leading principles which should guide our conduct in respect to it.

The earliest distinct expression that we remember to have seen, of this ardent desire for Christian union, was the admirable paper from the pen of Rev. Dr. Schmucker, published in the Biblical Repository for January and April, 1838; and since republished in two or three successive editions of the little volume, whose title we have placed at the head of our article. It should be read by all who feel an interest in this subject, or who love to witness the manifestations of a pure and lofty spirit. The benevolent author takes higher ground than it was thought expedient for the Alliance to assume, and presses the obligation of Christian unity in a form which, in our judgment, comes much nearer the infallible standard of duty, though doubtless it is beyond all hope of immediate attainment in the existing state of the religious world. He urges, not merely the desirableness of a voluntary association among individual Christians, on some convenient plan, to manifest and promote the spirit of union,

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but the absolute necessity and sacred obligation resting on the evangelical churches of Christ, to adopt some plan of visible fellowship, intercommunion, and coöperation, that will constitute a practical unity of the whole church; and he recognizes the apostolic model as an authoritative guide for all ages, as to the mode and form of that unity. In this view we wish to record our deliberate and cordial concurrence. It is unquestionably the true doctrine; and though for prudential reasons, it may be better to limit our first efforts to objects more immediately and certainly within our reach, yet we deem it of the last importance, that nothing short of this glorious end should be the goal at which we aim. We strike hands with all of every name, who make it an object of hope and prayer and effort. And it is mainly because we have feared that there was a disposition in some estimable and influential quarters to give countenance to a different doctrine, nay, openly and earnestly to teach that the affections of the Christian's heart and the demands of the Christian's Lord may be satisfied with something far short of this, and of a totally opposite nature, that we have been led to lift our pen on a subject whose general merits so many abler ones are discussing.

It is not difficult to detect the single flaw which vitiates and paralyzes the whole magnificent scheme of Dr. S., and renders impracticable the immediate restoration of primitive unity to the church. What were the essential elements of that unity? Presupposing the prevalence of that union of spirit which gave life to all external bonds, Dr. S. enumerates the following, as the outward means of manifesting and perpetuating it:

1. Unity of name. 2. Unity of opinion on fundamental doctrines. 3. Mutual acknowledgment of each other's acts of discipline. 4. Sacramental and ministerial communion. 5. Occasional epistolary communication. 6. Occasional consultation by delegates in an advisory council. An admirable enumeration, in the main; but rendered valueless, as a basis of catholic union among the churches, by one fatal omission. It is this: Substantial agreement as to the TERMS OF ADMISSION, and the MUTUAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES of members. This, unquestionably, existed among the apostolic churches, and had much to do with their ecclesiastical unity. Insert it in the third place

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of the catalogue, and all the subsequent particulars might be omitted, as resulting from it so naturally and necessarily that they do not need to be mentioned. Omit it, and all those particulars lack the essential element of moral propriety.

Here then we have the very root of sectarianism in the church of Christ. Let us not cover it up and try to keep it out of sight, but expose it, and examine it, and pray over it, and strive to devise some means to cut it off. Give to the churches these three things, a common name, indicative of their common union to the Lord and consequent union to each other; unity in the truth; and unity in the fundamental principles of their organization: and you make them "perfect in one." But the two first they have already. God in his providence has preserved their first, best name (Acts 11 : 26) from sectarian desecration; and as to their oneness of faith, it surely needed no assembly of good men in the year 1846, to ascertain or assert what the voice of all history so distinctly declare, and what the violence and virulence of sectarian strife has in one point of view only rendered the more marked and unmistakable. No! the real difficulty, and the whole difficulty, lies in the absence of the third requisite. Shrink from the truth as much as we may, extenuate the evil as adroitly as we may, the simple fact is this. The root of sectarianism, among true Christians, is *the existence of sects;* and the distinction of sects is a difference of *organization.* Is no one to blame for it? Is nothing to be done about it?

It is well understood that the Evangelical Alliance has not proposed any direct effort to remove this evil. It does not bear any distinct testimony against the existence of sects; it does not seek to unite the several denominations by any ecclesiastical bonds; it does not pledge its members to labor or to pray for any change in the outward organization of Christianity. It is simply a voluntary association of individual Christians, to manifest and promote the spiritual oneness of the Saviour's disciples, and to restrain, so far as possible in the existing state of things, the offensive developments of sectarian feeling. The following distinct expressions on these points are found among its published minutes:

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"That the Alliance is not to be considered as an alliance of denominations, or branches of the church, but of *individual Christians*, each acting on his own responsibility."

"That the great object of the Alliance shall be, *to aid in manifesting*, as far as practicable, the unity *which exists* amongst the true disciples of Christ; to promote their union by fraternal and devotional intercourse; to discourage all envyings, strifes and divisions; to impress upon Christians a deeper sense of the great duty of obeying our Lord's command, to 'love one another;' and *to seek the full accomplishment of his prayer:* 'That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee; that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.'"

We think that this limitation is a judicious one. We believe, that as its sectarian organization is the chief practical hindrance to a perfect unity in the church, so there is a real obstacle to the removal of that hindrance in the disordered and discordant views of the churches on the whole subject; that a great intellectual work is yet to be performed in Christendom, before the attempt can be made with any prospect of success; and that, while the Alliance may be expected, under God, to do much towards preparing the way for that attempt, nothing could more effectually have impeded its formation or impaired its influence than to commit it to that object at the outset. We cannot sympathize with the glowing anticipations of some of our brethren in other denominations, of a perfect unity amid reigning diversity. We cannot learn to love these ugly partition walls, that cut up into narrow segments the ample fold of Christ. We shall never cease to deprecate and deplore them; nor to ask, *Who built them there? and why are they allowed to stay?* But if we cannot get rid of them, we will do what we can to lower them, so that if we may not heartily embrace our brethren, we may at least shake hands and interchange the kiss of peace, and tell them our conviction that in "that better land" there will be no such barriers to impede our intercourse and check the flow of love.

But can we not get rid of them? Must we adopt the opinion that "the full accomplishment of our Saviour's prayer," though to be "sought," is not to be expected? Or shall we go farther still, and from its conceded impracticability, infer that it cannot be necessary or even greatly desirable? Is it, in short, to be one point of agreement among us in forming this new alliance, that the restora-

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tion of the apostolic unity is not so much as to be named among us as a thing worthy of the desires and anxieties, the prayers and efforts of the children of God? We trust not. We do not so understand the compact. If we rightly read the article quoted above, the Alliance recognizes a style and standard of unity higher than its own, and points onward to something involved in the Saviour's prayer, superior to "the unity which already exists," commending it as an object to be "sought" by itself and all its members. And yet we are not without apprehensions, that it will seem to some inconsistent with the spirit if not with the letter of this compact, to talk of any higher form of unity than the compact itself illustrates. It will not be without some fear of rebuke that we venture still to exhort our brethren of diverse names, in this as in other matters pertaining to the kingdom of God, to "forget the things which are behind, and to reach forth unto those which are before"—not only, in those things "whereto they have already attained to walk by the same rule, to mind the same thing,"* but also to pray earnestly, and confidently to expect, that "if in any thing they be otherwise minded, God will reveal even this unto them." Our apprehensions, we will "frankly and affectionately" say, are founded on the style in which the claims of the new movement are advocated by many estimable brethren, who, in their cordial commendation of the Alliance, feel it necessary to disparage every thing beside, to brand as "sectarian" every thing beyond it, and to represent its measures, not only as admirably adapted to the existing state of Christendom, (which they are,) and eminently healing in their tendency, (which we trust they will prove to be,) but as absolutely perfect, and exclusively wise, inclusively and conclusively all-sufficient for every purpose which any enlightened Christian could for a moment desire. Are we asked for examples? Consult the religious newspapers, the magazines and reviews *passim;* or listen to any one of a thousand eloquent addresses and sermons with which the land is ringing, on the themes, "Unity in Diversity," "Unity without Uniformity," "The Inward and Spiritual and not the Outward and Carnal," "Give us the Essence,

* New Englander, Vol. 4, p. 274.

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and away with the Forms," etc., etc. A yet more powerful and pervading influence in favor of this sentiment, is exerted by certain popular religious authors, whose works are deservedly esteemed for the learning, genius and genuine piety which they exhibit, and to some of whom we may have occasion to refer more particularly in the course of this article. We have placed at its head, also, the titles of two articles in the New Englander, merely as specimens of this kind of thing which happened to be at hand, and not because any quantity of others might not be easily found quite as much to our purpose.

These productions generally exhibit, as might be inferred from their themes, both a positive and a negative side; the positive being a distinct, truthful, earnest, loving appeal in favor of the unity of the spirit, in which we feel that we can concur with all our heart and soul; and the negative being a tremendous castigation of "a popish zeal for forms,"* inflicted directly on Roman Catholics and high-church Episcopalians, with an occasional glancing stroke or sly side-cut at—certain other narrow-spirited sinners, whom the logic of the authors curiously includes in the same category of *formalist*, and "whose tendency in this country," we are told, "is more and more to exclusive sectarianism."† As might be expected, we can sympathize very heartily in the sentiments, if not always in the taste or temper, of so much of this negative part as is intended for the Romanists, of whatever name; beyond that, we have a sense of personal interest in the infliction, which may perhaps interfere with a distinct perception of its justice. We can only wonder under what sort of influence clear heads can be, when they so pertinaciously overlook the most fair and reasonable distinctions, and confound under one sweeping judgment things wide as the poles asunder. Take, for instance, the first of the two articles referred to in the New Englander. It is a review, from the pen, as we understand, of a highly respectable Congregational minister in the city of New York, of a sermon on *Christian Unity* by the eloquent and large-hearted Leonard Bacon, D. D., of New Haven. A few extracts from both will illustrate our meaning. The italics we give as we find them.

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* New Englander, vol. 4, p. 137. † Ibid, p. 135.

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From the Review.—"What we want is the unity of fact, not of theory; *unity* not *uniformity*. The Liverpool Conference [preparatory to the formation of the Alliance] was of course discountenanced by Episcopalians generally; and we learn from private sources, that the Baptists were with difficulty prevailed upon to coöperate in the movement. It would be still more difficult to bring the Baptists of this country into such a plan of union. * * * We have no wish for uniformity. It is not essential to unity. Nay, it has often been its hindrance and its scourge. * * * By confounding unity with uniformity, we often overlook the legitimate and natural manifestations of unity. The unity of the followers of Christ does not consist in conformity to external laws; it is essentially 'a living and spiritual unity, &c.' * * * The moral aspects of the times indicate that there is to be a mighty conflict between spirituality and formalism, between freedom and despotism, between the unity of mutual confidence and love, and the unity of outward organization. Where there is the most of spirituality, there is also the most of Christian liberty. Where on the other hand unity is made to consist in mere uniformity, there is a formalism and often spiritual despotism. Yet men are continually deceived by this false name and show of unity."

From the Sermon.—One of the greatest hindrances to the advancement of Christian unity is "*a popish zeal for uniformity, as if that were unity.* * * The popery that may be found diffused like leaven in various Protestant communities—even among us—is more to be dreaded, and does more mischief, in respect to the development of Christian unity, than all the popery there is at Rome." * * * The manifestations of true Christian unity, "must be, in the nature of the case, spontaneous and vital, not coerced and formal. * * * Uniformity is not unity; nor is it of course evidence of unity. Uniformity imposed by the coercion of the state, or by the power of sectarian arrangements and corporations, or by the domination of a spiritual despotism, and submitted to in sluggishness or cowardice, or in the spirit of formalism, is as far from being a manifestation or resemblance of Christian unity, as artificial leaves and buds, fastened upon wire with threads and paste, are from being a manifestation or resemblance of that unseen vital power which, in the living plant, working by processes of its own, puts forth the green and growing stem, spreads out from within the delicately folded leaves, and opens the bud into the flower to show its beauty in the light and to shed its incense on the air."

When the term is qualified, as in the last sentence of each of the above extracts, and the point of the censure is directed against "mere uniformity," i. e. uniformity destitute of the vital spirit of union, or "uniformity imposed" by any kind of coercion or human authority; or when it is defined, as in another place, as meaning a consolidated unity of organization, like that of the Romish church, we have not a word to say in opposition. Our whole judgment and heart unite in the denunciation. But we

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beg leave to suggest both to the preacher and the reviewer, that their language of disparagement and reproach, unqualified as for the most part it is, is equally applicable to the "uniformity," which, we presume neither of them would deny, characterized the churches of the apostolic age.* Whether the continuance of that original uniformity be obligatory or not; whether it be desirable or not; whether it be practicable or not,—these are fair questions for discussion in the church, and about which Christians may honestly enough differ; not, however, according to our way of thinking, without at least one party's being in the wrong. But we respectfully submit, whether those who in simple honesty believe that it is obligatory, and of course desirable and practicable because it is apostolic and scriptural, must for that conviction be esteemed "sinners above all others" in Protestant Christendom, whose peculiar boast we had fondly thought it was to claim the Bible as the only and an all-sufficient guide in matters of religion. However that may be, such is in fact our conviction; and such we suppose to be the general opinion of Baptists, not only in this country, but even in England, where we are told "the tendency of the denomination is towards liberality."†

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* We would not be sticklers for a word; yet we cannot refrain from a remark *en passant* on the unfortunate selection of terms in this motto, "Unity without uniformity;" intended by its inventors to be a precise expression of their position. Let it be observed that the question relates not to the creation of spiritual unity—for that, as the preacher elaborately shows, already exists—but to the outward manifestation of it. Now their creed is, Union among the churches without either unity or uniformity. Rome and her children contend for unity in the strict and proper sense of that term; which of course excludes the idea of union or uniformity; while we are willing to be known as the humble advocates of uniformity, and if we are asked for a definition this is our answer—universal conformity to the one apostolic model. Or, to do ourselves full justice, if we must have a motto, let it be this: "Uniformity and union among the churches, producing a scriptural unity of the church, and perfectly manifesting the spiritual unity of Christians."

This erroneous use of terms becomes more clear in the illustration, which with consistent infelicity, Dr. B. selects to explain his motto. "One and indivisible," says he, "was the motto of a republic without liberty—a republic of atheism and massacre. E pluribus unum, is the motto of that great expanding union which spreads its protection over our freedom." Now it is very obvious to remark, that the republic of France is, according to its motto, not a uniformity, but a unity; ours, not a unity, but a union, as the Dr. himself calls it in the very sentence, and be it observed, a union of uniform parts. What would Dr. B. think of a "republic," composed of confederated monarchies, oligarchies and democracies? It certainly would be a poor specimen of unity, and we fear, for lack of uniformity, would not long remain a union. This argument, therefore, such as it is, we claim.

† N. E., vol. 4, p. 135.

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We shall be expected to assign some reasons for this conviction, and according to our ability, proceed to do so. If Christian unity is to become a definite object of united prayer and effort, it is surely worth while to inquire what is the true end to be sought? We contend, that it is nothing short of a perfect oneness of the church according to the Scriptural model; a restoration, in other words, of its outward and visible unity, as well as that inward and spiritual unity of which the former is the only suitable and sufficient manifestation. On the one extreme lies "the visible unity" of Rome, a huge, consolidated, soulless system, a mere formal organization, destitute of the principle of spiritual vitality and unadapted to its manifestation, worked through a round of automatic imitations of life, by means of a complicated mechanical apparatus under the control of its earthly head; a system which, by common consent, is not to be found in the Scriptures. Of course we are no advocates for that. We are as decidedly, if not as earnestly, opposed to that other idea, with which our estimable modern πνευματικοί are so much carried away, of a certain unity of spirit, wholly supersensuous and free from the carnalities of form, which is to triumph gloriously over all diversities of outward organization—not by any means in the sense of breaking down and removing them—but in the nobler and more Christian sense of showing, that, while we all cling to them with unwavering tenacity, they have no power to divide us in heart. The idea is in a great measure inconsistent and illusory; and the hope of realizing it is unwarranted both by reason and Scripture. A unity of this kind, even if practicable, would be essentially defective and weak. It would not come up to the scriptural standard; it would give an inadequate expression of the unity of spirit which really exists among the true followers of Christ; it could not reasonably be expected to hold itself together; and it would never make that moral impression on the world which rendered the oneness of his people an object of such profound interest to the Saviour's heart. These are some of the principal reasons on which our conviction rests. They will bear, perhaps, a little expansion; but as we have already occupied so much space, and there is a good deal that needs to be said on each head, we shall limit ourselves for the present to the first.

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First, then, we say that a merely spiritual and invisible unity of the church will not answer the requirements of its Divine head, as made known in the Scriptures. This is our main objection. Remove this—let it be shown that it is consistent with our Lord's plan to have his people separated into "denominations" and sects, and we will forever after hold our peace. Our other objections grow out of what seem to us the nature and necessary tendencies of such a state of things. But our Lord is wiser than we. We will neither question where he distinctly approves, nor peremptorily condemn what he sees fit even to suffer. So long, however, as we believe that HIS plan requires an outward as well as an inward unity of the church, and seem to discover the wisdom of God in that arrangement, we cannot rest contented with any thing less.

But there are some who deny that any determinate form of church organization can be traced in the Scriptures; or, at least, any that is to be regarded as binding on the church in later times and under altered circumstances.* In the first shape, few scholars could be found hardy enough to avow this doctrine; the last assertion is frequently and boldly made. The Scriptures themselves furnish the best and completest refutation of both; but it suits not our present purpose (which is to avoid all expression of denominational views) to interrogate the sacred oracles on this subject. Nor is it necessary. The sentiments we think may be sufficiently refuted by an unfolding of their own implications.

Let it be first observed, that, on either of these suppositions, the Saviour is made responsible for all the evils which have resulted from the separation of his people into hostile sects; for, in either case, it is not only left wholly to the discretion of each church to determine its own organization, and frame its own regulations on the broadest ground of expediency; but also to that of every individual Christian, whether he will or will not continue

* So the learned and candid Mosheim seems to say, though with a faltering tongue. His section on this subject (Eccl. Hist. B. I, part 2, ch. 2,) is a fine specimen of what might be called *logical oscillation;* and when he stops, it is hard to tell which way the pendulum is swinging. Dr. Maclaine, his English editor, echoes the sentiment in a foot-note, with better success. *Amen* does not "stick in his throat." As thus: "The truth is, that Christ, *by leaving this matter undetermined,* has left to Christian societies a discretionary power," etc.

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subject to its government. Thus the doors are thrown wide open for changes and divisions interminable; first, in different countries and successive ages; for with every change of time and place the outward circumstances of the church must alter; and secondly, in the same place and at the same time, because the judgment of the wisest men will differ as to what is best in the same circumstances. And since every man's way is right in his own sight, and there is the strongest natural disposition in each to maintain his own views against conflicting ones, what an occasion is offered, nay, taking into account the weakness of men, even the best, what a necessity is created for altercations, dissensions and strifes, for jealousies and heart-burnings, and the whole retinue of evils that follow in the train of schism, among Christian brethren living side by side, looking forward to the same home in heaven, and charged with common responsibilities towards a dying world. The bare prospect of such a calamity, on a vastly smaller scale than our eyes have witnessed, stirred Paul's heart within him, and with passionate fervor he exhorts: "Now, I beseech you, brethren, let there be no DIVISIONS among you."

To say, that still, though thus separated, the disciples might preserve the unity of the spirit, and so fulfil the law of love, and present one front against the common enemy, is to beg the whole question. Who is competent to say that the unity of spirit could be preserved in such circumstances? We shall endeavor in another place to prove the contrary—to show that "this devilish spirit of sect" is not so much the cause, as the consequence of the existence of sects, and to a very great extent a necessary consequence. For the present, we appeal to facts. The experiment has been tried. For two or three centuries we have been trying how the plan would work—the plan of multiplying forms of church organization to meet the endlessly varied and ever shifting demands of the human intellect. Our best and wisest men have superintended the experiment. And how has it worked? Let the rent and bleeding body of our Lord reply. The appearance of unity has been totally destroyed. Sectarianism has entered and fed upon the heart of the church. Bitter words have been seconded by bitter deeds. The name of Protestant Christianity

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has been made, almost solely on this account, a hissing and reproach throughout half the civilized world. And the exultant cry of the enemy has been, "Behold, how these Christians hate one another!" At length the evil has become intolerable even to ourselves; and we pause, amid the din and tumult of fraternal discord, to inquire where all this will end. Now, we ask, is the Saviour chargeable with this state of things? Has he required his weak and erring people to organize themselves into communities, and given them no instruction, or no intelligible instruction, or no instruction of binding force, as to what kind of a community he would have them form? Has he instituted a visible kingdom, and prescribed no visible organization—a "republic" without a constitution? His blessed word, sufficient to guide his disciples in every other duty—does it fail them here, and leave them to solve one of the most difficult of all earthly problems by the light of their own wisdom? While it describes this kingdom as "one fold having one shepherd," as "a building fitly framed together," (*συναρμολογουμένη*, closely interjointed,) as "one body" animated by one spirit and bound to one head; while it exhibits our Divine Master as entreating for his followers, in every age and throughout the world, "that they all might be one," yea, "perfect in one"; does it leave them in such darkness as to the mode of maintaining this unity, that they must—if not innocently—necessarily be rent to pieces and arranged in hostile bands?

Against this aspersion of the Scriptures, we oppose the concurrent testimony of all Protestant denominations from the times—we had almost said of Novatian—certainly of Luther, down to our own. However widely they may have differed as to what the Bible taught, all have recognized in the Bible a sufficient and authoritative guide in respect to church organization, and have appealed to Bible authority, each in support of its own, and especially in its testimony against others. Presbyterians have employed it against Episcopalians, Episcopalians against Presbyterians, Independents and Congregationalists against both; and all these against the Papists. And this has been done, not occasionally, by here and there a writer of more zeal than judgment; but consistently and uniformly, with but rare exceptions of persons or periods, by

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the most learned, discreet and pious divines, in works of acknowledged authority, in denominational standards and confessions of faith, and in official documents, elaborately drawn and adopted by deliberative assemblies of the greatest weight and wisdom. "Bible authority" has been the only justification offered by nonconformists, separatists and dissenters from existing religious establishments in all ages of the world; their only sufficient shield against the charge of schism and disorder. The Donatists and Æërians, in ancient times, sought, according to Mosheim, to restore the church to its "primitive simplicity;" and they appealed to the Scriptures in support of their doctrines. Constantine, the founder of the Paulicians, one of the most interesting of the ancient "heretical" sects, like Luther, was made a reformer by a copy of the New Testament, which was given him by a travelling stranger, and which, says Gibbon, soon became "the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith." His testimony also was against innovations upon the apostolic church-polity. Against the faithful witnesses of Piedmont, those Abdiels of the earthly church,

> "Even them who kept God's truth so pure of old,
> When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones—"

the most serious charges brought by their popish enemies, were, that "they contemn all approved ecclesiastical customs which they do not read of in the gospel;" and "whatsoever is preached without Scripture proof, they account no better than fables." Wickliffe taught that "'tis not lawful for a Christian, after the full publication of the law of Christ, to desire himself any other law for the government of his church," or for Christ's ministers "to be carried away with new offices and more sacraments than Christ used and his apostles, that taughten us all truth."* The Great Reformation, as every body knows, opposed the word of God against the usurpations of the hierarchy and the disorders of the church, as well as the prevalent corruption of the Christian doctrine.†

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* Punchard.

† "On the 18th of October, 1512, Luther was made licentiate in theology, and took the following oath: 'I swear to defend the truth of the gospel with all my

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Puritanism had its root in the same principle, viz., the sufficiency and authority of the Bible in matters of church government, as well as in matters of faith. Even the selfish and imperious Henry VIII had, at the outset of the English reformation, announced this as the ground and the rule of his proceeding. To the Convocation of 1536, it was "by authority" announced, that "it was the king's pleasure, that the rites and ceremonies of the Church should be reformed by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be retained which did not rest on that authority."* But the reform stopped very far short of this. The king's interests and passions required a far more pliant and available doctrine, and the court divines found no difficulty in inventing one, which ultimately determined the character of the English national church. "Neither party denied that the Bible was a perfect rule of faith; but the court party did not admit it to be a standard of church government and discipline, asserting that it had been left to the judgment of the civil magistrate, etc. The reformers maintained the Scriptures to be the standard of church government and discipline, as well as doctrine. * * They wished to keep close to the Scripture model; * * and they maintained that what Christ had left indifferent, no human laws ought to make necessary."† When, in 1659, Thomas Cartwright commenced at Cambridge his series of tremendous assaults on the English hierarchy, it was with the declaration of this principle. "His system," exclaimed archbishop Whitgift, "consisteth of two false principles and rotten pillars, whereof the one is, That we must of necessity have the

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strength.' This solemn vow was to Luther his vocation as a reformer. * * * * The infallible authority of the word of God was the first and fundamental principle of the Reformation. Every reform in detail afterwards effected, in doctrine, morals, church government, and public worship, was but a consequence of this first principle."—D'Aubigné Hist. Ref. vol. 1, p. 176.

This was still more fully illustrated in the Swiss, than in the German Reformation. Zwingle, who was far more consistent with himself than Luther, and far less concerned about consequences than Melancthon, was prepared to carry out the common principle of the Reformers with unflinching intrepidity to its results. In his judgment, the word of God alone was to be exalted. "Luther was desirous of retaining in the church whatever was not expressly contradicted by Scripture, while Zwingle was intent on abolishing all that could not be expressly sustained by Scripture. He passed over every intervening age till he reached the times of the apostles, and labored to restore the church to its primitive condition."—D'Aubigné, vol. 3, p. 259.

* Burnet. † Hetherington, Hist. Westminster Assembly, p. 32.

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same kind of government that was in the apostles' time, and is expressed in the Scripture; and no other."* So Hooker, "that standard of appeal for all advocates of the English Establishment against the absurd extravagances of the Puritans," occupies one whole book (the Third) in elaborately refuting "their assertion, that in Scripture there must be of necessity contained a form of church polity, the laws whereof may in no wise be altered." The Scottish reformers made their sole appeal to the law and the testimony; and "though they respected the great continental reformers," says Hetherington, (p. 88,) "they sought the principles of doctrine, discipline and church government from no foreign model, but from the Scriptures alone." The principle is also distinctly recognized in "The Solemn League and Covenant." In the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the leading object proposed, so far as this branch of inquiry was concerned, was in the words of the parliamentary order, to determine "such a discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word," all other considerations being treated as secondary and subordinate. Throughout the protracted and stormy discussion which followed, in which Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians of various shades and combinations mingled, this was the one point of agreement, the single undisputed axiom, the "unity in diversity," which held them together as a Christian assembly and rendered discussion possible. "What is Christ's institution? What doth the Scripture hold forth? What hath the warrant of God's Holy Word?"—this was invariably the question in debate.† In 1644, while the Assembly was yet in session, the Independent members published their famous "Apologetical Narration, humbly submitted to the Honorable Houses of Parliament," in which they distinctly define their posi-

* Hanbury's Life of Cartwright.

† A circumstance is mentioned by Hetherington, which strongly illustrates the importance attached to this fundamental principle by the Presbyterian party of those times. When the subject of "ruling elders" was under discussion, it was proposed, by way of compromise, to admit them on the ground of expediency. "But this," says the historian, himself a zealous Presbyterian, "was decidedly rejected, especially by the Scottish divines, and by those of the Puritans, or English Presbyterians, who fully understood the nature of the controversy so long waged by their predecessors against admitting into a divine institution any thing of merely human invention." p. 142.

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tion and the grounds of their dissent from the decisions of their more numerous brethren. Here again we have an unwavering and earnest appeal to the same standard, "the apostolic directions and the examples of the primitive New Testament churches." But we forbear. The fact is notorious, and lies on the face of all ecclesiastical history and all polemical theology, so far as they relate to this branch of Christian belief and practice. The voice of the Christian world, the consent of the spiritual church catholic, attests the authority of the New Testament in the organization, government and discipline of the church. The opposite doctrine, however it may at times have been adopted by the truly pious under the pressure of biasing influences, belongs to Anti-Christ, and is altogether evil. To this truth, we will barely add, no testimony has been more clear and satisfactory than that borne in the writings of John Robinson and the confession of his excellent church, the "early fathers" of all New Englanders. It has been reserved for the son of the Puritans, for the "New Englander" of the nineteenth century to discover that his fathers, and ours, were all at fault in this matter; that they relied with an altogether too fond and misplaced confidence on the guidance of Scripture in this grave and difficult business of church building; and that instead of instituting elaborate processes of investigation, and writing ponderous tomes of discussion, to determine which of the conflicting parties was in the right, each might have found a brief and all sufficient warrant for his scheme in the formula, *We prefer it.** For our own part we cannot so readily dispose of the venerable authority of the past.

We do not, by any means, regard ourselves as set for the defence of the Puritans, or the Protestants. We

* A writer in the New Englander of July, 1845, (p. 438,) informs us that it is now "a conviction quite universal with the Congregationalists, and nearly so with the Presbyterians, that no complete system of ecclesiastical order is enjoined in the New Testament; and that the churches severally are authorized by the Great Head of the Church, to adopt any convenient constitution and rules, etc. The prevalence of these liberal views is of quite recent date. The early expounders of Congregationalism on the one hand, * * and the Presbyterians on the other, were equally zealous to carry out in practice what they conceived to be the primitive and authoritative model of a Christian church." Again, (vol. 4, p. 535,) "J. M. W." tells us that each denomination must adhere to its peculiarities "on the *principle* of *preference.*"

By the way, is it not a curious and instructive spectacle to see the descendants of the Puritans passing over *en masse* to the positions occupied by the court di-

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should be the last to claim infallibility for them, or to attach any undue importance to their opinions—at least, that is not the sin for which we are oftenest rebuked. What they knew aright, they learned from the Bible; but they did not learn it all. The word of God was still in advance of them; it is still in advance of us—far in advance of any "Church Catholic" this side of heaven. We are prepared, therefore, to expect and to welcome new light from that source, and to rejoice in any resolution of difficulties, reconciliation of variances, rectification of errors—in short, any enlargement or elevation of views whatever, that results from a profounder study and leads to a profounder veneration of that wonderful Book. But in the same proportion shall we regard with suspicion and distrust every scheme that proposes, in deference to the wisdom and liberality of the age, to narrow the limits of its jurisdiction or relax the bonds of its authority. This jealousy for the honor of the Scriptures, in all things pertaining to our Lord and his kingdom, we rejoice to know that we feel in common with the most devoted of his followers in former ages; and it is on this account that we recur with peculiar pleasure to the facts above mentioned. This universal and spontaneous appeal to the Scriptures as a standard of church government, we cannot look upon in any other light than as the concurrent testimony of the good and wise of every name to the truth of our proposition; not merely to the antecedent probability that the Saviour would leave directions to his people on this subject, but to the fact that he has; that the Scriptures do actually contain the requisite instruction, however possible it may be for human blindness to miss, or prejudice to pervert it.

Nor, in estimating the value of this testimony, should

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vines of Henry VIII and Elizabeth's times? Had the children only been in place of the fathers, what a world of trouble would have been saved to good Queen Bess and "her little black husband," (as old Izaac tells us she used to call Whitgift,) whose days were embittered by those pestilent "scruple-mongers" who would neither be convinced by their reasonings, nor exterminated by their persecutions. Meanwhile, the defenders of prelacy have also found it convenient to shift their quarters; and by borrowing a little from tradition to piece out the imperfections of the Scripture argument—lo! *theirs* is the apostolic church! The parties have in this particular just changed places. How are we to account for this extraordinary transposition? In a quiet foot-note, we may perhaps venture to hint: thus, "Error, wounded, writhes." To Truth alone belong "the eternal years of God."

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we overlook the historical relations of the men, and the testimony to the cause of truth and religion in the world. These were the fathers of modern liberty in church and in state, of all that is at once peculiar and excellent in modern civilization and culture; and they owed not a little of the brilliant success whose fruits we are so richly enjoying, to the far-reaching sagacity with which they traced out the practical tendencies of this principle, and the resolute tenacity with which they maintained it. As every step taken by the human mind in its escape from the carnal and corrupting doctrines of the Papacy, is to be referred to the recognition of Scriptural authority in matters of faith; so every successive improvement in the frame and polity of the church visible has been a concession, more or less cordial, to the claims of the New Testament as a standard of church organization, and an attempt to approach nearer to the model it exhibits. Just so far as the emancipation of the church in any part of Christendom has advanced, from the rigors of priestly domination, from the supremacy of kings, from the entanglements of State alliance, or from any other admitted evil of the kind, it has been under the guidance of holy and faithful men, who feared God, and revered his word, and, to the extent of their knowledge and ability, would have the authority of Christ regarded in the order of his house. On the other hand, such reforms have always been resisted, and after a while arrested, on the ground of some discretionary power, less or more, residing in the church, whereby she is at liberty to depart from, or stop short of the Scripture model in accommodation to circumstances.

This doctrine of a discretionary power, we have said, belongs to Anti-Christ. We make the remark, not invidiously, but from a solemn conviction of its truth and importance. The doctrine originated with Rome, and forms a necessary and appropriate part of her system. It is out of place in the creed of a Protestant. By connecting with it the ideas of church infallibility and á perpetuation of apostolical authority in her supreme head, she was able to adopt it heartily and carry it out boldly to its results. By making herself, and not the Scriptures, the repository of divine truth, and the medium through which God makes known his will, she could, without

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any appearance of inconsistency, assume the right to give herself what shape she might prefer, and still be called the church of Christ. When Protestants have assumed to exercise the same right, it has always been from the fear of too thorough a reformation, and with such modifications of the claim as betray a sense of its inconsistency with the fundamental principle of their system. Thus Luther, after sundering the most intolerable of the papal bonds with "the sword of the Spirit," suddenly staid his hand. And why? Because he could not bear to cut entirely loose "from the church of all preceding ages;"* and so he persuaded himself that he might "retain" so many of the inventions of Anti-Christ as he found not "expressly condemned" in Scripture. Subsequent reformers were dissatisfied with the extent to which he exercised his "discretionary power;" and, in successive ages and various lands, just in proportion as the pressure of Bible authority has been felt, have further and still further changes been demanded, until we now may follow out a series of church organizations, so called, in actual existence, commencing at the one extreme with Rome and proceeding towards the Bible at the other, and reaching—almost thither. Now the point of our argument is this; that just so far as the reformers have been reformers, the Scriptures have made them such; and wherever they have stopped in their progress, whether at few or many removes from the sect of the beast, they have stayed themselves on this convenient doctrine of "discretionary power in the church herself."

But it may be asked: Does not the great diversity of conclusions at which good men have arrived, while all professed to draw their opinions from the Bible, prove that, after all, there is no form of church polity clearly taught therein? We answer, just as much as the diversity of sentiment among Christians on other points of faith and practice, proves that there is a defect or an ambiguity in the standard to which they in common resort. In either case, it is so perfectly easy to account for the diversity by a reference to the imperfections and prejudices of inquirers, and the numberless biasing influences which from without continually affect their processes of investi-

* D'Aubigne, vol. III, 259.

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gation, especially when we take into account the manner in which the Scriptures convey their instructions, that the inference is perfectly inconclusive. That we do not find drawn out in the New Testament a formal scheme, a systematic treatise of church organization and government,* which would anticipate all conceivable questions and preclude the possibility of misapprehension, is certainly true. Such a mode of exhibiting the subject is wholly unnecessary, and would contradict the entire analogy of revelation. It has not pleased our Heavenly Father in this way to make known his will. We should look in vain for a formal code of Christian ethics; but do we thence infer that it is left to every individual disciple to act according to his own judgment in the service of his Master? or that the Scriptures contain no authoritative model of Christian life and character? Nor do we find any where in the Bible a digested system of theological truth; does it then contain no system at all? and is it a matter of indifference what is the form of the Christian's belief?

We claim, therefore, the testimony not merely of most Protestants, but of all Protestantism in our favor, and of all that is distinctive and illustrious in modern civilization and culture. The cause of liberty and learning must acknowledge an indebtedness to the firm resistance made by our fathers to the usurpations of the hierarchy, whose sanction and example were, during the dark ages, the chief support of despotism in government and in thought, and which, by the way, were neither more nor less than simple infractions of the constitution of the church visible. In that resistance, the authority of Scripture alone sustained, alone justified them. They claimed rights which Christ had given them as members of his body; some more, some less; and every claim so made and so sustained has been, or is to be, successful.

* "As the New Testament contains no systematic treatise on doctrine or morals, but leaves us to construct a system of belief and practice, by a diligent comparison of its various texts and the application of its general precepts [and, we would add, its narratives]; so neither does it present any formal digest of ecclesiastical canons, but leaves us to frame our scheme of discipline and polity by a careful analysis and extension of its general principles" [and recorded facts]. Smyth on Presbytery and Prelacy, p. 51.

In the section from which this sentence is extracted, Dr. S. strongly states the doctrine for which we contend, and remarks that the opposite opinion "is now generally and justly exploded." More justly, we fear, than generally. He is himself a whole-hearted Bible Presbyterian. Such used to be more common.

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High churchmen find no other ground on which to base a claim to the name and authority of a church, than that of historical connection with the Papacy. The recognition of such a dependence on "the church of all ages," they deem essential to the idea and the fact of *visible unity.* And one of their loudest complaints against "the dissenting denominations" is, that the system of the letter is wholly destitute of a principle of visible unity, that it has an inherent and necessary tendency to divisions and schisms. Thus Mr. Palmer, after quoting from the Eclectic Review a frank acknowledgment of "the inveterate and incurable sectarism that characterizes British Christianity," proceeds as follows:

"But dissenters persuade themselves that the evil does not arise from their own principles. 'Can it be shown,' they say, 'that the tendency of the congregational system is to generate and foster the evils under review?' I say, it can be clearly shown. The dissenting system, the principle of dissent, is exactly the cause of all their divisions; it leads necessarily to tumult, division, separation, heresy without limit. * * According to them, a church is a voluntary society of professing saints, which is complete in itself, subject to no jurisdiction but its own, competent to make and execute its own laws, acknowledging no rule but Scripture, and possessing the ability to ascertain its directions. The voice of the society decides every thing; every measure is proposed and discussed, and the majority determines the matter. Such is the system and principle of dissent; whence it is clear that frequent discussion, debate, voting are essential to it, and therefore there must be a perpetual excitement to anger, jealousy, party-spirit, ambition and all the elements of division. * * * Nor is this all. It is the principle of dissenters, that no human authority can be admitted in religious matters. Therefore the minority in any question in their churches cannot feel it their duty to yield to the majority, because the judgment of that majority is merely human; and hence it follows that discussions among them are interminable, except by a total separation. * * Peaceable and Christian separation, (I quote the words of a dissenter,) when separation becomes inevitable or expedient, is the MAXIM of the congregational system. It is clear then, that the principle of division is a principle of dissent. * * * According to their principle, a church is a mere voluntary association. The motive for entering it, is the opinion of the individual that it will be conducive to his edification to do so. He is equally at liberty to depart from it, when he judges it expedient. * * Certainly this reasoning is perfectly correct, and founded on a sort of silent estimate of the real character of dissenting communities. They are human societies. The will of man makes them, regulates them, unmakes them." *Treatise on the Church*, vol. 1, p. 373.

We confess that we know of but one sufficient answer to this reasoning. We cannot join in sneering at the idea

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of visible unity. We should as soon think of sneering at that of a visible church; nor do we know of any other kind of unity which a visible church, as such, can have. We should reply by directing Mr. P. to one of the items in his own enumeration of the tenets of "dissenting" churches, — "acknowledging no rule but Scripture." That rule, we should tell him, we acknowledge in this, as in all respects; and no other. We should deny, that according to our principle, (we could speak only for ourselves,) a church is a human society, a mere voluntary association; that the only or chief motive for entering it, is self-edification; and that it may be deserted on the ground of expediency. On the contrary, we firmly hold that the church is an institution of God, to which he hath given a body as it hath pleased him; that all men are bound to enter it "voluntarily," and from the concurrent motives of love to him, love to it, and concern for their own spiritual edification; that none are at liberty to depart from it so long as it retains the constitution which he has prescribed for it, and on the other hand, it has no authority to change that constitution. Both the church and the individual are responsible to God for their conduct, and by the Scriptures both will be justified or condemned. But we see not how those can use this answer, who concede that the Scriptures furnish no law on the subject, or none that is binding on the conscience now. The Scriptures are made to sanction endless divisions, according to human notions of expediency.

There are persons whose "liberality" stretches to this extent; but we do not hesitate, we cannot hesitate, with the Bible in our hands and the Spirit of truth in our hearts, to pronounce such liberality unevangelical, and an evidence, so far as it goes, that they who exercise it have need themselves to be taught "which be the first principles of the oracles of God." Take, for instance, the doctrinal summary adopted by the Evangelical Alliance as a basis of union. It has, indeed, been condemned as unintelligible and indeterminable; but no complaint could be more unfounded. Every body knows full well what is meant by "evangelical views," in the points enumerated; and though the expression admits much variety of opinion, it yet draws a line of separation between orthodox Christians and others, which will be clearly discernible

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to all whose own position is unequivocal, whether on one side of it or the other. There are some varieties of religious character and sentiment, which it requires more than human discrimination to place any where in a scriptural classification. At all events, the great mass of genuine Christians would understand it, and understand it alike, and pronounce it an excellent summary of Christian doctrine, definite, comprehensive, and, so far as it goes, scriptural. They could not fellowship as Christians those who rejected any part of it. Yet the Scriptures contain nothing similar to it in form; and there is scarcely a point in the whole series, in regard to which the evangelical view is not discarded by some sect that claims to be Christian, and embraces perhaps some true Christians in its communion. What then? Do we hesitate as to its scripturalness? Do we doubt the fulness or clearness of the revelation? Do we admit the innocency of unbelief, or the propriety and safety of indifference? Do we find it at all difficult to account for the prevalence of errors on these points, without conceding either the insufficiency of Scripture, or the "discretionary power" of Christians to form their own system of belief? Why then should it seem strange that the Bible should be misapprehended, even by good men yet in the flesh, with regard to matters which, however important and clearly revealed, are confessedly not among "the first principles" of the gospel, and the evasion of which is consequently not incompatible with the possession of the Christian character.

There is really no difficulty here at all. Instruction is always given in the Scripture in a form adapted to test the earnestness of our desires after truth, and to afford an opportunity for progress in knowledge. Severe study, humble, prayerful, and long protracted study, is requisite for a full development of the scriptural scheme, not only to the individual mind, but to the church at large; and, often, a truth which lies spread over the whole face, or is woven into the entire tissue of revelation, may be obscured to the view of the people of God for ages, until the patient Providence of the All-wise has, by long and circuitous discipline, brought their minds and hearts into the state required for its recognition. This is a familiar truth, and its application is obvious. In such

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cases, particular individuals or parts of the church are in advance of others in the discovery; and these perhaps long bear their testimony in the face first of penalties and persecutions, then of reproaches and insults, and finally of contemptuous silence or a benevolent toleration, almost as grievous to be borne, until light breaking in from other quarters, their testimony is at length seen to be according to the word of God, and the whole church now witnesses the truth which before she labored to destroy. Why may it not be so with the subject under consideration?

What is the history of opinions on this subject in the church? Let us see how far all can agree as to the facts. It will not be denied, that the apostles organized churches, and "set things in order" therein by virtue of their apostolical authority; that during the apostolic age these churches retained a substantial uniformity of plan,* and mutual relations of intercommunion and intercourse through which their unity of spirit manifested itself freely and powerfully; that, in short, by virtue of these several bonds, they constituted one fraternity, and as such were recognized by all the world. At a later period, as all Protestants will agree, in consequence of having abandoned the guidance of the Scriptures, and substituted that of tradition and a discretionary power in the church, a total departure from this primitive ecclesiastical system took place, simultaneously with a more fearful apostacy from the primitive faith; and that all sorts of corruption and mischief were the consequence. Nor will it be denied that one of the great problems of the Reformation was, to reconstruct the visible kingdom of Christ after the inspired original. Whether the undertaking were wise or not, the fact can hardly be questioned. But now comes a difficulty. The Word of God is unbound, and has "free course" among the people. The right of private judgment has been established; and all are eagerly consulting the Divine Oracles and forming systems of opinion according to their respective interpretations of the

* Something has been said, indeed, of certain peculiarities of usage which distinguished the Jewish from the Gentile churches in the apostles' time. But it has never been claimed that these affected the fundamental principles of organization, as e. g. the terms of admission, the grounds of exclusion, the essential rights and responsibilities of membership, the power of officers, etc.

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record. Those interpretations differ; in some respects widely and variously. How could it be otherwise? So long has the human mind been cut off from these sources of knowledge; so thoroughly corrupted have the most fundamental ideas and terms of religion become, by reason of popish perversions; so extremely defective and vicious are the very principles of interpretation, which have become current under the false teachings of the hierarchy; and so large a measure of the Anti-Christian element still mingles in all the streams of human influence; that it would be strange indeed if the one record of inspiration were not variously read, and the very spirit of obedience did not lead to diverse manifestations. Here was the birth of Sect, the ill-proportioned hydra-headed child of Ignorance (daughter of Anti-Christ) and a Partial Zeal. But shall he be immortal? We trow not. Him, with all the progeny of "that wicked," shall the Lord "consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming." Amid the clash of opinions and the violence of party zeal which disfigure the early annals of the reformed church, and call forth the taunts and reproaches of her foes, we have always this confidence. We know that all cannot be right; we know that so long as any remain in the wrong, strifes and contentions will continue; but we believe that "knowledge will be increased." Wide as the poles asunder in every other respect, they bow to the authority of the same standard and are all under the guidance of its Divine Author. The very ardor of discussion drives them to the study of that standard, and the invocation of the Spirit's aid. Now if the Bible be consistent with itself, and God be able to shed the needful light on the sacred page, how can this process fail to remove the grounds of difference, and result in a substantial oneness of opinion? How far have we been permitted to see this blessed work already advanced! Who does not know that many formulæ of faith, which were once regarded as irreconcilably opposed, and the defenders of which were respectively prepared to consign their opponents as hopeless heretics to the terrors of vindictive wrath in this world and in the world to come, are now understood to be but different aspects of myriad-sided truth, and to be held by the opposing brethren with such qualifications and in such combina-

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tions as to make them virtually one? Differences, doubtless, remain; some serious ones. But after what we have seen accomplished, and in view of the divine aids vouchsafed, shall we despair of the remainder?

And to return to our questions, how has it been with opinions respecting the form of the primitive church polity? In the early morning of the Reformation, there was as much bewilderment and contrariety of view, as much of sharp and angry disputation on this, as on any other point. With the advance of day, has more light been shed upon the field of controversy, and is there any approach to unanimity? The question hardly needs an answer. Every scholar knows, that among enlightened interpreters of the New Testament, many long mooted points are set at rest by common consent; and many features of existing organizations originally adopted and defended on Bible grounds, if retained at all, are justified in some other way. If less time had been expended by those distinguished men whom God has given in successive ages to be the lights of his church, in devising systems of their own, and getting them at great expense of labor and influence into operation, in managing and eulogizing and defending them; and if the same time, talent, care and labor had been devoted to ascertaining the will of God on this subject, as revealed in his Holy Word and illustrated by his providence, with a perfect readiness to abandon all personal "preferences," and to adopt implicitly the result of their inquiries; who can tell but that long ere this, the faithfulness of our Lord would have been vindicated, and his people have been "perfect in one?" But despite all the obstacles to the progress of truth on this subject, such has been the advancement already made towards entire identity of opinion in respect to the apostolic form of church polity, that we hazard nothing in asserting, were there now prevalent in all Christian denominations the same conviction of the binding authority of that model, as that in which many of those denominations originated, the church would this day be nearer to a perfect, glorious, divine unity, than the Evangelical Alliance is likely to bring about in half a century.

As one difficulty disappears, however, another rises. While learned men in different communions are approxi-

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mating to agreement as to what the apostolic churches were, the doctrine that they are not to be regarded as furnishing a model for universal imitation, has lately been revived and is becoming very popular. Stated strongly and somewhat plausibly in the works of such men as Neander, D'Aubigné and Whately, and in that form spread far and wide among the churches, we must not be surprised to hear it echoed and reëchoed in a thousand forms throughout the land. "In an ordinary, obscure and trifling writer," to use the language of the excellent archbishop on another occasion, "all this confusion of thought and common-place declamation might as well be left unnoticed; but it is due to the general ability and celebrity of such authors, and to the cause of truth on which they exert so powerful an influence, that errors of this kind should be exposed." An attempt to do this we propose to make. But we have occupied as much space as we can afford to this subject in this number, and for the present, though somewhat reluctantly, interrupt the course of our argument at this point.

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ARTICLE II.

MAN'S NEED OF A DIVINE REVELATION.

It is our object, in the present article, to contemplate man in his unaided attempts to gain a knowledge of those truths which lie hidden in nature, but which are wholly revealed only in the word of God.

Truth is the conception of things as they are; and "those propositions are true, which express things as they are." When, therefore, we seek for the truth in any thing, we endeavor to behold it just as it appears to the Omniscient Eye. With our limited faculties we strive to comprehend facts and theories, as they are comprehended by the infinite mind of God. And while creation is so vast, while the machinery of the universe is so intricate and so magnificent, and while the productions of nature in all the mazes of their endless variety proclaim in themselves the work of an infinite mind, is it strange that man should see a thousand chimeras, should lead himself into endless contradictions, and often stumble amid the intricacies of nature in exploring a path to the truth? How various are the paths which different people have taken. The Persian sees in the brightness of the sun and in the seeming regularity of his movements, not the work of a God, but, "the Light, the Creative word," God himself. The Hindoo mother beholds in her deity, a being pleased with the sacrifice of her children and with her own sufferings; and she patiently does and endures what the voice of nature may have proclaimed to others to be sinful. The American savage buries his chieftain's favorite horse with its master, and bids his spirit speed to a more beautiful hunting-ground. In their various homes they have knelt at the shrine of the same nature. They all believe that they have listened to her perfect truths; yet one believes it sinful to destroy any living creature, lest he should disturb the migrated soul of a fellow being; another regards the earth as scarcely more than a hunting and battle-ground, whereon to pursue his game and de-

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stroy his enemies. Each one, satisfied with the truth of his creed, lays himself down at the hour of death, believing himself not wholly without a knowledge of God and of his future condition; perhaps often contented, as if nothing more were to be known.

Were men called upon first to cast away the truths of revelation, to shut out all the light they have ever received from the throne of God, and then to search for truth, we can easily conceive the result. If a man has been born and bred in China, he will adopt the morality of Confucius. If his parents have led him in his childhood to a Mohammedan mosque, his only religion will be —"God is great, and Mohammed is his prophet." If his mind has been moulded in Atheism, he will advocate its principles till the light of another theory dispels the darkness of that, the most abhorrent to our natures. Aside from the teachings of revelation, truth and error may be received alike; and while they have not internal evidence of divine authority, while they are not proved with the clearness of mathematical demonstration, and there is no test to apply to them, who can dare to affirm that he himself is in the right, and the rest of the world in the wrong? Alas, for man's boasted wisdom! Let a few centuries or years pass by, and new theorizers starting up, demonstrate the falsity of the doctrines of those who have been once regarded as oracles of wisdom.

The mind of the savage receives the tradition and the worship of his fathers, and satisfies the natural feeling of pious reverence with what they had received as true. Occupied as he is with supplying the wants of his body, his mind, rendered active and wild in the pursuits peculiar to his mode of life, seldom investigates its own movements. He rarely attempts to penetrate the mysteries of nature, or to solve the grand movements of the universe. He sits at evening and gazes into the expanse of the firmament, and both ignorant and careless of the laws which regulate all created things, he regards them all as the work of the Great Spirit, the First Great Cause. Satisfied with this general contemplation, he advances no farther.

The philosopher lays wide open the book of nature, and studies long and carefully. Page after page is slowly

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devoured by his searching mind. He compares, he reasons, he theorizes, builds up and tears down, imagines and invents, till he believes his foundation firmly laid upon the eternal rock of truth. Slowly and carefully he raises his structure; the world gather around to view its harmonious proportions and striking beauties. He sees with joy the operations of the mind laid open; he believes that he has established correct principles of virtue; that he has discovered the origin of sin and misery; and he has formed, in his own opinion, a perfect theory of the movements of nature, both material and immaterial. For a while his philosophy is regarded as the only true philosophy, founded upon reason and experience, and others only build upon and add to what he has already erected. But at length a daring genius, perceiving in it a train of argument not adapted to his own mode of thinking, boldly proclaims his own thoughts, which by their novelty draw around him admirers and disciples, who are ready at once to regard all philosophers before him as only ingenious theorizers. That which was but now the truth, is considered error; another image has been reared, more beautiful than the last, and its votaries worship at its shrine. Thus for two hundred years Greece received the speculations of Thales and Pythagoras, as rays proceeding from the light of unchanging truth; at length the purer light of Socrates and Plato streamed in upon the souls of men, and the latter became the centres of truth, around which all other teachers revolved, and by whose reflected light they shone.

Thus has the world been ever changing in its ideas of truth; and nearly every century has presented a new and varying system of philosophy. Where, therefore, amid the learned reasoning of man, shall we discover the truth? What school of philosophy can maintain that it sees things as they really exist, that its vision penetrates the secret depths, unfathomed by the preceding school of speculators? Can the Deist, when he tries to measure the illimitable universe with the rule of his own feeble and finite intellect? Or the Atheist, while he gropes in the awful darkness of his gloomy skepticism, and pronounces the beautiful creations of nature "the work of chance"? Or can even we of this latest and most enlightened age, with the power of examining the reason-

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ing of all former ages, of comparing the variety of their demonstrations, and benefitted by all the light of all past philosophy, can we, if we shut out the light of divine revelation, clearly and beyond cavil establish the principles of truth,—in government, in religion, in morals;—the truth concerning God and man, the divine plan, human character, condition and destiny;—the truth which we and all future generations must receive? Let history furnish the reply. And yet we almost daily hear of some new social system, of some new order of things, or form of government. Here, man breaks over all forms of government, and prostrates himself before the Goddess of reason; and there he enjoys a community of property with his fellows, whose hearts his system is to rid of those evil passions, which Holy Writ informs us pervade all hearts. But these fancies all pass away with those who give them birth. They will soon be entombed in the sepulchre of the past, with the various and foolish speculations of man's unaided mind.

Well might the philosophers of ancient Greece, almost in despair, exclaim—"*Τί ἐστιν ἀλήθεια;*" What is truth? Where are the faculties which can penetrate far beyond self-evident truths? One mind builds up what another tears down. As we turn over page after page in the history of philosophy, and discover the fickle and changing characteristics of what the learned in various ages have taught, and what their numerous disciples have received as true, we are seized with sad and fearful doubts as to the capacities of our reasoning powers. We feel humbled in the contemplation of what some have almost worshipped as the strength and majesty of the human mind. We feel ourselves constrained to confess that mere unaided reason leads us but a little way. We may seem to ourselves to be advancing in the right path; but others soon appear to point out our wanderings.

Notwithstanding the boasts of human philosophy, man must bow down in the littleness of his mental powers before the infinity of truth, which, unaided, he cannot attain. The Deist must look beyond nature, if he would gain more than an indistinct conception of the character of God. The philosopher of Greece, though he be a Plato, must hesitate before he promulgates those sentiments which, cleansed a little from the dust of this world,

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would glisten almost as with the sparks of revelation; but which, in ignorance of revelation, he sees only by the light of his own reason.

It is pleasant to turn from the sad picture of human infirmity, and to remember that God has pitied our weakness; that he knew that without him we should fall into the depths of darkness. It is gratifying to the soul that is lost in doubts and uncertainties, to know that he has given us his word to guide our steps and to point us to the truth. It is gratifying to know that there is a test by which to try the speculations of philosophy;—a test which has been proved perfect in the line of centuries long past, and which has not only withstood the attacks of many successive generations, but has become more firmly fixed on its foundation by the unavailing assaults of its adversaries. We who have conformed our sentiments to the word of God, who have tested our theories by the aid of revelation, have a security on which to rest. We have a divine guide, to lead us on our doubtful way. The early martyrs felt its power and value, when they compared heathen mythology with the word of God taught them by the Spirit, and died joyfully, rather than surrender the truth. Luther was animated by it, when he aroused the people of Germany from their ignorance of the word of God; when he raised aloft that lantern of truth, and, applying the test of its heavenly light, exhibited the deformities of the "Man of Sin."

Let him who is wearied with the conflicting speculations of man go to that fountain, the revealed truth of God. There let him drink those hallowed inspirations which the mind of man never of itself originated. Then will he acknowledge with Cato, that Plato "does reason well," for a human philosopher, upon the soul and an hereafter; but better than even Plato will he penetrate those eternal truths which enwrap the soul and its future condition. We must submit even Plato to the divine test. And while some parts of his philosophy will be made to glow with a brighter beauty, his defects will be also discovered, by contrast with that pure and perfect standard.

As we examine, with the light of divine truth, the speculations of various nations, some beauties of thought will be found, which, borne along in the current of tradition, perhaps from the early times of the patriarchs, still

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bear the traces of our divine philosophy. Thus a sect of the Hindoos makes the great end of individual being to consist in becoming united to, in becoming one with Brahma, the creator of the universe. So does the Christian strive to be like unto, to be one with Jesus Christ. The Chinese give man two souls, the soul that feels and the soul that knows. At death, the first returns to the earth, whence it sprang; the second to heaven, its original dwelling place. How similar is this to the carnal nature, which clings to the earth; and the spiritual nature, the gift of God, which seeks communion with him. But amidst how much rubbish of heathenism and extravagance are these jewels lost!

Man's fallen nature has led him far astray; yet God has given the light of truth to guide our steps. In his word we behold that truth. We can comprehend it, as clearly as finite powers can comprehend what is infinite. Though our feeble intellects can never realize the infinity of the attributes of Jehovah, yet as we turn from pernicious error, and from the unsatisfying truths of nature to feast our souls with the richness and glory of revelation, shall we not thank God, not only for this light, but also that ours is a state of growth in intellectual and moral power? Though faint may be the glimmerings of truth upon earth, we have hope that hereafter they will shine upon us with a brighter radiance, purifying our fallen natures, destroying the love of a deceitful world, and educating the mind to those true and large conceptions which befit a rational, immortal and expanding soul, meditating on the glories, and dwelling amid the scenes of eternity.

L. B. R.

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ARTICLE III.

INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF LÜCKE.

The fundamental thought contained in the Introduction, which is the substantial thing discussed in the gospel, is the idea of the incarnate, original, antemundane divine Logos in Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God. The principal problem to be solved, is the nature of the Logos. The idea of the Logos, in this connection, is not a general one, or one that is in itself an intellectual religious conception; but rather a technical, theological idea. John has neither explained nor interpreted it. In an isolated, abrupt manner, he so uses it, that one necessarily sees that he presupposes a knowledge of its meaning in a fixed historical connection. Without correct views of this connection, the interpretation can neither be discovered nor explained. John's Logos, therefore, must constantly be misunderstood—the enigma is proposed, but there is no solution.

From remarks which have been previously made, it appears that the Logos-idea of John is to be explained in a historical manner, and from this, the conception is to be more perfectly developed. But the historical discussion alone, is insufficient. In order to find the established course of thought, by means of which the idea of the Logos is unlocked, the grammatical use of language in the time previous, the particular Biblical usage, and the immediate design of John in his introductory verses must be determined.

According to general usage, ὁ λόγος can be translated *word*, or *reason*. If the position of the phrase, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ (Rev. 19: 13,) were better determined, the idea would evidently be more certain and more easy. But John says, at first, simply, ὁ λόγος, and then gives us the relation of the Logos to God by the phrase, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, and θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. Consequently there can

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exist no doubt, that when the genitive-relation was to be expressed, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ would stand for it. But when ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ does occur, as it does elsewhere in the New Testament, e. g. in John's other writings, it signifies the most ancient word of God, the most ancient Scriptures, or the sermon of the gospel. Still though this phrase harmonizes, in many respects, with the Logos idea of the Introduction, it is not the same. Certainly the expression ὁ λόγος σάρξ ἐγένετο, John 1: 14, was not so employed in the Introduction.

It may be still farther remarked, that except in Biblical usage, ὁ λόγος is used for *reason*, either of God or man, neither by John nor by any other writer. This, in Biblical usage, is expressed in various relations, which are explained by the connection—sometimes by πνεῦμα and by καρδια and even by νοῦς—1 Cor. 2: 16. As a divine attribute, the reason of God is called ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ. Also in the classics ὁ λόγος may be called *understanding*, i. e. the objective knowledge of things and their relations, but not the faculty of reason or subjective knowledge. The general signification of λόγος, in relations similar to the one in John's prologue, both in the Old and New Testament, is *speech* or *word*. And indeed ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ expresses the symbolical idea of the creating, revealing, governing and lawgiving activity of God. That John, under the term λόγος, has particularly intended to express the idea of the creating and revealing word of God, by a reference of his first verses, John 1: 1—3, to the account given of the creation, Gen. 1: 1, can be settled beyond the shadow of a doubt.

The word of God, in the Scriptures, is not an immanent attribute, but always an objective action of God in the world, and in various relations to the world. That interpretation, therefore, which proceeds from the idea of a divine attribute, must be set aside, if Scripture analogy is to be followed. John describes the Logos as a personality—as a person who, though with God, πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, yet creates and develops himself in a manner distinct from God. Particularly does he dwell upon the thought, that this Logos became flesh, (v. 14,) and shone forth in Jesus Christ as a distinct historical person. But however this enigmatical word may be understood, it certainly must mean something more than a rhetorical or poetical

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personification. In harmony with the manner of speech employed by the Baptist, and by Jesus himself respecting the preëxistence, i. e. the existence of the Son of God before the creation, which ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος certainly signifies, John could not have intended anything less than a dogmatic manifestation, or an hypostasis of the Logos. But from what historical, connected and dogmatic ideas could the grammatical and distinct idea of John's Logos be deduced?

Three things, of particular importance, present themselves to us, which may form a fair basis of reasoning with respect to the λόγος. That which is the most nearly connected with it as to time, is the doctrine of Philo respecting the Logos. But the doctrine of Philo, as seen in the unity of the Jewish Theology, discovers two original modes of thought, as contained in the Old Testament; viz. the doctrine of the Word of God, and the doctrine of the Wisdom of God. These are the most ancient sources of Philo's doctrine; and yet as to time, they are the second and third historical bases of John's prologue.

I.

The idea of the Logos acquires its essential development in the history of the Jewish Theology. By the general and particular revelation of God to Adam, a revelation rendered still more fixed in Abraham and Moses, the idea of the only true God—the monotheistical, ethical God-idea—was implanted in the mind with so much energy, that it must have developed and unfolded a still stronger germ of spiritual life. This expansion of the idea is brought out in two ways: first, progressively; by the revelation of God in the providential care of his people: secondly, by the partial development of the Jewish mind itself, which had received an impetus in consequence of the revelation. The most ancient theology is perfectly religious and positive. The objective purport of it is, consequently, nothing else than a divine revelation, the matter of an immediate, religious experience. It is to be examined according to its foundation, its contents, and its form. It leads us, therefore, necessarily to a knowledge of the attributes of God, as fixing the appropriate character and meaning to the revelation. Its basis is general. It lies both in the nature of man and the idea

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of God. Man cannot, by his own faculties or by intuition, understand the essence or the nature of God, except by revelation and by contemplating the attributes of God. Every revelation of God was preëminently conveyed to the mind of the Hebrew by the idea of the Word; and every divine attribute, or attributive representation, by the idea of Wisdom. Therefore, the unfolding of the doctrine respecting the Word and the Wisdom constitute the chief points of interest in the most ancient theology.

§ 1. The first indication of the progressiveness of the ancient theology is the Mosaic account of the creation. Here we find, at the creation, the divine revelation established with respect to the divine essence as Spirit, and with reference to its form as Word, or language, in which the Spirit operates and declares itself. Concerning the Spirit as the Word of God, there are free symbolical expressions and analogical ideas, which are derived from human comparisons; but in consequence of the monotheistic principle of faith, the Hebrew could not consider the revelation of God at the creation, otherwise than, as to his nature, a Spirit, and as to his form, a Word.

This idea, however, of a revelation under the symbol of the Word is not peculiarly Hebraistic. The religion of Zoroaster also represents the world-creating Word, as the most immediate and most ancient revelation of the Infinite—as the mode in which the benevolent Deity exists and creates. And in the Veda may be found also a discussion respecting the creative Word, Brahma, and the goddess Vach. But the Old Testament doctrine did not originate there. It is only similar to it. The Mosaic history may not be older than Moses. The standing-point of information directs to a much earlier than the Mosaic epoch; yet in its connection, it is both more ancient and very different from the doctrine of the Word in the religious system of Zoroaster and the Vedas.

The fundamental idea of the Old Testament seems to be, that the revelation of God is essentially in the form of the Word, and energetically that of the divine Spirit or divine will. The Hebrew poetry preserves this method of representation until a still later period. But gradually, as knowledge advances, we find, as the essential type of all divine revelation, the idea of upholding and govern-

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ing, until finally the word is separated from the power of the Spirit. All divine light and life, in the world, in nature and history, exists in the law, the promises, the prophecies, the providences and instructions, the prophetic gift, etc. All this is the working of the divine Spirit in the form of the divine Word—דְּבַר יְהוָה, λόγος or ῥῆμα, τοῦ θεοῦ, or κυρίου, etc.—Genesis 4: 14, 41. Ps. 33: 6, 9; 93: 5; 107: 20; 147: 18; 148: 8; Is. 2: 1, 3; Jer. 1: 4, 11, 13; 2: 1, 4; Is. 48: 16; 61: 1; etc.

Again, poetic personifications are very frequent. Ps. 147: 15; Is. 55: 10, 11. They lie in the nature of poetic language. But the most ancient personifications of the divine Word, containing a dogmatic germ and a dogmatic tendency, are preformations of the later hypostases of the divine Word. There are two kinds, worthy of particular attention. First, those instances in which the divine Word is exhibited objectively in the Law. In the Law, the Word of God is placed preëminently before the people, and possesses in itself a self-existing life and worth. Secondly, those instances where the divine attributes are transferred to the Word of God, and there is an identical parallelism between the Word of God and God himself. The Word of God is true, eternal, full of wisdom and almighty. Ps. 33: 4; 119: 89, 104, 105; Is. 40: 8; Jer. 23: 29, etc. For the sake of a more immediate and essential expression of the divine mind and will, the Word becomes the Word of the divine character and nature, and identifies itself still more perfectly with it. But gradually it must have been considered as something more than a divine subject. Still, the oldest canonical account carries us no farther than to a distinctive tendency and effort to transfer the poetic personification of the divine Word to the dogmatic personification, or hypostasis.

§ 2. At a later period, the doctrine of the Word spoken of in the Old Testament was developed in the following manner. Only in proportion as the religious and spiritual life is exalted and made distinctive, and there arises a more abundant experience and perception of the divine revelation, can one know the attributive nature of God. Thus it is in the Old Testament. The Hebrew, in accordance with the natural course of knowledge, in early times conceived of God and praised him as the Wise, the Al-

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mighty. But to know what is the moral perfection of God and what his universal plan of government, requires a long series of religious experience and believing meditation. Only to the pious sage, did the Wisdom of God disclose itself as the substance of the divine perfection, the eternal light, and the eternal ruler or governor of the world. Consequently, we find that it is only in the later books that the doctrine concerning Wisdom is particularly unfolded. The chief places of interest are the book of Job and the Proverbs of Solomon. We take for the chronology of both books about the time of the exile.

In the Theodicea (chap. 28,) of the book of Job, divine Wisdom is represented in comparison with human wisdom as unsearchable and unfathomable, even to the wisest. God alone knows the way to it. He alone knows its place. It sees even to the end of the earth and throughout the whole heaven. It puts the world in a balance. It weighs the waters with a measure. It gives law to the rain, and a path to the water-courses. By it God declares himself—reveals himself—represents and comprehends himself. To man it speaks, "Behold the fear of the Lord is Wisdom, and to avoid evil is understanding." Thus Wisdom is represented as alone fully knowing and revealing God—as God objectively revealed in creating and regulating the world—and as an endless problem which man with humility is to solve, but which can be solved only in proportion as he fears God and avoids evil.

The view in Proverbs is more complete and from a different standing point. As sinful folly, סִכְלוּת, is described poetically, chap. 7 : 1 and 9 : 13 seq., as a harlot who deceives, spoils and puts to death her votaries, so by way of antithesis, Wisdom is described as the cardinal virtue—as that which seeks and calls for men, and rewards them with her good things. Wisdom in its perfection, the Wisdom of God is the basis and true type of humanity. She calls herself the first born of God—8 : 22. Jehovah has created or formed her (קָנָה) in the beginning, or as the beginning of his activity, before his works. From the beginning, before the origin of the earth, has he established her for queen and governess of the world. Thus, as the original daughter of God, was she with God —by his side—אָצְלוֹ—as the artist by whom God or-

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dains every thing—the delight of God—his beloved child day by day. And as she pleases God, is eternally his pleasure, the blessed, happy Wisdom, so is she, upon the earth, the joy of men, every thing which they seek and love, blessing them with the knowledge of truth, with virtue and art, with the smile of heaven and eternal salvation. The connection and the tenor of the entire context establishes the fact beyond a doubt, that the Wisdom of God is here only personified in a poetical loving way, and is not dogmatically hypostasized. But this personification shows that the Wisdom of God is not quiescent, but ever before the world, and active. It is described as a cosmical, objective principle, and as a creature of God which is active and operative in the divine works, in the same way as wisdom is valued among men. But beyond all this it must be observed, that according to Solomon, Wisdom, as the creating, upholding, and governing principle in eternal salvation, embraces in itself all the revelation of God; and as the attributes, wisdom and power, understanding and might, justice, holiness and goodness briefly comprehend every other quality of God, so exists the moral unity of the divine nature.

The personification of Solomon had a most significant influence upon a farther unfolding of the idea of God. It became the stereotyped model for similar representations; the beginning-point and the thesis of the later dogmatic discussions. Two things must here be noticed. First, when we compare the representation of the Wisdom of God by Solomon, with the doctrines of the Old Testament respecting the Spirit and the Word of God, we find that what is there predicted of the Spirit and Wisdom of God, is here connected with the idea of the divine Wisdom. The allusion to the Mosaic representation is unmistakable, though there is no mention of the Word and the Spirit. By this harmony, the wisdom of Solomon appears as the nearer attributive designation, as the ethical idea and the essence of the creative and governing Word of God. In history the latter more perfect coalescing of both methods of thought is more easily explained. Secondly, why did the Jew unite the nature and revelation of God under the idea of wisdom, and let them remain there? Love excepted, wisdom is the germ of every quality of God, as viewed from the monotheistic stand-

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ing point. Omnipotence, omniscience, eternity and omnipresence fill with astonishment; righteousness and holiness, with fear and reverence. The principal harmony of the divine revelation is still enclosed in these attributes, and the spiritual image of man is still dark. In Wisdom, for the first time, both come in, to perfect the idea.

Yet besides this, there exists a higher idea, nay, the highest. This is the last declaration—God is love—or rather, love is the full idea of his nature—the basis and deepest unity of all his qualities. But to this perfect conception, the Hebrew could not elevate himself, since the perfect revelation of the divine mercy which redeems, and which first appeared in Christ, was, in the Old Testament, only expected and promised. The Hebrew, therefore, though aware of the benevolence and goodness of the divine Wisdom, could not go beyond the wisdom and perfect the idea, because he was ignorant of its prime basis, love.

II.

The germinating principle and first development of theological opinions concerning the Logos cannot be mistaken. Their next farther development we find in the Greek Apocrypha of the Old Testament. Here lies the transition point to the Alexandrian notion of Philo. Two books come before us; that of Jesus Sirach, and the Wisdom of Solomon.

§ 1. Jesus Sirach, the older book, the apocryphal copy of the Proverbs of Solomon, was originally planned and written in Hebrew. He combines, in his principal picture, chap. 1 and 24, the Wisdom of God immediately with the doctrine of Wisdom by Solomon, and describes to us the progressive tradition of the same among the Palestinian Jews. Chap. 1: 1—10 declares that all wisdom is from God, and is with him in eternity. This inscrutable wisdom is created before all things. The All-Wise God has created, known and explored it, or rather poured it out over all his works and all flesh, and has granted it to those who love him according to each one's gifts, verse 6. To whom was the secret of Wisdom unveiled? Thereupon it is answered according to the usual text, v. 5. The fountain of wisdom is the Word of God, and its path the eternal commandments. This en-

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tire verse, however, is supposed to be a later addition. There is also in the 24th chapter, a striking similarity between Wisdom and the Word of God. She says respecting herself—24: 3 seq., that she came forth in the beginning of things from the mouth of the Most High. She came forth from God with the world—a creating word—before him, from the beginning. She comprehends and rules heaven and earth, and has her dominions over all people and nations, 24: 16. She seeks a quiet and abiding dominion. God commands her to dwell in Jacob, and to have her possessions in Israel. She serves before God in the holy dwelling place, keeps upon Zion her habitation, and has her government in Jerusalem. v. 10, 11. Here, planted among the people of God, she groweth before them as a cedar of Lebanon; as a living, thriving vine, and her blossoms bear rich and princely fruit. And as the law of God among the Jewish people is the perfection of all wisdom, so it is according to Sirach in this law, the book of books—an endless stream of divine revelation, pouring forth learning, and wisdom, and knowledge, and love for all mankind.

The description, however, includes nothing which points to another fountain, as the natural internal progress of the Hebraistic mind in the use of wisdom. We find in it no hypostasizing of the Divine Wisdom. The allegory, the drapery of the description, affords us only an appearance of it. But this fact is very evident, that the view of Sirach combined the divine and human wisdom as type and prototype—the first as especially something in the world—as the objective revealer of God, and as the creator, upholder and governor of the world. As he continually finds the concentration of this revelation of wisdom, the chief point of interest among the Jews, in the theocratic books (*διαθήκη*), in the *δόξα θεοῦ*, in the tabernacle, in the temple and in the divine law, so he comprises under the *σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ* every thing which is elsewhere said in the Old Testament respecting the *πνεῦμα* and the *λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*. In this way is the Wisdom of God always treated among the Jews, as the objective idea of all revelation, and as the ethical ground and union of it. By steps similar to Sirach's, chap. 24, the idea of Wisdom stands forth in the original Greek, and the later book of Baruch. God, it says, has wisdom. He alone knows it.

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To Jacob it was given. By it God has appeared upon the earth, and walked among men, i. e. in the eternal law.

§ 2. The Alexandrian Jewish writing, the Wisdom of Solomon, differs in its representation in many respects. It appears to have been written about a century before Christ. Possibly the author of it, as chap. 16: 26—29 leads us to think, belonged to the Egyptian Therapeutæ. Throughout, it is a connected eulogy of Wisdom. The eulogized king of Wisdom, Solomon, exhorts the rulers of the earth to true monotheistic wisdom; paints it according to its worth and nature, as compared with heathen ignorance; gives examples concerning the manner of attaining to it; how Wisdom, as the upholding, delivering and benevolent power of the world has especially proved itself in the history of the people of God, and how ignorance, particularly an ignorance of the true worship of God, leads to destruction and condemnation. The method of the work reminds one of the Proverbs of Solomon; but the contents and spirit of it are essentially different.

For our purpose chaps. 6: 22, to chap. 9 are particularly worthy of consideration. In the preface Solomon says he wishes to make known what wisdom is, and how it is obtained. Accordingly he describes it as the highest good, as the sum and substance of all knowledge, understanding and intellectual attainment. It is a gift of God, which is shared by the pious only, and by them in accordance with their true prayer. In chap. 7: 22 seq., he describes the notion of it in the following way: It is the sum of all knowledge and understanding; for by it exists an understanding, holy spirit. This spirit is manifold, refined, clear and inviolable. It is the chief good, the creative, omnipotent, merciful, fixed, infallible, happy, almighty, omniscient, omnipresent, pure, exalted and consuming spirit. Wisdom is more active than all activity. It goes forth and pierces through every thing by virtue of its purity. It is the breath of the power of God, and a pure efflux of the divine majesty and government. Therefore no impurity can be mingled with it. It is a resplendence of the Eternal Light, and a reflecting mirror of the activity and goodness of God. It is a unit, and yet may be a complexity—immutable, yet always new, and from generation to generation passing over holy

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souls, it creates friends and prophets of God. God loves no one else as he loves him who dwells with Wisdom. It is more brilliant than the sun, and has its throne above the stars. Compared with light, it is much superior; for after light follows darkness, but to Wisdom belongs no darkness. It rules from one end of the world to the other, and governs well.

Wisdom is here described as a holy spirit of light, proceeding from God and piercing through all things. In its notion, it is spirit, free from matter. It shares in every attribute of the divine character; or rather, every quality of God is comprised in it. It is the governing principle in all the works of God—the divine organ for creating, upholding and regulating the world. In this sense, the writer calls it the *πάρεδρον* of the divine throne, which was present when he created the world,—3: 4, 9. The author indeed does not say this explicitly; but throughout the description we are compelled to infer that, like J. Sirach, he conceives of wisdom as coming forth from God before the creation of the world. In particular places, he parallelizes it with the divine Logos,—9: 1, 2; 16: 12; Ps. 107: 20; but in such a way, that the Logos especially signifies the revealed form of the divine power and wisdom, the ethical principle of the world. It is particularly worthy of notice that the *παντοδύναμος λόγος* 18: 15, 16, which put to death the first-born of the Egyptians, is represented as an angel, who leaving heaven, goes forth upon the earth to put an end to death and destruction. Compare Chron. 21: 15, 16. This Logos, also, the divine castigator, by poetical language is described as an angel. With regard to the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, wisdom is represented not merely as a parallelism, but as something identical 1: 4—7; 7: 22; 9: 17; 7: 7; 12: 1. A question may naturally arise, whether, in the word *σοφία*, a self-existent personal distinction out of God, is presented to us, an hypostasis; and if so, to what extent; or only a poetically feigned person? The course of thought from chaps. 8: 2; 9: 18, suggests, with little exception, a mere poetical personification of wisdom. Solomon seeks wisdom; he chooses it for the bride of his youth, his counsellor and his consolation. He finds by intercourse with it, immortality, serenity, joy, riches and glory. Here it is very evidently represented and personi-

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fied as a necessary, cardinal virtue. But in chaps. 6: 9. —7: 22, the other representation, i. e. the representation of Proverbs, predominates.

But when we advance from chap. 10: 1, where the providential Wisdom, as comprehending the divine power, love and holiness, is portrayed in the history of the Jews, Wisdom is frequently interchanged with the subject, ὁ κύριος, and the idea is more fixed than a mere poetic personification. In the author's view, Wisdom is the perfect revelation of God in the world. This is also apparent in Jesus Sirach. But in chap. 7: 22, undeniably the writer goes farther. Wisdom becomes an emanative reflection of God as a holy spirit, a living, active type of God in the world; in short, a kind of Platonic soul of the world; for Wisdom is here more than the Platonic soul-substance of the world. But according to this connection, it is the real, eternal, divine principle of the world, the particular medium between God and the world. Yet the author is quite removed from a decided hypostasizing of Wisdom under the aspect of a self-existent, personal essence. Respecting the Logos of Philo as a δεύτερος θεὸς, he has not perfected his opinion. The idea of the divine attributes and the ancient mode of thinking still work too strongly with him. But the near approach to Philo is unmistakable. The book appears to be a combination of the Jewish theology, in which a peculiar mingling of the former revealed doctrine among the Alexandrian Jews, with the oriental, Greek, religious philosophy or Gnosis, has already begun to exist.

III.

The marked historical origin of this intermingling lies in the Babylonian exile. It was natural that the Jews should assimilate the religion of a foreign land with their own. It was at this time, undoubtedly, that the reformation by Zoroaster and the active Sabaismus effected its affinity with the Mosaic religion. And in this way the influx of the doctrine of Zoroaster into the mode of religious thought was inevitable. It gives definiteness to the view, perhaps, to say that there existed in and since the time of the exile, not only a mixed religious method of thought among the Jews, which seeks to combine and harmonize a native and a foreign religion, the one enlarged

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and illuminated by the other, but that out of it sprang a religio-philosophic tendency, which strove for a common religious thought, and thereby a religious speculation concerning the positive and the variable in religion.

It is enough for our purpose that there was developed from this theological transition period—B. C. perhaps 700 to 400—a clearer idea and a more enlarged signification concerning the angel-doctrine* of the Jewish faith. The higher spirit-world became increasingly necessary, as a medium between the ethical nature of God and the physical world. Consequently, at this time, the doctrine respecting the divine creative Word, was described according to the Zoroastrian idea of the Honover, and received a speculative religious meaning. This last appeared in the Egyptian period which followed the Persian, and afterwards in the Alexandrian and Hellenistic. It is also known that a large body of Jews were collected in Egypt, particularly in Alexandria during the reign of the Ptolemies, and that they received a strong bias to Greco-Egyptian culture and literature. This culture was a mixture of Greek and oriental philosophy. Its essential element is the oriental religious philosophy or Gnosis. Even in this last notion, the Jews took a prominent part, and thus formed the Jewish Alexandrian religious philosophy or Gnosis.

We pass by the earlier traces of the Gnosis, scattered over the Alexandrian translation of the Old Testament. The appearance of it is evident in the fragments of Aristobulus, who flourished about 200 B. C. He wrote a Gnostic allegorical interpretation of the Mosaic writings—ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἑρμενεία, or ἐξηγήσεις τῆς Μωσέως γραφῆς. We quote the fragment concerning the creation of the world. "Since our life is full of hardship, God, who created the world, appointed the seventh day for rest. This day in a φυσέως, i. e. in a metaphysical sense can be called the first generation of light, in which every thing is seen comprehensively. But one might say this also concerning Wisdom; for all light proceeds out of it; and some of the Peripatetic school have said concerning it, 'it has the property (τάξιν) of a torch—for he who follows it will henceforth enjoy uninterrupted rest.' But

* See Hengstenberg's Christology, Vol. I, pp. 161—187.

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more plainly and clearly does our predecessor Solomon say, 'It existed before heaven and earth.'"

As far as the fragment has stated the unity of the doctrine, Aristobulus seems to have identified Wisdom with a power anterior to the creation, in the same manner with the author of the book of Wisdom. Here and there the distinction between the hidden and revealed God is brought out. But concerning his opinion of the Logos, the fragment leaves us in uncertainty.

A full and clear account of the Alexandrian Jewish Gnosis, as it had been developed at the time of Christ and the apostles, is given us by Philo. But we should be very much deceived, if, in consequence of the fulness in which the Jewish Gnosis is unfolded, we should expect to find a comprehensive and perfectly harmonious system. It does not appear that either Philo or the spirit of the times was directed to that point. Indeed, a mingling of the revelation to the Hebrews, with the oriental theosophy and Hellenistic learning culled out of the various schools, Platonic, Aristotelean, Stoical and Pythagorean, could not be subsidized even by the strongest and most active mind into a living, theological or philosophic system.

The partial contemporaneousness of Philo with the apostle John, (he flourished A. D. 40, or 50,) causes us to anticipate from Philo's representation the most intimate historical connection; since the Evangelist's doctrine of the Logos harmonizes with the time of the Jewish Gnosis. But in order that the relations of time and similarity may not blind us to an essential difference of essence, it is necessary briefly to describe the doctrine of the Logos as held by Philo, in its connection with the nature of God and his connection with the world. According to Philo, God—ὁ ὄντως θεός, ὁ εἷς ὄντως ὢν θεός, ὁ ἀληθείᾳ θεός,—is the absolute perfectibility, universality and simplicity of existence, the mere essence, without attribute and without name. In his essence he is incomprehensible and concealed;—absolutely perfect in himself, without relation to any thing else whatever—the τὸ ὄν—spirit. Externally and with reference to the world, he holds relations; but so far as this is the case, the idea is material. He is the absolute cause of all that is. But so far as the appearance of created matter bears a relation to its

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substratum, God is wholly unchangeable and perfect; having with it no immediate contact, neither creating, forming, giving it life, nor upholding nor governing it.

But how, then, can God be the cause of all things, Creator and Lord? He is mediately known and revealed in the world by his *powers*—δύναμεις. These, differing both from the absolute essence of God, and from the material world, are the necessary media of God's power and activity. Without them, there can be no just conception of God. With regard to their province in the universe, God may be said to rule the world as the highest Reason, as a king surrounded by his subjects. They are as innumerable and various as the stars or the angels. Plato calls them *ideas*—the types, patterns, real principles of all things, the κόσμος νοητός, the immaterial, original world itself, the antitype of the sensuous, material world. Moreover, these powers have their orders and classes. Generally Philo distinguishes between the two, the highest and most eminent powers, (a fact of primary importance,) viz. the benevolent or creative, and the royal, or the punitive and corrective. The first, he says, is called in the Scriptures God—θεός, and the second Lord—κύριος. As God in nature is one, so he thinks these powers, divided into innumerable classes and gradations, appear in the world as essentially one—(what the Stoic would call λόγος σπερματικός)—not simply so far as all the powers of God are one, but also objectively and per se. This unity lies in the idea of the divine Logos, as that in which all the divine powers are connected together and graduated, both as it concerns their immanence in God, and their communication with the world.

The Mosaic history may have formed the germ to this course of thought; but its more certain conception owes its origin to the Hellenistic philosophy and the oriental theosophic Gnosis. As Philo, in his discussion concerning the relation of God to the world, proceeded according to the Hellenistic idea of the world, and this in accordance with Plato's doctrine of ideas, embracing the Hellenistic physics and uniting the Hebraistic account of the creation to the doctrine of emanations; so also he joins to this philosophic relation of God to the world the Hebrew idea of Wisdom, while there is but little immediate connection with it. In comparison with this, a more excellent

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and a scriptural formula is offered us instead of his Gnosis —the ancient description of the Word and the Word of God. Not only would this be a fitting expression for the unity and multiplicity of the divine power in the world, especially in Greek, λόγος and λόγοι, but in ambiguity concerning reason and word, it would be admissible to use the idea of the divine powers in the world, both as immanent and emanent.

But while Philo in his way loved the most ancient basis of faith in his Gnosis, and sought to reduce his Gnostic ideas to the Old Testament representation and mode of thought, the mixed manner of speech remained; so that, as a Platonist, he called the divine powers, ideas; and as a Jewish writer, ἄγγελοι, angels, and exchanged these modes of expression with one another, as suited his pleasure.

We will explain his doctrine of the Logos somewhat more accurately. According to the two-fold idea of the word ὁ λόγος, thought and language, reason and word, and, according to the analogy of the human λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, the internal word or the unexpressed thought, and of the human λόγος προφορικός, the external word or the expressed thought, Philo employs the idea of the θεῖος λόγος or λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in a two-fold signification; and thereby distinguishes between the relation of the Logos, as he is immanent in God, the divine understanding, the divine thought, and the relation of the same so far as he is expressed as the Word of God, appearing and acting in the world. The pure immanent λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ or divine νοῦς is as inconceivable and incomprehensible by man as God himself; and although by abstraction different, yet as to essence, one with God. But Philo does not adhere to this abstract predicative and attributive apprehension of the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος. The λόγος ἐνδιάθετος has for its essence, indeed possesses in itself the idea of ideas—the ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα, the archetypical world which exists in God as a reality, before any external creation or arrangement in the material world. By this activity, is made perfect as an eternal power in God himself, that ἔννόησις, the λογισμος θεοῦ λογιζομένου. But even as an activity of God, as a creative power, the Logos is necessarily also προφορικὸς, i. e. as the creating, constructing activity of

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God, he goes forth from God as the expressed Word. So the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος is revealed in the world by the Word of God, and is as λόγος λεγόμενος, the ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ according to the ancient mode of speech, and is conceivable and comprehensible by men. But as this is only the established relation of the divine Logos to the actual world, so the λόγος προφορικός is only the product of the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος. This is the fountain of that, and is equally and essentially one with it, (ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λέγων ἅμα ἐποίει.) Thus it is the house of the immanent Logos, as the word is essentially the house of the thought—i. e. the form of its development.

Every living, active relation of God to the world, and every objective development of himself therein, is comprehended in the λόγος προφορικός. He is the τομεύς πάντων, artificer of all things—the *mensura universorum*, so far as the idea of place gives every thing its bound and relation. Thus the Logos constructs or creates the world, inasmuch as he imprints himself upon the matter as a divine seal, or gives it a cosmical ideal form. And as he has created the world, or in other words, God by him, so he upholds it. He is the indwelling, overruling power of the world; its divine foundation and bond; and so far as it is preserved by him, he being the connecting link and regulator of the divine ideas or powers of the world, he is its Eternal Law. But he is not the central power of all things, as a mere formal, external law, but is full of light and love, filling every thing with light and love, ordaining and directing every thing with divine wisdom, love, righteousness and holiness. Thus he penetrates, animates, guides and conducts the world as a divine providence, and is in external nature a necessary instrument; but in humanity he is the indwelling divine power, the pure understanding, the conscience, the bestower of wisdom and guardian of virtue. So far as Wisdom is regarded as ruling the world, as virtue proceeding from him, it signifies the Wisdom of God. Also with regard to the Spirit, the Holy Spirit in its objective appearance in the world, it is one and the same. At times it unites the world as a peculiar spirit; at times it spiritualizes and renovates man, especially as a prophetic spirit.

The Logos of Philo is the oldest creation of God. He is not unbegotten as God, nor has an end as a created

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being. He is the oldest son of the eternal Father—*ὁ πρεσβύτατος υἱὸς θεοῦ, ὁ πρωτόγονος*—the image of God, the creator of the world, the revered name of God, the medium between God and the world, both distinct from God and united to him, the highest angel, the second God,—*ὁ δεύτερος θεός*,—the high priest, the reconciler and mediator of the world and of mankind, particularly manifest by visible representations in the history of the Jewish people, so that all divine visions and revelations in the Scriptures may be conducted back to this Logos. With a more extensive and more comprehensive Biblical view before him, and in consequence of the interchangeableness and intermingling of the positive teachings of the Old Testament with the Judaeo-Gnostic elements, one can with difficulty decide whether or not Philo has taught that the divine Logos is a true real person—an hypostasis of God. So long as we abide by a single representation, we remain in doubt; but the more we enter into the internal harmony of Philo's religious and philosophic system, the more decidedly we can answer the question in the affirmative. A part of Philo's personification of the Logos is purely allegorical and typical, and adapted only to the Biblical view and the Biblical representation. This fact is against hypostasizing the Logos. To this part, we refer the description of the Logos as high priest, etc., *ἀρχιερεύς, παράκλητος, δέσμος, σφραγίς*. Still he uses poetical personification, evidently in accordance with his own method of thought, to describe rather the idea, than the type of a person which dwelt in his soul. Indeed the analogy he draws between the divine Logos and the human soul, with its relations, virtues and attributes, differs but little from an hypostasis of the Logos; for, irrespective of every thing else, he does not consider the human to be a perfectly adequate representation of the divine.

In accordance with the difference of the relations to God, Philo discusses the divine Logos in a two-fold manner, the immanent and the emanent. The more the immanent and attributive character of the Logos develops itself, the more appears the difference between the Logos and the divine unity, and thereby is seen the self-existent personality of the Logos, without any solution of the difficulty. But when the emanent, living activity of the Logos is presented to view, then appears also the distinction

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of the Logos and God, and what Philo certainly teaches, the real self-existence and personality of the Logos. And indeed that Philo has taught that the λόγος προφορικός, and mediately from this, the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος is an active existence, differing from God, and yet a dependent hypostasis of the same, appears true for the following reasons: First, Philo repeatedly calls the Logos the archangel—ἀρχάγγελος. Now, according to the Jewish theology of the time, the angel was a personal nature, distinct from God. Therefore the Logos, as the highest angel, must have had a personal character. But besides this, he calls the Logos, in the fragments mentioned by Eusebius, τὸν δεύτερον θεόν, and separates from it the one before the Logos, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, or God above the Logos, ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον θεόν or the supreme Father of all—τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων. He wishes to explain in what sense God, in Gen. 1: 27, says, "in the image of God, made he man," as concerning another God, when he says, "very beautifully and wisely is this expressed; for no mortal can resemble the highest God and Father of all things, but he can imitate the second God, who is the Logos of the first;" when he uses such language, the idea becomes fixed, and the position he establishes is produced from his religious philosophy. The manner of treatment arises from the principles of Philo's doctrine. But the strongest expression for us is the second God. This argues a real divine personality,* both according to the polytheistic and monotheistic usage. That the term second appears so seldom is explained from the undue prominence it would give to the polytheistic view. And it must be remembered, he employs his strong monotheistic expression, "There is one true God," as infrequently. And indeed in his doctrine of angels, in the more real gradation there maintained, the divine personality is frequently mentioned. Evidently, if Philo had been a pantheist, this argument would have no force. But he was a Dualist. He maintained that the material world and the divine nature were created from each other. As a strong Jewish monotheist, he expressly says, the Logos is called

* Our author, undoubtedly, interprets Philo too much in accordance with his own wishes. The idea of a personal Logos cannot be fairly established from a complete view of Philo's philosophic system.

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δεύτερος θεός only in a peculiar sense—ἐν καταχρήσει. The other names of the Logos, Son of God, first-begotten, the man of God, are certainly in part figurative expressions; yet they have some truth with them, who place in the δεύτερος θεός the idea of a personal essence distinct from God. Still he considers the world, so far as there is the expression and manifestation of the divine idea, to be a living essence—the son of God.

Finally, though Philo endeavors to exclude the opposition between God and the world, by distinguishing the God unbegotten from the God revealed, yet this difference which he makes must have as much reality as that opposition. Moreover, he makes the absolute self-existence of God really distinct; and the Logos, as mediating between God and the world, a being corresponding to the absolute divine being, and yet a kind of secondary type of him. Therefore he must have conceived of the Logos as a real personal existence. The harmony of the system agrees when we consider a single explanation, that to his mind the Logos was an hypostasis different from God, and that he was the medium power, possessing in himself the divine attributes, and revealing them to the world. Philo was an Emanatist. But the emanation which he taught, was the efflux of the original divine essence in the modified form of substantial, personal life. The divine Logos possessed in itself the highest and first position.

But the question now arises, whether, as having any bearing upon the prologue of John, Philo had fixed the idea of the Logos in any connection with the Messiahship?

The Jewish expectations respecting the Messiah were not unknown to him. He cherishes for it a peculiar predilection, and discusses it in his usually interesting and complete way. For instance, when he speaks of the coming of the holy Messiah, and describes the return of the Jews from the captivity into the land of promise, he says, they shall be conducted by a divine, superhuman appearance (ὄψις), which, unseen by others, is visible to those who are to be delivered. From this appearance, however, he distinguishes the Messianic Prince, the Saviour who is to make war upon the heathen after the return, and conquer and rule his people in righteousness. This last idea appears to be entirely according to the pos-

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itive ancient theology of Philo, and stands in no connection with his doctrine of the Logos. But elsewhere, when he describes the guidance of the Jews from the beginning, he appears to have conceived of the Logos as that which was present in the heavenly vision, the ἀφανης αγγελος, the concealed angel in the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire. This apearance was somewhat Messianic. Accordingly he represents every where the idea of the Logos in Messianic drapery, but under the influence of his Gnostic opinions, he could not perfectly form the incarnation of a Messianic Logos.

IV.

So far as it belongs to the historical basis of John's prologue, the development of the Alexandrian Jewish doctrine of the Wisdom and the Word is established by Philo. But he both represents the Alexandrian and also particularly the Hellenistic Jewish Gnosis of his time. Alexandria was the centre of the Hellenistic Judaism. Respecting the spread of Alexandrian Jewish Gnosis among the Jews at this time, Apollos and Cerinthus give us explicit examples. Both appeared at Ephesus. The first, as Luke 18: 24 clearly shows, came out of Alexandria, and circulated among the Jews at Ephesus, Alexandrian learning. The second, as proved by the assertions of one of a later period, often having been in Egypt, came to Ephesus, and maintained there his philosophic notions. Accordingly by the aid of Philo, we can now immediately pass over to the doctrine of the Logos, which more intimately harmonizes with that taught by the apostle to the Ephesians. It is uncertain whether John originally or immediately found his doctrine in accordance with the Alexandrian Gnosis. Very evidently "the Introduction" has established the beginning and foundation of the Christian doctrine of the Logos before the time of John; the apostle Paul thinks and teaches respecting Christ in the Jewish Gnostic way. The Jewish Gnosis explains his doctrine concerning the first and the second Adam. But Paul received his Jewish Gnostic ideas from the Palestinian schools; for no doubt can be entertained that a Jewish Gnosis existed in Palestine, and had entered into Christianity before the time of John.

With every effort that can be made for solving the

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question, as to the foreign introduction of this doctrine, after the time of Nehemiah or the Maccabees, Chaldæism would be admitted through this channel. Still the Palestinian Judaism could neither be produced from the exile, nor with the existing national prejudice, and with the opposition to the influx of Alexandrianism and especially Hellenism, could it be avoided.

The two Chaldaic paraphrases, that of Onkelos upon the Pentateuch, and somewhat later, that of Jonathan Ben Uzziel upon the prophets, were written at a period later than that of the apostles. In both alike, as in the Alexandrian translation, we discover a Gnostic tendency to represent all the creations and activities of God revealing himself in the world, by divine, mediate powers.

These appearances are proved also from the powerful influx of Chaldaism. It alone is sufficient for evidence that the Alexandrian, Jewish Gnosis had entered and spread among the inhabitants of Palestine. Again, the union of the Palestinian Essenes with the Egyptian Therapeutæ is undeniable; and by it was established a certain admission of the Alexandrian Gnosis. It is also worthy of consideration that one can easily discover the entrance of Greek learning after the middle of the year 200 B. C. The Rabbins represent Gamaliel, Paul's teacher, as an active promoter of Greek literature in the Greek schools. There was at Jerusalem a synagogue of Alexandrian and Cyrenian Jews. The admission of those foreigners was inevitable, and Josephus himself was not able to exclude the Alexandrian influence.

Now, in the proportion to which the Gnostic method of thought was spread through Judaism, in and out of Palestine, Christianity would also suffer by its effect upon the imaginative Jews. Indeed in the beginning of the gospel, in Christ himself, we find no trace of it. Christ and his doctrine depended upon the providential preparation of the entire world for Christian salvation; but in connection with it was the Gnostic tendency. Christianity and Judaism are to be separated from each other. The former can never be developed from the latter. Indeed Christianity is the complete satisfaction of that deep, inbred, religious craving of our nature. Only so far as the doctrinal development of Christianity commenced among the Jews was the entrance of Jewish Gnosis inevitable. The

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apostle Paul created out of the Christian principle of life the peculiarity of Christianity, at a very early period. But his doctrine stood very much exposed to the influence of Palestinian Gnosis.

If now we compare the doctrine of Philo, and the Palestinian, with the prologue of John concerning the Word, we shall have, concerning the Palestinian Gnosis, no other documents than the above mentioned Chaldaic paraphrases. But in these we find, that the revelation and presence of God more or less visibly in the world, are often described in the Old Testament in a Biblical and general sense; instead of the name or person of God, the angel of the Lord is mentioned, or the glory of the Lord, or the Shechina, or finally, the Word of the Lord. This appears so unexpectedly and strikingly, that a dogmatic reason must have lain at the basis of it. Especially is the MEMRA so strongly personified that no one can doubt that the Paraphrasts understood by it, as also by the Shechina, a divine hypostasis and divine emanation according to the doctrine of Philo's Logos.

How still later the doctrine of the Logos was farther developed in the Jewish Cabbala, is well known. But it is not the fault of our authority, that we cannot find in the Palestinian Gnosis of the time of Jesus, the doctrine of the divine Word as widely diffused and as clearly unfolded. The idea of systematizing particularly appears to have a later origin, and is first treated of under the retrospective influence of Christianity.

We cannot with certainty point out whether, and if so how, the Palestinian theology at the time of Jesus and the apostles, had applied the doctrine of the hypostatic Word to the idea of the Messiah. We discover at the time of Christ, a more popular political theocracy, and a more learned ideal Jewish representation of the Messiah. Certainly the apostle Paul held views like the later Jews. But according to Paul's opinion, the Palestinian Gnosis, the ideal historical view concerning the nature of the Messiah, appears more in harmony with the character of the Son of God, or the second heavenly Adam, than according to Philo's idea of the divine Word. It is evident that Paul and the other apostles first came by faith in the historical Christ, to the full Christian idea of the eternal Son of God. The Jewish schools of that day fur-

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nished the preparative and fragmentary elements. But the peculiar metaphysical theology respecting the person of Christ, lay not at the door of the Christian faith. When Paul says, Col. 1: 16, 17, "God has made the world by his Son," the existing Gnostic doctrine concerning the creating Word shared in the description. If Paul and his teacher Gamaliel had only determined upon the idea of the Logos, and associated it with the Messiahship of the Son of God, it is evident that they must have come to John's formula, that the eternal Logos existed in the man Christ Jesus. How near was he to it? Phil. 2: 6.

If now we would discover the traces of the doctrine of the Logos as held by the Jewish Gnostics, in its relation to the doctrine respecting the person of Christ in the New Testament and out of it, and before the time of John, the epistle to the Hebrews, for various reasons, demands our attention. If this book was not written by Apollos, still it bears undeniable marks of the Alexandrian mind and Alexandrian Gnosis. Here the doctrine concerning the Word of God is already associated with the idea of the Messiah, as the Son of God, in the historical sense, in one sense as held by Paul, and in another as maintained by John. God has, vs. 1, 2, 3, by the Son, the image of his nature, the reflection of his person, created the world, and he, i. e. the preëxistent Son, does every thing by the word of his, i. e. Son's mouth. To the Son is accredited, so far as he upholds the world, the divine power of command, ῥῆμα, the creative word as the organ; but he is not called as by John, the eternal personal Logos. So that the verses of the epistle are removed still farther from the formula of John, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, the Word became flesh, and cannot be the resultant of Philo's Logos doctrine, but must have originated from the Palestinian mode of thought.

From the idea of the preëxistent creative Son of God, which we find in Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews, we can easily understand how John could come to his subject with a more enlarged conception of the Christian Gnosis, viz.: that the only begotten Son of God is the incarnate, eternal, personal Logos. John, however, comprehends under the idea of the only begotten Son of God, a being preëxistent, as Paul and the verses in the Epistle

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to the Hebrews do. In the historical account of him, he employs no other method of description. The Son of God is sent by the Father, descended from heaven, but was from the beginning with the Father in divine glory. But as it is difficult and troublesome to conceive of the Son of God both as an historical subject and a preëxistence, one must take into consideration the progress of Christian thought in its connection with Jewish Gnosis, and that John describes the antemundane Son of God as the world-creating, world-sustaining, and enlightening personal Logos, and that this Logos in humanity became the Son of God.

If this process of thought had taken a natural course, the immediate historical connection between John's doctrine of the Logos and the perfected Alexandrian notion would necessarily appear. No earlier and no other representation of the idea of the Logos offers so full an explanation, and one so perfectly harmonious with the standing-point of John as Philo's. The argument employed by him in the first five positions of the Introduction, extends itself to the manner of expression, so that every one can determine it from his immediate influence. One must also admit, though it appear severe, that Philo's representation is the original one, and that the perfected Gnostic doctrine of the Logos at Alexandria is established with certain positions and expressions which were used by all in a manner essentially similar.

As we explain, by these later definitions, John's doctrine of the Logos from its relation to Philo's, we are able also to explain the historical position, that John like Philo understood the personal hypostasis of the divine Word, as in its nature substantially one with Wisdom, or rather the light of the world, the divine power whereby God reveals himself as creating, upholding and enlightening the world.

Respecting this Logos John would say, that he does not begin with the historical Christ, as the temporal Word of God, of which Christ spoke when on earth, nor with a Logos developed from the created world, but with one eternal before the world, who was with God, and who was God—*πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.* This opinion is also maintained briefly by Philo, as appears from a more complete knowledge of his method of thought, wherein

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the Logos differs internally from the divine subject of the Monos, and even by a self-existent distinction out of God; but has in other respects such an internal union with the divine nature that it can be called the pure image, the perfect glory of God, in a certain sense, θεὸς λόγος, ὁ δεύτερος θεός.

Like Philo, John considers the Logos preëminently in his revealed relation to the world. Accordingly he represents the creation of the world by the Logos in the same way with Philo, so that the Logos is considered as the necessary medium of it. And in fact, what Philo says of the Logos as the fountain of all life in the world, the dispenser of light, the wisdom and guide of men, John says briefly, ἐν αὐτῳ ζωὴ, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

But John's doctrine of the Logos is essentially Christian, and in this respect differs entirely from that of Philo. Philo's at its root is dualistic, John's monotheistic. According to Philo, the personality of God in connection with the Logos is excluded; and the revealed God is in itself a predicative and nameless (pantheistic) substance. But John maintains from the beginning that God is the eternal personal love. The hypostasis with him, has also a very different signification. Verse 3 shows a significant difference. In this verse, John declares with the strongest energy, that without the Logos nothing exists which does exist, and appears to place himself in direct opposition to the Jewish Gnosis. We do not believe that Philo would have acknowledged the validity of John's position. Against it would have been John's protestation. And this is a peculiar element of positive Biblical revelation, which produces the cause of the creation out of nothing; so that one can truly say that John goes back again to the Old Testament and purer doctrine concerning the creation of the world by the Word and Wisdom.

Hence appears perhaps another distinction which is seen in the fifth verse, inasmuch as the darkness which does not comprehend the divine light is a pure ethical relation; whereas with Philo, the relation between darkness and light has a physical basis, and also a necessary connection between the spirituality of God and the opaqueness of the ὕλη. The idea that the Logos would destroy the sins of men is foreign to Philo.

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But the most characteristic difference is that John maintains that the substantial Word of God in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, became man and truly lived among men. This excludes the Docetish principles of Philo's Gnosis, and brings out the doctrine of the Logos as the basis of the Christian faith, in the real connection of God and man in the perfect divine resemblance of mankind. Such an application of the idea of the Logos to the Messiahship, very evidently was impossible both to Philo and all those who had received the Docetish principles of the Alexandrian Gnosis. When Philo calls the Logos, ὁ ἀληθής or ἀληθινὸς ἀνθρωπος, ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρωπος or ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρωπος, or ἀνθρωπος θεοῦ, or οὐρανου, expressions indicating the humanity of the Logos, the idea differs from the expression of John, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο; inasmuch as Philo says expressly, "the heavenly ανθρωπος who is in the image of God, does not partake of mortality, and is not of an earthly nature." There is, according to Philo, no immediate image of God in the race of Adam; whereas, according to John, the Logos made a true appearance, in active, temporal humanity. The appearance of the Logos before treated of in history, was only a symbolical idea in visions and dreams. It was continually changing. It was partly angelic and partly human. This difference betwen Philo and John arises naturally from the Christian faith. And that John has presented the truth so prominently has its cause in the anti-Gnostic tendency of the entire gospel. But this is to be charged not immediately to Philo, and the Jewish Alexandrian Gnosis, but, as we have already said, to the pseudo-Gnostic tendency in the Christian community.

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ARTICLE IV.

INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Dick's Lectures. Inspiration. Vol. I. Page 113.

Buck's Theological Dictionary. Article on Inspiration.

The Bible is regarded in Christian countries as the word of God. Accustomed to hear it spoken of as such, we grow up under the impression that it is divine. This impression, however, is often vague and undefined. There are very many who can render no very definite reasons for believing the Scripture to be inspired, and a still greater number who have no clear ideas as to what constitutes inspiration. Such therefore as have not a heartfelt love for the Bible, and cannot feel evidence which they are not able to describe, are constantly liable to be thrown into doubt by the cavils of sceptics. Treatises upon inspiration are often too subtle and scholastic, or too voluminous to benefit common readers; or they are incorporated in large theological works, accessible only to a few. We need a brief, comprehensive handbook on the subject, adapted to ordinary readers especially;—a work which will answer the question, What constitutes Inspiration? In the following pages, we shall offer some strictures on the theory of Dr. Dick and others, and then propose for consideration our own theory, hoping at least to elicit investigation, and provoke abler pens to furnish for the community a manual on inspiration, adapted to the wants of the times.

"All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," are the words of Paul. "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," are the words of Peter. These, and other like declarations, scattered throughout the Bible, are generally regarded as proving the inspiration of the Scriptures.

There is less difficulty in obtaining assent to the fact of inspiration, than in obtaining concurrent views of

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what we may understand by the term *inspiration;* and whether that term means precisely the same thing, when applied to different parts of the Bible.

Dr. Dick says, (Vol. I, page 113,) "Inspiration may be defined to be an influence of the Holy Spirit upon the understandings, imaginations, memories and other mental powers of the sacred writers, by which they were qualified to communicate to the world the knowledge of the will of God." He further says, "This definition is designedly made general, that it may comprehend the different degrees of inspiration, which will be afterwards mentioned; and it is so expressed as to suit the highest and the lowest." He then divides inspiration into the following degrees: Superintendence, Elevation, and Suggestion.

Superintendence, in this theory, consists in the care of divine Providence over Moses and others, while they were writing a history of events which occurred under their own observation, which they were competent to describe but were liable to forget, or to make mistakes in exhibiting them, and needed superintendence merely.

Elevation consists in the aid which the Holy Spirit furnished to the writers of some portions, as to their imaginations, their style, languages and metaphors, increasing the vigor, conciseness and beauty of their productions, which might, without this aid, have been equally truthful, but less interesting and attractive.

Suggestion consists in conveying thoughts to the mind of the writers, which they could not have conceived, leaving them at liberty to express them in their own way, except that the Holy Spirit might elevate their minds, and superintend their work to prevent faults. Suggestion or revelation must also include such portions as the Saviour's instructions, which must be regarded as wholly divine, thought, word and style.

The ground on which this division of inspiration is usually defended, is, that it required less of divine influence to write a narrative of events that fell under the eye of the writer, than to write a history, for example, of the creation, thousands of years after it took place; less to copy from public records, as the Chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah, than to predict future events, or to describe the scenes of the invisible world. Hence the

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opinion is adopted that there is only a limited degree of divinity in some portions of the Bible, a greater degree in other portions, and all divinity in the rest. This or a similar theory has been received extensively into favor. It has been supported by great and good men. But the antiquity of error cannot make it truth, nor bind us to dismiss investigation. To these opinions we have several objections.

1. There is not an intimation in the Bible to sustain the opinion that any part of the book is less than divine, wholly divine. It claims inspiration without reserve, and without any modifying or explanatory terms, unless we except a few brief expressions of Paul in his epistles, the boundaries of which he defines. What right, therefore, have we to conclude, that one part of the book was written under a greater degree of divine influence than another, and consequently is more sacred?

2. The adoption of this theory endangers the authority of the Scriptures. One man may select such a portion as he chooses to disregard, and ascribe to it one of the lower degrees of inspiration, and then neglect it with supposed impunity. Another may neglect still another portion, on the same plea. The Swedenborgian denies divinity to the epistles and to many other parts of the Scriptures, because they interfere with a theory which he is interested to sustain. The Socinian culls out such portions as are fatal to his theory, and concludes that they could not have been fully inspired. The Universalist claims the same right; and with this theory of classification the whole Bible may be frittered away piecemeal. For no one can avoid feeling a higher reverence for such parts as are believed to be wholly divine, than for those which only claim a less degree of divine influence. One part would speak with a less authoritative voice than the other; and the tendency of man's depraved spirit would be to degrade those passages which strike most effectually at his heart, and raise the warning voice against his errors and his sins; while those which can be made to speak soothing words to his conscience would be raised to the highest dignity. What error is not believed, or what sin is not tolerated by individuals or sects claiming to be Christian? Let all adopt this theory, and claim their right to classify the Scriptures, assigning to each portion

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the degree of divine influence which they are willing to accord to it, and how much of the Bible would be left with an undisputed right to supreme divinity?

3. God would not give us a book whose instructions are of infinite importance to us, but of various degrees of sacredness, without furnishing us the means of knowing what are most divine and authoritative; this would be to leave us, through unavoidable ignorance, to commit fatal errors, reaching in their consequences to eternal ages. No; the Bible claims inspiration. It claims this for every part, and for every part equally. It may be said, in reply, that the advocates of "degrees of inspiration" do not regard one part of the Scriptures as less authoritative than another. Why then use the terms "highest and lowest" degrees of inspiration? The idea in the mind of the writer may have been correct; but he conveys a false idea to his readers. Dr. Dick says, p. 115, "Moses could say, without divine afflatus, that on such a night the Israelites marched out of Egypt;" and Solomon could remark, "A soft answer turneth away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger." It does not concern us to know what Moses or Solomon could say without divine afflatus; but did they record any thing in the Bible without it?

We are confident that there is a theory of inspiration that covers the whole Bible. In exhibiting it we start with the inquiry, Who conceived the plan of the Bible? Did Moses, Joshua, Ezra, David, Isaiah, or Paul "get up" the Bible? Did they probably conceive the design of even the part they wrote? The Bible, were it a human production, would be the greatest miracle on record. No other work of man bears the least analogy to it. Would Moses have taken up his pen as an author to write a history of creation, and then have crowded his whole description of those magnificent events into two short chapters? Would he have summed up the history of our race for 1656 years, in five chapters, which could be read in half an hour? Would he have given in three chapters the history of the awful corruption of our race, which required such a judgment as the deluge? Would he have given in that space, the plan of the ark, an account of the ministerial labors of Noah, the conduct of his hearers, the building of the ark, the gathering of the

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various tribes of living creatures into it, their manner of subsistence, the flood, its appearance, its causes and effects, the feelings of mankind when it commenced and as it advanced, its abatement, the going out of the family of Noah, the appearance of the earth, and the division of it among the posterity of Noah,—had he conceived the plan of the books he wrote? Supposing the whole account to be fiction, it only increases our surprise at its brevity. For let any man undertake to write a romance founded upon the incidents of creation, that are barely touched in the Mosaic account, and the space occupied by the whole Pentateuch he would find insufficient. What then would be required for a romance upon all the above topics? No, it is easier to admit the credibility of the narrative than to account for its brevity, supposing it to be fiction; and vastly easier to admit God's authorship of the record than to ascribe it to Moses. The whole book of Genesis defies any rational account of its peculiar form and character, but upon the supposition that the design originated with a mind which took in at a glance the whole scope and design of the Bible as it now is.

What author would think of passing over the history of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the patriarchs, the sojourn of Joseph in Egypt, his enslavement, his imprisonment, his elevation to honor and power, the removal of his father's family to Egypt, their reception, settlement, prosperity, and degradation to servitude, their history in that servitude for centuries, and a thousand other events of thrilling interest to the historian, allotting to all these important events only the brief space allowed them in the book of Genesis? It is folly to imagine that the scheme of the book originated with Moses.

The evidence in the subsequent books of the Pentateuch against a human origin of their plan, is equally forcible. Who has not felt, in reading the account of the exodus, and of the journeying of the children of Israel in the wilderness, an almost irrepressible desire to know more of those singular events, and a secret regret that we were not furnished with a more copious history of them? Every such feeling declares that if we had written the books, we should not have confined them to so narrow limits; it should be regarded as evidence that if man had planned the work, he would have conformed it more

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carefully to the dictates of our curious nature. Had the writers of the sacred volume been disposed to give a full historical account of their times, they were competent to the task; but this admission does not prove by any means that they did or could conceive the design of the Bible as it now is. They would have been likely to omit their own faults and the crimes of their people; they would have narrated, with greater minuteness, those events which would exhibit their nation to advantage. A single verse would not have been allotted to the biography of some of their mighty monarchs, or a few lines only to some of the greatest events, which would fill a volume of ordinary history. Compare the history given in the Bible, of the protracted and bloody wars of the Jews, with the histories of events of similar magnitude, as given by Roman and Greek historians. What historian would write two such books as the Chronicles? What purpose of ordinary history would they serve? They serve a valuable purpose in the Bible, but would be of little or no use in any other history. There was a great object before the mind that conceived the plan of the whole book; otherwise, those two books would never have been what they are. God was "getting up" a book, and Moses and others were his amanuenses. They were to record just what he dictated. Facts which they perfectly knew, were not all needed; and it belonged to God to select such as he saw were necessary to his design, and to cause them to pass and repass the mind of the writer in words and sentences. Because they were familiar with those facts, they were no more the independent authors of the descriptions of them which they have given than of the predictions which we find scattered throughout their writings. Both were dictated to them by a mind that saw the whole plan at once; for the narrative and prophetic parts are interwoven in such a manner as to exclude the idea of the divine authorship of the one and not of the other. The blind Milton employed a scribe to write his works. That scribe might have been familiar with all the Scriptural, classical and historical allusions in "Paradise Lost;" or he might have been required by Milton to read from the Scriptures, from Homer, Virgil, or the works of contemporary historians, to find matter to be modeled into his verse. Did that

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make him the poet? Would he be any more the author, or any less the servant of Milton, whatever might have been his ability to compose, or his knowledge of the matter employed? The scribe did not "get up" the book, but Milton; and the competency of his servant to write or to select, made no part of the excellence of the work. So when God saw fit to record a genealogical table, in which to preserve the descent of the tribes till the advent of the Messiah, he decided to extract from the chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah just what he needed, and what he had superintended when the scribe of the realm made the record. He had therefore only to direct some one, probably Ezra, to copy such portions as he had selected, which, if read dissociated from the general design, would be almost destitute of interest, but cannot be dispensed with in the sacred volume, taken as a scheme of revelation. It may be asked, what sacredness is there, or what divinity, in such parts of the Bible as were copied from public, secular records? In reply we ask, what holiness was there in the incense which was burnt in the holy place? God says, "it is most holy." It was composed of precisely the same materials that the Israelites used in their food, medicine, or perfumeries; but compounded in a way stipulated by Jehovah for that specific use, and no other perfume might be made like it. It was set apart for a divine purpose. The special appointment of God gave it its holiness. So we say, although there was no holiness in those records when left by the king's scribe, still when they were incorporated in the sacred volume, they were there by the appointment of God for a divine purpose; and it required just as much divine influence to select them, and direct Ezra to copy them, as to foretell future events. It was not what Ezra wanted, but what God wanted, that made the books what they are. The plan of the Bible was not conceived by the writers, since it was the work of thirty or more different men; and, considering the harmony of design apparent in it, it is clear that one mind must have conceived the plan of the whole.

It may be objected that this theory will require us to consider God the author of the language of the Bible, as well as of the sentiments. But we beg to suggest the following things, as having some relation to verbal inspira-

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tion. Can the human mind conceive, or receive, thoughts without words? Let the reader analyze his own thoughts, and see if he has any that are not clothed in words. Is not every thing we see and hear, as fast as we obtain distinct ideas of it, translated into words and sentences? It may be said that we often have an idea, which we cannot readily express. Granted; but our difficulty in giving expression to the idea results from one of two causes; either from the indistinctness of the idea, or from a conflict in our mind as to the form of expression which will best convey it. In reading or hearing profound thoughts expressed in very concise language, we are sometimes subjected to an effort of thought before we can see the meaning. We are then only translating the author's thoughts into our own language; and as soon as we see the force of the thought, we are prepared to convey it in our own language, and not in his. An illiterate hearer only understands so much of a speech as he can translate into his own order of language. He never thinks of quoting the language of the orator; and yet in his own language he can tell what he said.

Words are, with mortals, the only media of thought; hence in view of the preceding principles, we submit whether whatever God communicated to the minds of the inspired writers, did not come to their minds in words and sentences? Did the writers themselves select the facts which were suitable to be recorded out of the mass of facts that were familiar to their minds, or did God select them? If God selected such as he saw were necessary to his design, how did he signify his will to the writers, but by causing them to repass through their minds? And how could he cause them to repass through the mind but in words and sentences? Is it, however, maintained that we can think without words, or receive thoughts without words? Let the objector then account for the fact that foreigners always think in their vernacular tongue, even after they have learned our language, and have become quite familiar with it. Why do Germans always speak English in German idioms, the French, in French idioms, etc.? We are accustomed to say they think in German, or French. Why do scholars complain of the difficulty of thinking in Latin or Greek? Simply because they naturally think in their own tongue. We

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have before shown that the brevity of Scripture narration cannot be accounted for, except by supposing that some one mind drew the plan and fixed the boundaries; and therefore whatever facts were selected out of many, must be communicated to the mind in some way; and what way would be more natural for God to use, than the ordinary vehicle, human language?

It is farther objected, that the language of many parts of the Bible is clumsy and imperfect, and consequently should not be ascribed to a perfectly wise being, who cannot do an imperfect act, nor a perfect act imperfectly; and it is asked, if God be the author of the language of the Bible, why are some portions so much more beautiful than others, as to style and language? Would not a perfect being be likely to throw undoubted marks of his perfection into all his works?

We reply by asking a few analogous questions. Is the noble elephant a better specimen of the Creator's skill than the inactive snail? Is a diversified landscape, covered with the richest verdure, and ornamented with fruits and flowers, more beautiful than a waste, sandy desert? Is man a more admirable creature than the filthy swine? The same God made them all. For aught we know, God might have thrown all the perfection of his works into a single specimen of his workmanship, or he might have made every part equally beautiful; but he has not chosen to do so any where else; and shall we demand in the Scriptures a departure from the general plan of his works? We may take a broad view of the created universe, full of beauty and of marks of infinite wisdom, and call it a single specimen of the Creator's skill and wisdom; and still the Bible will lose nothing by this view. We may look at the whole Bible as God's work, and who does not see grandeur, wisdom and skill in its construction? If there are some parts more beautiful than others, so there are in every other department of his works. Variety is a striking characteristic of creation and providence; and one of the strongest evidences of the divine authorship of the Bible is found in its manifest analogy to nature and providence. We see the same God in the rolling ocean, and the naked desert; in the splendid scenery of the mountains, and the simple beauty of the sequestered vale; in the terrible Leviathan, and the tiny insect that floats

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in the sunbeam; in the mighty elephant, and the sluggish worm; in the lofty angel, and the lowest savage; in the splendid strains of Isaiah, the stirring eloquence of Paul, or the plain instructions of James. Therefore variety of style in the Scriptures, and even the plainness of the style of some portions, so far from weakening the evidence of their inspiration, supplies one of their best vouchers, analogy to nature. And in addition to this, it is evident that while God exerted a controlling influence over the minds of the sacred writers, he did it in such a way as to leave them to the free exercise of their natural powers, and the free employment of their own peculiar style. We confess there is mystery here; but mystery of the same kind, and no greater than that which enwraps the whole subject of the consistency of divine agency with human freedom.

Again, it is said that there is not only a difference in style, but some parts of the Scriptures are far less perspicuous and intelligible than others; they do not indicate the wisdom of the author, so much as other parts do. But is this proof against their divine inspiration? All men do not write in the same finished style. And besides, we might as well conclude that God must have employed some inexperienced agent in creating the brutes, because they do not so perspicuously exhibit the skill and wisdom of the Creator, as the nobler creature, man. Are all the events of providence equally intelligible? Is there nothing in creation for which we know no use? So if we find some things in the Bible for which we see no use, and others which we cannot easily understand, and some thoughts inelegantly expressed, or not harmonizing with our factitious standards, shall we hence conclude that they are not of God?

Hence, again, it is said that there is the style of thirty different men in the Bible; that their style is obviously in harmony with their character and condition in life; and that if the language were God's, we should not, in the writings, so clearly see the men.

But, in harmony with what is said above, we reply, did not God understand equally well the peculiar style of all these men? Shall we limit the Most High? Can he communicate only in a single style? Could he not make his communications to men in the peculiar style of each,

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and would he not be likely to produce the needful variety of the Scriptures in this way?

The human family consists of an endless diversity of temperaments and casts of mind, and all are to be addressed by the Scriptures. Would the same style be equally adapted to those various minds? Most clearly not. God has constructed us with different tastes and appetites in every respect, both physically and intellectually. He has furnished us in nature with the means of gratifying every reasonable desire. There is no standard appetite or relish; each one may consult his own inclination, and he will find something in God's great garner adapted to his desire. So in the Scriptures, he has provided for various intellectual and moral tastes, and for the various circumstances of his intelligent creatures. What would deeply interest one mind, would be quite uninteresting to another of a different mould. God has therefore selected a great variety of minds, through which to make known his will to the world. Men of almost all occupations, from the sceptered monarch to the humble fisherman, have been chosen; they have been subjected to almost every variety of condition, prosperous and adverse, in order to shape their character and feelings to the nature of the instructions, of which they were to be the channels to the world. In selecting the apostles, Christ chose men of very diverse characters. What would twelve men like the tender and loving John have effected, as pioneers in the gospel field? And what, twelve like the didactic and practical James? And what, twelve like the bold, often rash and zealous Peter? And what could twelve accomplish without just such characters as the apostles exhibited? They were all indispensable. Humanly speaking, the strength of the apostolic college consisted in the happily diversified characters composing it. Peter with his vehement zeal might reach some, whom the modest and gentle John would not touch. The practical philosophy of James might arrest some, whom neither the glowing zeal of Peter, nor the gentle love of John could subdue; but all together constituted just the elements of great moral power. So in revealing his will to the world, God has chosen the learned and the rude, kings, counsellors, statesmen, philosophers, poets, physicians, agriculturists, mechanics, shepherds and fisher-

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men, as his agents; and by conforming his communications to their various features, intellectual, moral and social, he has made adequate provision to reach, instruct, comfort and support all classes of men, in all times and under all circumstances. He has diversified the lot of each individual writer, according to the scope of the truth of which he was to be the organ. The psalms of David are wide enough in their scope to meet the wants of all classes, from the monarch to the beggar. That he might be qualified for the work of writing them, he rose from the obscurity of a shepherd boy to the dignity of a prince in the house of Saul. From that elevation, he was driven out to be a fugitive, hiding himself in the fastnesses of the mountains, hungry, thirsty, destitute, afflicted and tormented. He was then raised to the throne of a mighty kingdom; fell into sin, and saw the pestilence sweeping over his realm; he bowed, a broken-hearted penitent, at the throne of mercy, and prayed for pardon. Prosperity was restored; but again, he fled before the face of his favorite son. Thus he was qualified to be the reprover, the instructer, and the comforter of the lowly and the exalted, the prosperous and the afflicted, the rejoicing saint, and the self-reproaching sinner. By subjecting the sacred writers to such a lot as would enable them to record their own experience in the lessons of instruction which they were chosen to impart to us, God has contrived to link the past, present and future in bonds of holy sympathy and fellowship, and thus make the instruments of revealing his will contribute to the great end of revelation, the restoration of fellowship and love to mankind.

What is the chief excellence of Shakspeare, the prince of dramatic poets, as a writer? Does it not lie,

1. In conceiving clearly an effect which he designs to produce?

2. In selecting characters suited to his design?

3. In presenting those characters to the minds of his readers, so that they seem to be acquainted with them?

4. In putting language into their mouths which seems to be just what we should expect from them, and just what no one else could so well say?

Now was it his characters that spoke, or was it Shakspeare?

Was it Anthony, who made the speech over the dead

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body of Cæsar, or was it Shakspeare, putting words into the mouth of Anthony? No one doubts here, that we are conversing with the mind of Shakspeare. These are his thoughts, his words, and his style. So God conceived an effect, which he would produce upon the minds of mankind. He selected his characters, and adapted them to the purpose he designed to serve by them. He then communicated his will to them, allotting to each just such a department as he was moulded for, and which no one else could so well fill. It is the voice of God, speaking through human organs to men, in various styles, suited to their various classes, and to all their diversified circumstances.

This view of inspiration, as we have suggested, does not necessarily interfere with the voluntariness of the writers, nor make them mere machines. In communicating his will to them, God addressed their intellectual and moral faculties. Every thought might pass through their minds as any other thought did, except some of the prophecies, which they were not permitted to understand, "that they without us should not be made perfect." For we are informed that they "inquired and searched diligently," after the meaning of some of the prophecies, relating to the gospel day. "Searching what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." The writers were, undoubtedly, conscious of the control of the Spirit over their minds in most cases, though there are, in two or three instances, sentences, which they were not confident were by inspiration: as when Paul says, "I give my judgment;" "I give my advice;" "I think I have the Spirit of God."

Is it objected to this view of inspiration, that it makes the language of wicked men and evil spirits, a part of revelation?

We reply, that it was intended to embrace these as a part of inspiration, but not to make God the author or the endorser of the sentiments of wicked men or devils; but to show that he was the author of the Bible, in which he has caused the words and acts of evil spirits and evil men to be recorded for our benefit. We need to know something of the devil, that we may know how to "resist"

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him. We need to know how God deals with wicked men; and in order to know, we must have their conduct brought before us, that we may understand his providential administration towards them. We needed the history of Job; but could not know Job fully, without knowing something of the nature and extent of his trials and temptations, and the sources of them. Had Job said all that is ascribed to him, in the book bearing his name, without our knowing what the devil had said and done, and without knowing the feelings and words of Job's three friends, and Elihu, the book would have been an inexplicable mystery to us; but now it is perfectly intelligible, full of instruction and consolation.

God, therefore, wisely caused the part of these characters to be recorded, that not Job only, but the history of Job might in all time bear testimony to the faithfulness of God to his tried children; prove the sufficiency of divine grace to sustain in deep afflictions; show the wiles of Satan; throw light on dark providences; show a specimen of remarkable integrity under the greatest provocations; afford to the latest generation a specimen of very ancient moral philosophy and poetry; and finally, teach us the safety of trusting in God in the greatest calamities. We could not part with any chapter of the book of Job without losing an important means of knowing Job's real character, and greatly weakening the moral influence of the book. The part these characters have in the book, is as necessary to the design of the book, as any thing that Job said, and is therefore just as much a part of revelation. It takes the whole book to make the impression intended. Those portions of the Bible, therefore, which show us the workings of depravity, are just as much in the book by God's will, as the holy sentiments, and just as necessary to the end for which it was written.

Sceptics sometimes sneer at the Bible, because, as they say, it has the appearance of being a compilation of scraps, gathered up from various writers, of different periods of time.

God has chosen this form for the Bible, because it will most effectually silence this very objection in the mind of any candid and reflecting man. Had the Bible been written all at one time, it would have lacked one of the strongest evidences of its divine authorship. There might have

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been some plausibility in the charge of collusion among the writers, had they all lived and written at the same time. But since they lived at different times, in different countries, and wrote in several languages, there is little ground for suspecting collusion.

Had all the writers been kings, or all contemporary prophets, or all shepherds, or all fishermen, we might, with some plausibility, have suspected that they wrote by agreement, or compared notes to prevent discordant sentiments, or discrepant historical incidents. But they were not contemporary, nor of similar rank or profession, nor did they write in the same language; and yet they agree. Kings, lawgivers, priests, prophets, shepherds and fishermen, during the space of more than 1500 years, contributed to make up a book of unequalled wisdom, purity and concord, which we call the Bible.

We have before shown, that the number of writers and their difference of rank, profession and education, have given pleasing variety to the Scriptures. So we say the distance of time between the writers, gives us variety in the imagery and idioms of the Bible. One portion was given in one generation, and another in another, the idioms having undergone a change; so that we have a succession of philological monuments of the antiquity of the Scriptures.

Again, the accounts of the connection of Israel with Syria and Chaldea, at different times, are corroborated in the same manner by the occurrence of Syriac words and idioms, and of whole chapters of Chaldaic in connection with those accounts.

But perhaps a more important reason why the Scriptures came to us so gradually, may be found in the incapacity of our race to receive and digest all needful truth at once. Man's "foolish heart was darkened," and could not bear so much light at once; as a prisoner, who had been long confined in a dungeon, could not be brought out into meridian sunlight, without peril to his natural vision. The Israelites could not even bear the glory of Moses's countenance when he had been in converse with God. God, therefore, sent his communications gradually, and suited in form to the condition of those to whom they were addressed. The great truths regarding redemption must be hidden at first under the veil of Le-

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vitical ceremonies; or rather, perhaps, drawn out in pictures to men's senses. When Christ came, he could not instruct his disciples in all things which they needed to know; but said, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." The race to whom the Scriptures were given is a progressive race; the world in which they live is full of marks of progression. Every thing is developed gradually. Hence, if the gradual development of divine truth is objected to, we may, for the same reason, conclude that God is the author of no part of the animal or vegetable creation, because they do not make their appearance at once in a state of maturity. If one is gradual, we should expect, if it was from the same God, that the other would be also.

It has been said that many of the moral truths of the Bible are to be found in the writings of heathen philosophers; and that they must have discovered them by "the light of nature," and therefore all the morality of the Bible may be of human origin.

We admit that some of the doctrines of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca are coincident with revelation; yet their moral doctrines, as a whole, are corrupt enough to ruin any civilized nation that should adopt them. How totally opposite the laws of forgiveness by Jesus Christ, and the instructions of the philosophers! How different the instructions of the Scriptures to the afflicted, from those of Seneca! "Be patient in tribulation"; "Tribulation worketh patience"; "Our light afflictions, which are but for a moment, work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory"; "Rejoicing in tribulation"; are the sentiments of Paul. Seneca says: "Art thou in trouble? Seest thou that tree, that precipice, that river, that sword? They offer thee deliverance." Suicide was his remedy.

We do not deny that there are virtuous sentiments in the writings of those philosophers; nor do we positively assert that they borrowed those sentiments from revelation. But we ask the reader's attention to a few facts that lead us to suspect strongly that they knew something of revealed truth. The Egyptians would not soon forget the events connected with the exodus of the Israelites. At least, several of the plagues would be memorable and notorious. The destruction of Pharaoh and

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his army in the Red Sea, by such a marked interposition of Providence, would also be likely to be remembered, even if the Egyptians never heard of the Israelites afterwards. And it is hardly credible that such events should not have been described by the historians of the time. Egypt has been called "the birth-place of science, and the nursery of the scholars of other nations." Some of the renowned Greeks studied in Egypt, and might very probably have learned something of the Jehovah of the Hebrews by residing in Egypt, if those mighty events had failed to reach their ears at home. But Judea is not so remote from Greece, that such events as occurred in the journeyings and settlement of the Israelites, subduing kingdoms, razing strong walled cities, and receiving such wonderful deliverances by divine interposition, might not have reached them by the time their philosophers flourished. The reign of such a monarch as David could hardly be unknown to nations even farther off than Greece. True, the Greeks had not become a nation at that time of much influence or intelligence; but still their ancestors lived in Asia Minor and Greece at that time, and would be very likely to know something of those singular events. When Solomon was upon the throne of Israel, his fame reached even to Ethiopia, and drew the queen herself to his capital. Hiram, king of Tyre, was in alliance with Solomon; in his extensive commercial pursuits he was in communication with every country on the Mediterranean; almost the whole known world was laid under contribution to the glory of Solomon's kingdom. Did Grecian scholars never hear of these things? Or could they know the glory of the Jewish kingdom, and not know any thing of their God, their temple and their religion?

Before the birth of Plato, the Jews were extensively scattered over the surrounding countries. The return from the Babylonian captivity, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple, occurred a little before the birth of Socrates. Did all these events occur, and the reading, the inquisitive, the ambitious Grecians never hear of them? It is certain that the Greeks had occasion to pay their respects to the Jews in their own capital, a little after the death of Socrates and Plato, in the reign of Alexander; but not till after long and bloody wars, with

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much more distant nations in the same direction; and the same nations that had so recently destroyed Jerusalem, and carried its inhabitants into captivity, and in whose court had flourished Esther, Daniel, Mordecai, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego.

Again, when we consider the eagerness of Grecian scholars for foreign literature, we can hardly believe that the books of so renowned a lawgiver as Moses had not been heard of.

The Roman moralists, Cicero and Seneca, could not have been altogether ignorant of the religion of the Jews. Judea was a province of Rome, sixty years before the birth of Cicero, and 160 before the birth of Seneca. The Roman army spent much time in Judea during the life-time of Cicero, and multitudes of Jews lived in Rome, who were afterwards expelled in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. Jerusalem had been one of the most famous cities in the world long before the foundations of Rome were laid. Its history was intimately connected with that of Tyre, Edom, Egypt, Damascus and Babylon, all of which cities and kingdoms were among the conquests of Alexander, and such as remained in Cicero's days were Roman provinces. Would Cicero, the Roman senator, be ignorant of the government of so important a Roman province? Could he know the government of the Jews, without knowing something of their religion?

Seneca was born two years before Christ, and was contemporary with all the astonishing events connected with his life, tragical death, and resurrection; and did not write his "Morals," till after the gospel was extensively spread over the empire, was rife in Rome, and to be found in "Cæsar's household." Now the man who assumes as an established fact, that the fragments of moral truth found in the writings of these men are the productions of unaided reason, must have overlooked or disregarded these facts. Their views of Jehovah may have been very imperfect, and their knowledge of the true religion may have been scanty; yet it is hardly possible, that they had not enough to supply the scattering truths in their works that coincide with revelation, and even more than they would incorporate in their systems, on account of natural repugnance to pure moral truth.

Ancient tradition, too, must have supplied all nations

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with some fragments of revealed knowledge; for we find that nearly every nation that has been yet discovered, has traditions of the flood, the ark, and many other facts of Bible history. The longevity of the early patriarchs favors this opinion. Adam lived contemporary with Methuselah, 240 years; Methuselah with Noah, 600 years; Noah with Shem, 450, and Shem with Abraham, 150; so that we have a chain of only four links from the creation to the one hundred and fiftieth year of Abraham, long after the dispersion. In the absence of books, it would be natural for those patriarchs to give their accumulations of historical truth to their posterity. May not the eight members of the family of Saturn, viz. Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Neptune, Pluto, Juno, Ceres and Vesta, have been a corrupted form of the tradition of Noah and his family? and the division of the universe between Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto, the corruption of the division of the earth among Noah's sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet? The corrupt myths of Pagan nations do not so much prove the absence of inspired knowledge, as the prevalence of depravity, which has led to the corruption of the little they had. "Because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four footed beasts, and creeping things." "They changed the truth of God into a lie;" "Even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge." Rom. chap. 1. Hence though there may be sentiments in the writings of heathen philosophers that coincide with revelation, they cannot be proved to be the productions of unaided reason, but rather appear to be a corrupted form or association of revealed truths.

It was not our purpose to pursue the usual course of argument to establish the inspiration of the Scriptures, nor to answer all the common cavils and objections of sceptics; but simply to endeavor to establish by an outline of argument, and by a refutation of objections, a theory of inspiration, which honors the whole Bible with the term inspiration in the same sense.

The Bible is God's book. It is what he made it. It

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bears the impress of his wisdom, his goodness and his holiness. No part of it is unworthy of Deity. Its living, breathing poetry, its pathetic descriptions, the conciseness of its history, the burning eloquence of the prophets, the inimitable beauties of Job, the sighing lament of Jeremiah, the exquisite sweetness of John, and the lofty rhetoric of Paul, will stand as models in literature through all time. Like the book of nature, its truths are apparently scattered without system, throughout the volume. The facts in geology, botany, chemistry, zoology and philosophy are not left by the Creator's hand, arranged and classified, but scattered over the face of creation, so as to furnish pleasing and profitable work for man. So the Bible is constructed like the volume of nature, in order to furnish grateful employment for man's powers, through time and eternity, to discover, arrange and show the relations of those truths that exhibit God's moral character, and human condition and destiny. And if it required the infinite God to make every part of creation, no matter how diminutive, so it required the same degree of divine influence to collate from public records such incidents as were needed; to select from passing events such as would answer the purpose intended; to narrate the events of creation; to predict future events; to work the philosophic pen of Solomon; to sweep the harp of David; to sigh in the plaintive strains of Jeremiah; to astonish with the burning rhetoric of Paul; or melt with the gentle love of John.

When we attempt to measure off the acts of God, and assign to him degrees of influence in a matter where he claims to be the pervading Spirit, it is to degrade him to finiteness, it is to strike from our most cherished hopes their main pillars, and from the means of human elevation and salvation the only rational hope.

M. S.

Eaton, N. Y.

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ARTICLE V.

THE SPECIFIC PROMISES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The writings of the apostle Paul abound with figures of speech, employed to illustrate and enforce divine truth. Sometimes he drew instruction from military life; as when he said, "For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?" He wished to guard the sacramental hosts against every mistake, and to teach the church of God successful warfare against Zion's foes. In time of war, the trumpet gave the signal for an attack, for a retreat, and for all important movements. It was a matter, therefore, of primary and indispensable necessity, that the trumpet should give the certain sound; lest the army should be thrown into disorder, and become an easy prey to the enemy. It was also important that those whose movements were to be guided by the trumpet, should understand the signification of the sound. The apostle presents this subject for the consideration and improvement of the Corinthian church, in which disorder and confusion prevailed in consequence of mistakes concerning spiritual gifts.

In religious matters, it is of the greatest importance both to teach and to believe correctly. We have painful evidence that the most confused and erroneous opinions have been taught and believed as the truth of God. Under the influence of feeling, impressions, dreams and the like, many are led into the most extravagant notions and fanatical conduct. Such deluded persons not unfrequently fancy themselves supported in their chimeras, by the promises of supernatural aid made to the apostles and other divinely inspired men. They tell us that they feel some particular thing to be thus or thus; that God has told them to do this act or the other; and, in confirmation of it, they cite some Scripture promise of supernatural aid, made to the apostles to enable them to work miracles! Some trumpet has given an uncertain sound upon

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this subject; or if certain, grossly wrong and highly dangerous.

The subject now to be considered is, the distinction between the promises of aid made expressly to the apostles and other inspired men, and the promises made to them in common with other Christians. There has been a strange and hurtful confounding of these together. The apostles were regenerated by the power of the Spirit of God, like other men who are born again. Between them and other true Christians, in this respect, it is not reasonable or scriptural to suppose any difference. Their faith in Christ as the Saviour, is that which alone justifies them in the sight of God. With this saving faith in Christ, they will be accepted of God, and enter heaven; without it, no one can be saved, whatever gifts, graces and powers he may exercise. The supernatural gifts, which enabled the apostles and others to work miracles, were distinct from this saving faith in Christ. They were given for the purpose of demonstrating the truth of the Christian religion, and as an auxiliary in commencing its establishment in the world. Hence it is natural that the words of the Saviour to his apostles should contain promises and directions concerning these gifts, and the proper exercise of them. But it does not follow that ordinary Christians are to apply these promises, in any way, to themselves. Is it asked, of what use are they? and why they are placed in the Bible, if they are applicable only to those who enjoyed miraculous gifts? It may be replied, they are a portion of the divinely inspired record of the truth of our religion; and therefore they are both instructive and useful to ordinary Christians. Let them be understood as such, and the happiest effects follow; our faith is strengthened and God is glorified.

The errors most prevalent, which result from mistaken views of these promises, relate to the baptism of the Holy Ghost, prayer, and the exercise of certain prerogatives.

I. The baptism of the Holy Ghost.

John the Baptist immersed, in the Jordan, in Enon, and other places where there was much water, those persons who confessed their sins and professed their belief in the coming Messiah. His language is, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh af-

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ter me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." A beginning of the fulfilment of this prediction was made by our Lord, in endowing the twelve apostles and the seventy with miraculous powers, by which they healed diseases, and cast out demons. But the most striking and extensive fulfilment of it was on the day of Pentecost. In the first chapter of the Acts, Luke informs us that Christ commanded his disciples not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, "which, saith he, ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence." Shortly after this, "when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing, mighty wind; and it filled all the place where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them, cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." This was, emphatically, the promised baptism of the Holy Ghost; a great and striking fulfilment of the prediction indeed. What influence did it produce on those favored persons who received it? Did it renew their hearts and make them Christians? No, this had been done long before. They had also, doubtless, received those ordinary, sanctifying influences, which are enjoyed by all Christ's true ministers and followers. What, then, did it do for them? It enabled them to speak with other tongues; to preach the gospel in languages which they had never learned. All at once, they had the power to unfold the mystery of Christ with great facility and effect, in no less than sixteen different languages and dialects. This was being baptized with the Holy Ghost to some purpose. And this was a gift distinct from, and independent of, common Christian faith. These seasons of prayer, enjoyment and duty, were, doubtless, attended by a large increase of sanctifying grace; still the baptism of the Holy Ghost, as we understand it, implies the bestowal of supernatural gifts.

After the Pentecost, through the laying on of the apostles' hands, similar gifts were granted to ministers and

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others. Even before this, our Lord empowered his ministers to work miracles; but on this ever memorable occasion, their miraculous powers were greatly enlarged. That the gift to work miracles was distinct and different from common Christian faith, is clear from the fact that, in most cases, it was not conferred until some time after its subjects had become Christians. In some instances, also, it appears probable that Jehovah, for wise reasons, permitted it to be exercised for a time, by such as had no saving faith. Why is this any more strange than that Saul, and Balaam, and Caiaphas should for a season have the spirit of prophecy? Judas probably possessed supernatural gifts, similar to those of the eleven. Matthew says, "These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying, as ye go, preach, saying the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give." Here is a commission and authority for them all, including Judas; and yet the betrayal of Christ by Judas, his wretched end, and dreadful doom, prove him to have been without the love and grace of God in his heart. The baptism of the Holy Ghost was intended to confer supernatural gifts and powers on the apostles and early Christians, for the purpose of proving the truth of our religion, and of assisting in establishing and extending it. There is no satisfactory proof that it continued much, if at all, after the apostles' day. Why should it continue longer? Christ's religion was abundantly proved to be true, by many infallible signs; and God, who is not prodigal in gifts, had no further use for its exercise, and therefore ceased to bestow it.

II. The distinction between the promises of miraculous gifts to the apostles, and the promises made to them in common with ordinary Christians, ought to be kept in view with reference to prayer. The following Scriptures belong to the class in question. "If two of you shall agree on earth, as touching any thing they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven." This is, manifestly, a promise made to the apostles, as such. It must necessarily be confined in its strict application to inspired men, who pray under the guidance of that Spirit, by whom they are infallibly instructed to ask for some gift or grace, which it is the will of God to be-

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stow. It was delivered in connection with the promise, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," and addressed to the same persons. Another promise, limited in a similar manner, is this: "And all things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive." This promise is addressed directly to the apostles, and that too in the exercise of supernatural gifts. In the same connection, Jesus declares, "If ye have faith and doubt not, ye shall not only do this which is done to the fig-tree, but also if ye shall say unto this mountain, be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, it shall be done." Mat. 21: 21. The evangelist Mark, in narrating the same occurrence, relates the words of Christ as follows, (11: 28, 24,) "Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass, he shall have whatsoever he saith. Therefore I say unto you, what things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them." Such prayers, then, must be accompanied with the faith that would enable the offerer to work miracles. Our Lord was enlarging on the magnificent works they could do with such faith; yet all these wonders were to be accomplished in answer to this kind of prayer. Such prayer would be answered, whatsoever they might ask. But these promises must refer to something different from the promises made to prayer in ordinary cases. Their import is widely different from the import of the following: "The effectual, fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." "Ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you." All sincere and humble prayer, offered in the name of Christ, is, doubtless, in some way answered. But we are no where encouraged to believe that we shall receive every thing that we may suppose we need, simply because we ask for it. Prayer that is truly acceptable is offered in submission. Even Christ prayed repeatedly, that the cup might pass from him. The apostle prayed thrice that the thorn might be removed. Yet neither of these things were done; still the

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prayers, in both instances, were answered. Jesus said, "Not my will, but thine, be done; and there appeared an angel unto him, from heaven, strengthening him." And the Lord said unto Paul, "my grace is sufficient for thee." But Jesus encouraged his disciples to repose implicit confidence in his promise, that whenever they should pray for any supernatural gift, believing, it would certainly be given them. This must be confined to the miraculous powers needed by divinely inspired men in the execution of their commission. The Spirit given to them would guide them infallibly in asking the gifts requisite for their supernatural work. It was proper, therefore, for God to pledge to them in all cases the aid which, in the faith of miracles, they asked. This promise belonged to them alone; and not even to them, should they ask other things than those specially intended. Notwithstanding their near intercourse with God, and the success they enjoyed in their work, they were still human. They were often in want; they suffered from hunger, nakedness, peril and the sword; and many of them finally died martyrs to the truth. But if the promise that they should receive whatsoever they might ask was general, embracing common things, it was their own fault that they were ever in want, or that they suffered from persecution at all. They had only to ask, and every want would be supplied, and every foe laid in the dust. It is evident, therefore, that the promises of Christ to bestow every thing they should ask, were restricted in their application, and must, in the nature of the case, be confined to their working of miracles. Hence the Scriptures containing these promises ought to be carefully distinguished from those which relate, in general, to God's purpose to answer prayer.

III. A similar distinction ought to be observed in the exercise of certain prerogatives.

The apostles were authorized and even commanded to do some things which it would be presumption in us to undertake; things such as it would be unlawful for any to attempt, excepting persons specially commissioned. They possessed supernatural endowments, qualifying them for peculiar services. Our Lord said unto them, "Verily I say unto you, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain, Remove

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hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you." But this is not the ordinary Christian faith that unites the soul to Christ and saves it. It is the faith of miracles. He declares to them that if they have that faith as a grain of mustard seed, that is, in a very small measure, it should give them the power of removing mountains, and nothing should be impossible unto them. But this, evidently, is not a promise made to ordinary Christians. It is not only innocent to be destitute of this faith, but it would be displeasing to God, and highly sinful for them to attempt the exercise of the prerogative supposed by it, because God has not given it to any but inspired persons.

He sometimes communicated to the apostles knowledge of the thoughts of men, and the power of discerning spirits; also authority to pronounce judgments and curses; which, for wise purposes, he has forbidden ordinary Christians even to attempt. The injunction is, "Judge not;" and again, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." These offices were, however, in a sense, exercised in the cases of Ananias and Sapphira, Simon Magus, and Elymas the sorcerer, by the apostles. And they were assured that whatsoever they should bind on earth, should be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they should loose on earth should be loosed in heaven. But these are by no means prerogatives belonging to any, except the individuals divinely appointed and furnished with supernatural powers. How astonishing and terrible has been the assumption of them on the part of papal Rome! How wide and deadly has been its sway! It is much to be deplored that the papists are not the only people addicted to the invasion of those prerogatives which belong to the Most High alone; prerogatives which are employed innocently by none else, save in the few cases where God has delegated them for a limited season, to men possessing those supernatural endowments, which have guided them to do the will of their Father in heaven.

The distinction between promises of aid made expressly to the apostles and other inspired men, and those made to them in common with other Christians, has now been traced so far as our space will allow. The distinction is a real and an important one; and it is greatly to be regretted that instruction, belief and practice have been

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so erroneous, respecting the baptism of the Holy Ghost, prayer, and the exercise of certain prerogatives. Is it not time for the trumpet to give a certain sound, and for every one to be prepared for the battle?

This subject is susceptible of an important practical improvement, and should not be dismissed without serious reflection.

1. If the foregoing distinctions be correct, then those persons are in error who insist that because they are baptized with the Holy Ghost, they need care little for what they denominate water baptism. Indeed whether the preceding observations be correct or not, it is true that those who undervalue, or set at naught a positive institution of Christ, are in a serious error. But the error here referred to is one of greater magnitude and wider prevalence than is generally supposed. It has prevailed not only among fanatics and the grossly ignorant, who have arrogantly claimed extraordinary divine gifts, and vaunted these claims with disgusting impertinence and effrontery, but some of the more calm, grave, and better informed have partaken of this error. They recognize the work of the divine Spirit, renewing and sanctifying the heart. So far it is well. But their mistake consists in considering this operation the baptism of the Holy Ghost. By so doing, they fall into error in the interpretation of passages which relate to the gospel ordinance of baptism, and represent what they are pleased to style water baptism as a matter of very little consequence. With this view, some denominations of Christians have made it, so far as the water is concerned, a mere nullity. Individuals there are in every place, besides the whole sect of Quakers, who deny that the ordinance of baptism is now a duty. They set aside both this and the Lord's Supper; and talk long and gravely of the inward baptism of the Spirit. Thus the authority of Christ becomes of none effect, and his ordinances are annulled by erroneous opinions. But because God graciously renews and sanctifies the heart by his Holy Spirit, that is no good reason why the person so renewed and sanctified should neglect the command of Christ to be baptized in his name. And because the Spirit is the mighty agent who fits the soul for communion with God and the enjoyment of heaven, that furnishes a Christian man no good reason for declin-

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ing to obey the revealed will of God. It is painful to hear those who profess to be the followers of Christ say, "We are now baptized with the Holy Ghost; we have received the principal thing; we are not careful about baptism in water; the baptism of the Holy Ghost is all that is really essential." There is in this language a mixture of sincerity, ignorance and conceit, that demonstrates how important it is that the trumpet should give a certain sound. They care nothing for baptism in water—that ordinance which the Saviour instituted, and himself submitted to, surrounded by the witnessing multitude, and with the approving, sealing Spirit of the Father from heaven! They care nothing for baptism in water—that ordinance which he solemnly enjoined on his disciples, to administer to all who should believe on his name. They commit the great practical error of despising the only kind of baptism that has been on the earth since the days of the apostles, or that will be till the end of time.

2. If the above distinctions be correct, then those persons mistake, who affirm that if two of them shall agree in any particular petition it will on that account be granted. This is a promise made to the apostles, and confirmed in the nature of the case to those who were inspired, and who prayed for supernatural aid to enable them to execute the work of their office. It cannot, then, apply to common Christians. The supposition that it does, is an extensive and a very injurious error. It has often been preached as a truth. Sincere and well-meaning Christians have claimed it as a promise to them, and endeavored to secure its fulfilment. Their failures have disappointed and depressed them; and the tendency has been to shake their faith in the efficacy of prayer, and to confirm the unbelieving in their infidelity. But of the utility and power of united prayer there can be no doubt. The more persons can be united in praying for things agreeable to God's will the better. The most glorious results follow importunate, united, submissive prayer. When we exercise its spirit in our own hearts, or witness its prevalence around us, it is an indication for good; and it is certain that things agreeable to the divine mind will be bestowed in answer to such prayer. But this is very different from believing that if two or more shall agree in prayer, whatever they ask will be granted.

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Clearly no such promise is made to ordinary Christians. Hence when we hear persons praying for a given object,—for example, the conversion of a sinner before another morning, or the immediate overthrow of some anti-Christian power or influence, and placing their confidence of success in their prayers in the promise made to the apostles, that if two of them should agree as touching any thing they might ask it should be done, we cannot but be pained at the mistake, and tremble at such presumption. It is, doubtless, well to pray for the conversion of particular persons; it is highly proper to pray for the overthrow and destruction of any given evil, and of all evil; but as to time and the manner, and even as to the thing itself, we should exercise the most profound resignation; and not arrogantly assume that it will be done, merely because two or three agree in asking it. It may be the sovereign purpose of Almighty God to effect it at another and better time, and in another and different manner; and it may be, that he has already determined never to do that particular thing.

Great practical evils of most mischievous tendency arise from a misunderstanding of this promise. An individual in a church may desire the accomplishment of some particular and good object. Misunderstanding this promise, he thinks that all that is necessary to secure the object is to produce this agreement of views, sentiments and desires, so that there may be united prayer. But because the thing prayed for does not come to pass, his conclusion is that there is no right feeling, no agreement. He now feels less cordial towards his brethren; and soon by looks and words violates the law of Christian charity by judging them. But perhaps they are not, after all, in fault. Perhaps the evil is that he has misunderstood a passage of Scripture, and appropriated it to Christians generally, which was specially intended only for the apostles.

3. The same is true with reference to the prayers of individuals. While it is true that whosoever asketh receiveth, it is not true with Christians generally, that whatsoever they ask they shall infallibly receive. This promise was made to another class of persons, for another object. Perhaps this has been sufficiently shown already. Nor is this any discouragement to prayer. We are com-

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manded to pray always with all prayer; and he who knows what we need even before we ask, has promised to do all that is necessary for us. He gives freely to all who ask, such things as enrich them and glorify himself. He who has commanded us to pray, has "all power in heaven and on earth," and is "able to do exceeding abundantly, above all that we ask or think." If we do not receive what we ask, he will give us something better. We may desire as strongly as we please, and pray as fervently as we can, yet every prayer that does not contain at least an implied "thy will be done," is impiety and dictation.

4. If the distinction suggested in this article be correct, those who assume to judge the hearts of men,—who promise heaven and bind over to hell,—assume a prerogative that does not belong to them. That believers in Jesus Christ will be saved, and that those who reject the only Saviour of lost sinners must perish, is established by divine anthority. But the fact that the apostles sometimes discerned spirits, knew by revelation the state of the heart, and in the name of the Lord denounced judgments, furnishes no valid reason why other persons should claim these powers. For want of this distinction much error, fanaticism and even persecution have taken place. What sad illustrations of this are furnished by the long and bloody history of the church of Rome. For ages it has made itself red with the blood of the saints. It has ever claimed miraculous powers, professes to bind and loose, adjudges to heaven and to hell. Other anti-Christian powers have also set themselves in the temple of God, and invaded the divine prerogative.

The working of corrupt, ambitious nature, or passionate appeals from the deluded, or the instigation of the devil, have brought ignorant, fanatical and intolerant men to believe that they were specially commissioned of God to work some mighty reform. Then instead of quietly attending to some lawful and useful business, they assume to act the apostle, and play the minister of justice. This seems to constitute all their religion. Attack and denunciation are their common work. They stop not even to employ correct logic. They say, the old Jewish church was corrupt, therefore the churches of the present day are Babylon. The scribes and Pharisees

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were hypocritical and oppressive, therefore the ministers of the gospel now are infamous and heartless "wolves in sheep's clothing;" and the bulwark of oppression in all its forms. And what would be more natural than that those persons who complacently look upon themselves as God's pure and chosen messengers to execute justice and judgment, should hurl the heaviest curses at those who, in their opinion, so richly deserve present and eternal infamy. Feeling themselves clothed with such important functions, it is not perhaps singular that their eyes should be so dazzled by the glittering insignia of their office, as not to perceive the lameness of their logic. Indeed, why should they stop to examine their logic? Divine wisdom, inspiration cannot err. This they feel conscious of possessing; and their extraordinary powers could not have been conferred, to lie dormant; they must have been given for use. Where is there a field more inviting for the sickle, than the ministry and churches? What other work so fit for the employment of these high and unerring gifts, as the unceremonious and indiscriminate thrusting of all Christendom to the bottomless pit!—and all, forsooth, because they cannot or will not, in relation to the doing or the manner of doing some certain thing, bow to their right dictation, or because they cannot see proof that, at a given time which they have fixed, God will consume the world and judge its inhabitants. To say nothing here of such impious assumption, it is clear that if such persons could discern the distinctions of things that differ made in the word of God, it would materially diminish their assumption of authority. It would make them, it is hoped, more modest and of better manners. Some of the leading disorganizers of the present day claim to be as much inspired as were the apostles. If the spiritual hallucinations of Swedenborgianism be harmless, the same cannot be claimed for Mormonism and Millerism. In the harvest gathered from their arrogant pretensions to spiritual discernment, and consequent assumption of divine prerogatives, we have ripe clusters from the vine of Sodom.

But were any now invested with the power of working miracles, the endowment would not be so valuable as simple, Christian faith. When the seventy returned to Christ, rejoicing that the devils were subject to them

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through his name, he directed them to "rejoice rather that their names were written in heaven." Paul says, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge; and though I have all faith so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." Charity is Christian love—a love flowing from simple faith in Christ. It is declared to be more important, and is more highly to be prized than any other attainment. How excellent are its properties, how redolent with the choicest odors, how enriched with the most beautiful ornaments! "It suffereth long, and is kind, it vaunteth not itself; is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly." But one might possess even the gift of miracles, and still be destitute of saving grace. So did Judas Iscariot. But let men beware how they claim any prerogatives, requiring these uncommon endowments.

5. As the word of God contained in the Bible is a sufficient revelation, its plain and obvious meaning should be sought and received as the will of Heaven. Mistakes on other subjects may be less injurious; empiricism here is fatal. Here let the trumpet give a certain sound, and let all take heed to its tones. The teachings of the holy Scriptures should be our guide; not the traditions of men, impressions, feelings, dreams and visions. Not the least dependence can be placed in them in matters of religious faith. So far as any impressions or dreams may lead those who have them to be more prayerful and more consistent in duty to God and man, it is well; but they are of no value in teaching what the will of God is. To guide us in this, we must depend not on a "thus saith the Lord" which some man affirms he has in his heart, but on a "thus saith the Lord" contained in the written word. To forsake the latter for the former would be "turning unto fables." It would be leaving the unerring word of God, to follow "the weak and beggarly elements of the world." And the fact that persons are sincere in their wild fancies, makes it no more safe to be influenced by them. Many of the Jews, doubtless, believed that they should have in the person of the Messiah, a temporal prince, who would deliver them from the Ro-

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man yoke; but their sincere impression did not make it so. They rejected Jesus Christ as an impostor; but it did not make him an impostor. No doubt many good men, yea Christian men, have placed unwarrantable dependence on some feeling or impression. Some there are who talk in a most presumptuous manner, as to what is to take place in the future; and the reason of their belief is some impression. They tell us that they do not regard human learning and reason; they go by the Spirit, which they feel within. At different times, thousands have positively asserted that they should be alive on the earth when Christ should come to judgment. They had an impression that they should be—an impression which neither reason nor Scripture could remove. But if it is impossible to correct the mistakes of such deluded persons, the fact that they have died in their errors and have spread abroad in the world blasting, mildew and death, ought to be an admonition to others. In his own time, Christ will come to judge the world; but when it will be, we have the testimony of Jesus himself, that neither men nor angels know; and his declaration should weigh more with us than all the boasted visions of ignorant, superstitious and fanatical men from the foundation of the world.

> "Let the false raptures of the mind
> Be lost and vanish in the wind."

To rely on these instead of our Saviour's own assertions, produces most appalling effects. It has encouraged those who know nothing, to hazard every thing in reckless statements and predictions. It has occupied the time and attention of serious Christians, to the detriment of the cause of religion. It has hardened the impenitent, and emboldened the scoffing infidel. It has even instituted an article of faith unknown to the holy Scriptures, and has set aside the divine promise, that "whosoever believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life." But the Bible, so far from affirming that in order to be saved it is needful to believe in the advent of Christ at any given time, declares that neither men nor angels know when he will come, but that at all times we should "watch and be ready." Had the church generally been

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led away by these delusions, months or years ago it would have been considered too late to translate, print or circulate the Bible in heathen lands. This great and blessed work must have ceased, and with what disastrous consequences! The great work of giving the world a knowledge of Jesus Christ, the only Saviour, would have been arrested at once, and the hopes and prospects of the church, and of the whole heathen world, blighted forever. It may well be doubted, whether Satan himself ever devised a scheme more fraught with mischief, and, if carried out, more eminently calculated to prostrate the noble design of God and his people to enlighten and save the heathen.

ARTICLE VI.

ABORIGINAL MISSIONS IN NORTH AMERICA.

NOTES ON THE IROQUOIS; *or Contributions to the Statistics, Aboriginal History, Antiquities and General Ethnology of Western New York.* By HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT. New York, Bartlett & Welford. 1846. 8vo. 285 pp.

The Indian Advocate. A monthly paper, by the American Indian Mission Association. Louisville, Ky.

NE KORORON, NE TEYERIHWAHKWATHA IGEN, *Ne Enyonteste, Ne Yondatteskos Yagorihwiyoghston, Rotinensyonih Kaweanondahko, Ne Sorwatagwen.* ["The Collection of Sacred Songs, for the use of the Baptist Native Christians of the Six Nations."] Revised by JAMES C. CUSICK. Philadelphia. American Baptist Publication Society. 1846. 32mo. 128 pp.

A KEY INTO THE LANGUAGE OF AMERICA, *or an Help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America called New England.* By ROGER WILLIAMS. London. 1643. Reprinted by the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence. 1827. 8vo. pp. 165.

On the first visit of Europeans to the American continent, it was found to be inhabited by a race of men, who, in their physical conformation, their moral habits, their

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social and political relations, their languages and modes of living, differed materially from the inhabitants of the old world. The term *Indian*, as given to the aborigines of this continent, was a misnomer. It was supposed by Columbus and his coadjutors that they had reached the eastern shore of Asia, and, hence, the country was called *India*, and its inhabitants, *Indians*.

From whence they originated, and by what means they reached the continent of America, are questions yet unsolved. We differ wholly from Thoroughgood, Adair, Boudinot and others, who maintain that they are of Hebrew origin. After long acquaintance, frequent observations and diligent inquiries, we have found no marks of Judaism, but such as are common to other tribes of savage, or semi-civilized people.

The native inhabitants of North America were originally separated into several distinct classes, each class differing from the others in language, religion, manners, customs, figure and other characteristics. These classes again were subdivided into tribes and confederacies, which differed from each other in dialect, or pronunciation, and other slight modifications.

The classes, or divisions, with which we are the best acquainted may be arranged under the general names of *Esquimaux*, *Algonkin*, *N'Dacotah*, *Cherokee* and *Iroquois*. These classes are clearly defined in language and physiology.

The *Esquimaux* includes the nomadic bands along the coast of Labrador and the Northern Ocean to Behring's Strait, a distance of some three or four thousand miles. They are found principally north of the fiftieth degree of latitude, and, probably, originated from the Samoieds and Laplanders of Europe.

The *Algonkin*, or as termed by Mr. Schoolcraft, the *Algic* race, comprehended the largest number of tribes and confederacies, and the most people of any class in North America, though now reduced to the fewest. These aborigines have been the least impressed with civilization and Christianity, and have wasted away the most rapidly and surely at the approach of the "pale face." In every respect, they were inferior to the Iroquois or the Cherokee stocks. The term Algonkin is sometimes given to a branch of this stock in eastern Canada and

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Nova Scotia. To this class belonged the Tarenteens, Norridgewoks and Penobscots in Maine and New Hampshire,—the Pockanockets, Aberginians, Wampanoags and Mohegans in Massachusetts, the Narragansetts in Rhode Island, the Pequods and other tribes in Connecticut, the Manhattanoes about New York city, the Lenni Lenopi (or Delawares) in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, the great Powhattan confederacy of more than thirty tribes in Maryland and Virginia, and the Chaouanons, or Shawanoes, who lived and roamed from James river south to Florida.

In the west and north-west, of the same stock were the O'jibways, Putawatomies, Ottawas, Saukies, Miamis, or Meaumees, the Illinois confederacy of seven or eight tribes, and many others.

A third original stock, or distinct class, is found west of the Mississippi river. The *N'Dacotah*, or Sioux as the French call them, are a type. To the same class belong the Winnebagoes, Ioways, Osages, Kausas, O'mahaus, Ottoes and many other bands. On further investigation, another distinct class may be found in the Pawnees, Comanches, and other wild Indians in northern Texas and Mexico.

A fourth radical stock is to be found in the south-west. The Cherokees, Choctaws, Muscogees or Creeks, Chickasaws, Natchez and many other tribes were radically different from the other classes. Probably they were offsets of the Mexican or Aztec race.

The fifth class, and the one to which we intend devoting this paper, is the IROQUOIS, or SIX NATIONS of middle and western New York and northern Pennsylvania. They have been known by different names. The English termed them *Mohawks*, from one of the nations; the Lenopi called them *Maquas*, and *Mengwe*, hence *Mingoes*. The Virginia Indians called them *Massawomeks*, and the French of Canada gave them the name of *Iroquois*, from *Hiro*, a word with which these Indians ended their speeches, as the Romans did theirs with the word *dixi*;—and *quois*, which they used to express strong emotion, whether of joy or grief. Their own generic name was *Ean-gwe-hon-we*,* meaning *the Real people*, or people in reality.

* Pronounced Ung-way-hong-way.

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The Iroquois were the most powerful confederacy in North America, having something like a Federal government. Theirs was the only confederacy that deserved the name of government; for they had the elements of a confederated republic. Each nation had its own council-fire, and all local affairs were managed by its particular chiefs. Each nation was subdivided into three tribes, designated as the *Turtle*, the *Bear*, and the *Wolf* tribe. Other subdivisions or bands, according to the laws of the *Totem*, are noticed hereafter. Each village constituted a distinct republic, with its head men or magistrates to regulate its local affairs. The general interests of the whole confederacy were managed by the Great Council, which was composed of the chiefs from each nation and tribe, who met annually at the Great Council house in Onondaga Valley; and it is recorded that as many as eighty sachems [*Lachanuane*] were present in this congressional assembly. It had entire jurisdiction of the affairs of peace and war; the supervision of the tributary nations, and of all negotiations with the French and English colonies.

When first known to the French and English, there were five nations in the confederacy—all in that part of New York which lies west of the Hudson river, and in northern Pennsylvania. They were the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas. Their own traditionary accounts state that they originated from Canada. And after the confederacy had been formed, which is supposed to have originated about A. D. 1540, numerous people, of the same class, were in Canada, from Montreal westward to Lake Huron. And if we include all the tribes that spoke a dialect of the same language, and had other generic marks, we should note the Wyandots, or Hurons, the Erigas or Eries, the Allegans, and the Andastes or Guyandots. The Eries and Guyandots were exterminated in a series of wars by the confederacy of the Five Nations, between 1650 and 1670.

The *Tuscaroras* made the sixth nation in the confederacy. Originally, they resided in Pennsylvania and southwestern New York; but at some remote period migrated southward, and spread over and occupied a large section of North Carolina. Their own traditions affirm that their nation travelled westward until they reached Lake

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Erie, and thence south-west until they reached the Mississippi. Part of them crossed the river, and they became a divided people. Mr. Schoolcraft, who records their traditions, (and we have had the same story from the Rev. James C. Cusick,) writes thus:—

"Terenyawagon, the Holder of the Heavens, who was the patron of the *home* lands, did not fail, at this crisis, to direct their way also. After giving them practical instructions in war and hunting, he guided their footsteps in their journeys, south and east, until they had crossed the Alleghanies, and reached the shores of the sea, on the coasts that are now called the Carolinas. They were directed to fix their residence on the banks of the Cau-tan-o, that is, a Pine in the Water, now called Neuse river, in North Carolina. By this time their language was altered, but not so much but that they could understand each other. Here Terenyawagon left them to hunt, increase and prosper, whilst he returned to direct the remaining Five Nations to form their confederacy."

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, their villages were on the waters of Contentney, Neuse and Taw (improperly called Tar) rivers. According to Lawson,* in 1708 they had sixteen towns, and could raise 1200 warriors. They commenced a ferocious war with the white settlers in 1711, murdered Mr. Lawson, who was surveyor general of the colony, on Albemarle river, and fell upon the settlements and massacred 130 inhabitants in one day.

In 1712 or '13, they were attacked by the English colonists in turn on the one side, and by the Cherokees on the other, were sorely defeated, made peace, and the next year removed, united in the confederacy of their ancient people, and since that period, have shared the fortunes of the Six Nations.

The superiority of the Iroquois confederacy over the tribes of the Algonkin stock is incontestable. Their whole history furnishes proofs of their superiority in intellect, in energy of character, in perseverance, and in the preservation of their race. The Five Nations had acquired a decided superiority over the other Indians, before the arrival and settlement of Europeans on this continent. They evinced a most exalted spirit of liberty and independence, while they conquered and subjugated to their control nearly all the other tribes from the shores of the Atlantic

* Transactions, Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. ii, p. 82.

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to the Mississippi, and even carried their victorious arms across the "Great Water."

They admitted no hereditary distinctions in their social organization. The office of chief was the reward of meritorious conduct. War was their favorite pursuit, and military glory their ruling passion. With high-toned feelings of liberty and a sensitive regard to their own rights, they trampled on the rights of all their neighbors, and exercised domination over them. Their conquests and dominion may be learned from nearly every author of the early history of the French and British colonies. Charlevoix says, (1720,) "The Iroquois are desirous of exercising a species of domination over the whole of this great continent, and to render themselves sole masters of its commerce." They destroyed great numbers, and broke up the principal villages of the Wyandots about 1650; finished the extermination of the Eries in 1655; and accomplished the ruin of the Andastes in 1672. They carried on a thirty years' war with the Choctaws of the south. The late Dewitt Clinton, in a lecture before the Historical Society of New York, in 1811, says, "To describe the military enterprise of this people, would be to delineate the progress of a tornado or an earthquake. Destruction followed their footsteps, and whole nations, subdued, rendered tributaries, expelled from their country, or merged in their conquerors, declare the superiority and terror of their arms."

When Admiral Champlain arrived in Canada in 1603, he found them at war with the Algonkins and Hurons. They subjugated the country of western Virginia, Kentucky and along the Ohio river on both sides, a part of Tennessee, nearly all Illinois, and the vast regions of the north-west. When Boon and his companions explored Kentucky, they found those fine hunting grounds without an inhabitant. About the middle of the seventeenth century, the Shawanoes from the south-east had planted their villages along its rich vallies. Its name, instead of meaning "the bloody ground," as fictitious tradition has recorded, is formed from a Shawanese word, which signifies "at the head of the river." Their villages were depopulated, and the people who survived were driven by the victorious arms of the Iroquois to the banks of the

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Wabash. Hence the Iroquois were termed by the traveller Volney, "The Romans of the Western Continent."

In 1701, they made a deed of sale to the British government of a vast tract of country south and east of the Illinois river, and extending across the lakes into Canada. In 1758, their commissioners were at a treaty held by the Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey with the Lenopi Indians, and required them to give up to the colonies a tract of country which the Iroquois claimed by conquest. In 1768, a great council was held at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N. Y.) between the commissioners of the British crown and this confederacy, in which they ceded to the English with whom they were in alliance, a large part of Kentucky, lying north of the river Louisa, (as Kentucky was then called,) including a part of western Virginia.

The Iroquois confederacy left the tribes over which their victorious arms had gained a supremacy, to manage their own internal affairs in their own way, and even to make war on other conquered tribes; but claimed tribute as a badge of submission, and entire sovereignty over all the lands they obtained by conquest. They were in constant alliance with Great Britain till the revolutionary war, when the confederacy became divided, and eventually broken up. The Mohawks, Senecas and others took up arms against the colonies. The Oneidas fought bravely on the American side. The Tuscaroras were divided among themselves; a part fought on the American and a part on the British side, and each party suffered damage in the contest. They were frequently on terms of general amity with the French of Canada, but never in strict alliance. They were more faithful to treaty engagements, and firmer and more lasting in their friendships, than any other Indians.

At the period of the early settlement of Canada, 1608, the Five Nations were supposed to number about 40,000 souls. This is certainly an over estimate. La Hontan, about the close of the seventeenth century, estimates each canton at 14,000; but he is notorious for exaggeration in all his statements. Still, however, they were populous; for at one period they attacked the island of Montreal with 1200 warriors, and in 1683, marched 1000 warriors against the Ottagamies. Mr. Schoolcraft states that,—

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"Smith puts the whole number of fighting men, in 1756, with a moderation which is remarkable, compared to others who had touched the subject, at twelve hundred. Giving to each warrior a home population of *five*, which is found to hold good, in modern days, in the great area of the west, we should have an aggregate of 6000—a result which is, probably, too low. Douglass, four years after, gives us data for raising this estimate to 7,500. Colonel Bouquet, still four years later, raises this latter estimate by 250.

"Mr. Jefferson estimates the Powhatanic confederacy or group of tribes, at one individual to the square mile. Governor Clinton, who ably handled the subject in 1811, estimates that if this rule be applied to the domain of the Iroquois in New York, an aggregate of not less than 30,000 would be produced; but he does not pass his opinion upon an estimate made so completely without reliable data.

"At a conference with the five cantons at Albany in 1677, the number of warriors was carefully made out at 2,150, giving on the preceding mode of computation, a population of 10,750; and this was the strength of the confederacy reported by an agent of the Governor of Virginia, who had been specially despatched to the conference for the purpose of obtaining this fact. Either, then, in the subsequent estimates of 1756, '60 and '64. the population had been underrated, or there had, on the assumption of the truth of the above enumeration, which is moderate, been a decline in the population of 3000 souls, in a period of eighty-seven years.

"During the American revolution, which broke out eleven years after the expedition and estimate of Bouquet, when he had put the Iroquois at 1550 fighting men, it is estimated that the British government had in their interest and service 1580 warriors of this confederacy. The highest number noticed of the friendly Oneidas and a few others, who sided with us in the contest, is 230 warriors, raising the number of armed men engaged in the war to 1810, and the gross population in 1776, to 9050 souls. This estimate, which appears to have been carefully made from authentic documents, is the utmost that could be well claimed. It was made at an era when danger prompted the pen of either party in the war to exhibit the military strength of this confederacy in its utmost power; and we may rest here, as a safe point of comparison, or, at least, we cannot admit a higher population."

Mr. Schoolcraft, who took the census of the Six Nations remaining in the State of New York in 1845, gives the following table.

Senecas,	2,441
Onondagas,	398
Tuscaroras,	281
Oneidas,	210
Cayugas,	123
Mohawks,	20
St. Regis Canton,	360
Total,	3,833

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To these we add Oneidas of Greenbay, Wisconsin,	720
Senecas of Sandusky, ...	251
Total in the United States, . .	4,804
On Grand river, Canada West, ...	4,000
Caghnawagas, in Canada, say . . .	300
Making a grand total of . . .	9,104

The estimate of the Rev. Mr. Cusick was about ten thousand. These statistics, which are from the best data that can be obtained, and, with the exception of those in Canada, from their census taken with great accuracy, brings us to the conclusion that the Iroquois are as numerous now as they were nearly one hundred years since. And, that, with all the depressing circumstances with which they have been surrounded, by their contact with white population and the influence of vicious habits, the Iroquois are a people not likely to be exterminated by the approach of the "pale face," as has happened to the Algonkin race. The fact of intellectual and moral superiority in some classes of the aborigines over others, has not hitherto received the attention of philanthropists and missionary associations as it should have done. Public attention, in efforts to promote civilization, has been directed chiefly to the Algonkin stock. These have melted away like the snows of spring, on the approach of civilization. Missions and other civilizing influences have produced on that race only partial and temporary effects,—enough, however, to afford illustration of the great truth that the gospel is adapted and intended for the benefit of the whole human race, even those who are in the most degraded and hopeless circumstances. But in reference to the aborigines of our country, it is to the Iroquois and Cherokee stocks that we are to look with encouragement and hope, as furnishing promising fields for missionary labor.

During the revolutionary war, the Iroquois suffered severely. War and disease cut off many of their young men, not only decreasing their numbers at that period, but lessening, in no small degree, the probabilities of future increase. Their farms and beautiful and extensive orchards were ravaged and destroyed on the invasion of General Sullivan into the Genessee country in 1779. Many of the Oneidas perished by dysentery and other epidemics.

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In 1776 the Iroquois in the State of New York numbered 3748, and those who were then known as residing in Canada, 760, making a total of 4508. Suppose the Mohawks and Cayugas who fled to Canada at and after the period of the war were 2000 souls, it would give for the whole population of the Six Nations 6508. Mr. Schoolcraft estimates their number in Canada, in 1845, at 2000, which is the same number which he supposes to have removed there, without any addition for increase. But that branch of the Iroquois confederacy have made proportionate advances in civilization with their brethren in New York. Mr. Cusick, who visited their settlements in 1844, examined into their condition, and made special inquiries about their numbers, estimated them at 4000. Of the Iroquois in New York, Mr. Schoolcraft says,—

"I cannot, however, submit this result [increase of population] without expressing the opinion, that the Iroquois population has been lower, between the era of the revolutionary war and the present time, than the census now denotes; and that for some years past, and since they have been well lodged and clothed and subsisted by their own labor, and been exempted from the diseases and casualties incident to savage life, and the empire of the forest, their population has recovered, and is now on the increase."

The census shows five with a large fraction as the average number of each family. Each branch of this stock is not only on the increase, but they are fast becoming a civilized people. The Tuscaroras raised more grain and cattle than were necessary for their own subsistence, while the other bands have been enabled, for several years, to live on their own resources.

The census statistics furnished by Mr. Schoolcraft from the families resident in the State of New York, in 1845, give 908 horses; 839 sheep; 3458 hogs; neat cattle 2275; cows milked 803; pounds of butter made 20,341; acres of improved land on their reservations 13,867½; acres of meadow, mowed annually, 1350; acres rented to white farmers, at an average rent of $2,82 per acre annually, 3515; fruit bearing trees, chiefly apple, 6868; farmers 371; mechanics 20; lawyers 2; semi-hunters, or those who derive subsistence in part from the chase, 151; persons educated at colleges, or academies, 20; physicians 7; ministers of the gospel, catechists and teachers 17; inter-

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preters or translators of the Iroquois language, 35; houses for Christian worship, 8; church members of all denominations, 350; pledged to temperance, 870; schools, 14; children attending private or select schools, 462; bushels of wheat harvested, 11,508; corn, 35,499½; potatoes, 16,681; oats, 28,866½; rye, 60; turnips, 353; barley, 178; peas, 910; beans, 44; buckwheat, 1054. Annuities paid by the United States, $12,765; by the State of New York, $5,661,69. Mr. Schoolcraft subjoins:

"I found three saw mills, with twenty-one gangs of saws, on the Alleghany reservation, and also two council houses and two public schools, constituting public property, belonging exclusively to this reservation, which were valued by the appraisers under the treaty of 1842, at $8,219.

"On the Cattaraugus reservation, there is a church, council house and farms connected with the schools, being the property of the Indians and not the missionary society, which were valued together by the same appraisers, at $3,214,50.

"There is on Buffalo creek reservation, a saw mill, valued at $404,75; a church built originally at an expense of $1700, valued at $1200; a council house valued at $75; making a total amount of public property, including all the preceding, of $13,113,25.

"The total amount of private valuations on the Buffalo and Tonawanda reservations, under the treaty of 1842, was not exactly ascertained, but it is about $80,000. This is entirely Seneca property and funds. * * * * * * *

"The Onondagas possess one saw mill, well built and in good repair, which is of some value to them, and might be rendered more so, under a proper system of management."

Having glanced at the proofs of the increase of population of the Iroquois, and their advancement in civilization, we are now prepared to contemplate the influence of the gospel by missionary agency in their reformation.

Some partial efforts were made to Christianize the Six Nations in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, by ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church, and subsequently by those of the English Episcopal Church. Societies were gathered at an early day amongst the Mohawks at Caghnawaga, and at Dionderoga, at the mouth of Schoharie creek, better known as Fort Hunter. The church at that place received a set of communion service from the liberality of Queen Anne. The Roman Catholic priests in Canada converted a portion of the Caghnawaga band to their faith, now known as the St. Regis Indians.

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In 1764, Mr. Samuel Kirkland, a graduate of Nassau Hall, or New Jersey College, and a son of a Congregational minister of Norwich, Con., after completing his studies for the ministry, entered the country of the Senecas, with the pious view of learning their language and instructing them in Christianity. He travelled on snow-shoes two hundred and fifty miles, in the depth of winter, and through the wilderness, carrying his provisions on his back, with two Indian guides for companions. In seventeen days he reached a town called Kanasada, and was kindly received by the Indians. After surmounting various difficulties, and having his life threatened, he came back to his native State for aid. In May, 1766, Mr. Kirkland returned to the Indian country, accompanied by two or three other missionaries and teachers from the Indian school of the Rev. Dr. Wheelock, in Lebanon, Con., and fixed his station among the Oneidas, in the town of Kanonwarhare. A school had already been established, and the Indians were desirous for a minister. He soon obtained from them a pledge to abandon the use of intoxicating drinks, and in an Indian council held on the subject, eight principal men were appointed to aid him in destroying all spirituous liquors. These men proved faithful in the work; and such was the success of the measure that, some few weeks after, eighty casks of rum were carried through the town and offered for sale, and even in some instances as presents, yet none were persuaded to accept. For a period of three months, only two persons were guilty of intoxication, and one of these was the only person who opposed, in council, the measures of Mr. Kirkland. And yet, this early laborer in temperance reform, in advanced life became himself a victim to intoxicating drinks! The next year, both the missionary and the Indians suffered much from famine and sickness.

By 1770, this mission assumed a promising aspect; the Lord's day was observed with strictness, intoxication was very rare, and many individuals were hopefully converted. In 1773, the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, in conjunction with the Corporation of Harvard University, took Mr. Kirkland under patronage and sustained him.

The American revolutionary war rolled back the tide

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of civilization. Sir William Johnson, the British colonial agent for the Iroquois, ordered all "dissenting" missionaries to leave the Indian country. During the war, Mr. Kirkland could only make occasional visits, at much hazard; but after the war, the Oneidas made a grant of land to all Indians of different nations who would settle in their country, listen to the word of God, and cultivate the arts of civilized life. In their "talk" to Mr. Kirkland, whom they urged to return, they say,—

"We have been attending for many years to the vast difference between white people and Indians. We have labored much to investigate the cause; for the one are in prosperous circumstances, the other are indigent and wretched. The one appear to be the favorites of Heaven, and honorable in the sight of men; the other, to be despised and rejected of both. We Indians, therefore, must alter our conduct. We must give up our pagan customs. We must unite, with all our wisdom and strength, to cultivate the manners and civilization of the white people, who are thus distinguished by the favor and protection of the Great Spirit above, and embrace the religion of Christ, or we shall, for many years, be not only despised by the nations of the earth, but utterly rejected by the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of the white people.

"We entreat our Father to make one trial more for Christianizing the Indians, at least for one, if not for two years; and if there be no encouragement after this, that we shall be built up as a people and embrace the religion of Christ, he may leave us, and we shall expect nothing but ruin."

In 1785, we find Mr. Kirkland again seated among the Oneidas, instructing them, and preaching the gospel with success. The war and other influences had diminished their numbers and damaged their morals. Intemperance again prevailed. But in a short period after missionary labors were resumed, a great change was effected. The Oneidas came many miles to public worship; order, attention and solemnity appeared in their meetings, and the mighty agency of the Holy Spirit attended the ministry of the word. At one time, upwards of seventy persons were under serious impressions.

At a subsequent period this people again degenerated. Idleness, intemperance and kindred vices to a considerable extent blasted these hopeful prospects. The tide of emigration brought a class of white people into the country, whose example and influence were by no means favorable to Indian reform. In 1796, the Rev. Drs. Morse and Belknap, by an appointment of the Society in Scotland

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for the Propagation of Knowledge, visited the Oneida country to inquire into the state of the mission. They found under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, including men, women and children, six hundred and twenty-eight souls, about thirty of whom were hopefully pious and communicants in the church. But the state of morals in the nation was lax, and a large proportion had become intemperate; and what was worse, the occasional irregularity of the missionary, in this respect, was not likely to produce reform! His zeal, self-denial, piety, benevolence and activity in former years, had afforded the highest gratification. Alas, for frail human nature! He had fallen from his noble and elevated position in the temperance cause! His health was on the decline, and two years after he was disabled from public duties. Subsequently he recovered his health, and in some measure his character for sobriety and usefulness; and after having spent forty years of his life as a missionary among the Indians, he died at Paris, Oneida County, March 18, 1808, aged sixty-five years. The mission was continued by the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Jenkins, who labored with some success.

Within the bounds of the Oneida nation, and in political alliance, but under a distinct mission, were the Stockbridge Indians. The mission is noticed in this place, both from its locality and the reflex influence it had on the Oneidas. These people originated from the Mohegan branch of the Algonkin race. The mission was commenced by the Rev. John Sergeant, in 1734, on the Housatonic river in Berkshire county, Mass. The tribe were called *River* Indians; but subsequently were known by the name of Stockbridge. A congregation and school were gathered, and the missionary taught them the truths of Christianity, agriculture and some mechanical trades. Mr. Sergeant was sustained in his philanthropic labors by Mr. Hollis, a wealthy Baptist of London, the founder of the Hollis Professorships in Harvard University. He provided for the education of twelve Indian youths, and afterwards doubled the number. Mr. Sergeant died in 1749, at the age of thirty-nine. "For brightness of genius, extensive learning, deep piety, untiring benevolence, a tender conscience, and unwearied diligence, he was not excelled."

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His successor, who had aided him as a teacher, was a Mr. Woodbridge, who conducted the school and mission for a time, and who was followed in his labors by the distinguished Jonathan Edwards, who took charge of the mission in 1751, and labored in it for about six years. He toiled prayerfully and diligently, but with little success. It was in this secluded spot that he wrote his masterly treatises on the Freedom of the Will, and on Original Sin.

During the war of 1755—63, between Great Britain and the colonies on the one part, and France and the Canada Indians on the other, this mission, as has been the case with all Indian missions in war, was much injured. The Stockbridge and the Mohawk Indians were in alliance, and fought on the side of the colonies; many were killed and others scattered abroad.

At a subsequent period, the mission was under charge of Mr. John Sergeant, a son of the founder of the mission. The revolutionary war again broke up the mission; but it was revived in the Oneida country, and a village established and called New Stockbridge. The famous Samson Occum, an educated Indian preacher, removed from Connecticut, with the Indians under his charge, to the Oneida country, where he preached to the Stockbridge and other Mohegan Indians till his death, which took place at Brotherton, N. Y., in July, 1792; his age was sixty-nine years.

The next removal of these Indians was to White river, in Indiana, and from thence to the country of Greenbay in Wisconsin. More recently a portion of the band have gone to the Indian Territory, west of the State of Missouri, and will be soon followed by the remainder. They have long since abandoned the chase, and become a Christianized and civilized people. The mission, through its various stages, was Pædobaptist; yet within a few years many of this band have adopted Baptist principles, and a prosperous Baptist church is in the tribe.

The intelligence of the formation of the London Missionary Society in 1795, and the sending out of a large number of missionaries to the South Sea Islands, awakened a missionary spirit among the Presbyterians and Baptists in the city of New York, which, after mutual consultation, resulted in the organization of the New York

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Missionary Society, with the special object of sending the gospel to the Indians.

Their first missionary was the Rev. Elkanah Holmes, a venerable Baptist minister in that vicinity. Mr. Holmes, with his self-denying and pious wife, though nearly three score years of age, soon departed for a residence among the Indians in Tuscarora village, near the present site of Buffalo. They were received with kindness and treated with respect. This mission began about the year 1801. The venerable chief of the tribe was named Sacharisa; the next in command was William Printup. The principal interpreter, and who, at a later period, was elected chief, was Nicholas Cusick, of whom it is necessary we should give some particulars.

Mr. Cusick was born in the Mohawk Valley in 1758; his father was a white man, his mother a full-blooded Tuscarora. He received a good English education at Johnson Hall, through the patronage and liberality of Sir William Johnson, heretofore noticed as a distinguished British officer, and colonial agent for the Six Nations, and who died suddenly in 1774. His son and successor, Sir John Johnson, commanded the larger part of the warriors of the Six Nations in the American revolution, and became a terrible scourge to the settlements along the valley of the Mohawk. He made liberal offers to Nicholas Cusick to unite with him and command the Tuscaroras; but he refused, attached himself with about fifty Tuscaroras to the fortunes of Washington, and distinguished himself on the side of the Americans. He had previously been acquainted with the missionary Kirkland, heard the gospel preached, and became impressed with its truths. After the war he returned to the mission station among the Oneidas, and professed religion by joining the church. Of course he was a Pædobaptist, and so continued till near the close of life. He married a native Tuscarora, settled with his people near Buffalo, was a praying man, and maintained an honorable Christian profession. It was his influence that led Father Holmes to the village. Cusick became a zealous and efficient coadjutor; not only interpreting his discourses with great fluency and accuracy, but by his affectionate addresses in public and private contributing to the success of the mission.

Whoever has a file of the "Massachusetts Baptist Mis-

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sionary Magazine," from 1804 to 1808, will find several interesting communications on this mission. At that period the Shaftsbury Baptist Association, now nearly extinct, and the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, each sent exploring missionaries into the north-western wilderness. Amongst these were the Rev. Caleb Blood, Lemuel Covell and David Irish. In the autumn of 1802, Mr. Blood, under an appointment from the Shaftsbury Association, made an excursion into Upper Canada, recrossed the Niagara river and visited the Tuscaroras. He found Mr. Holmes in a "log hut, three and a half miles from the village." The following sketch from his report deserves a reprint.

"I crossed into the wilderness on this side, and after climbing a precipice of rocks, found a kind of house made of rough logs. Here I found Elder Holmes, missionary to the Indians. He was sitting at a kind of table, writing on the business of the mission. If you could paint to yourself how you should feel in a dreary wilderness, hundreds of miles from any brethren in the ministry to advise with, and your soul filled with concern to disseminate light among the poor heathen, and a number of councils to hold with different nations, and no mortal to assist you but an Indian interpreter, you may guess what a meeting we had! We soon went on three miles and a half to the Tuscarora village of Indians, and held a council with that nation, and obtained our answer to a 'talk' sent them from the New York Missionary Society, on the subject of their receiving the gospel. I suppose you have seen it in the publications of that society, otherwise I should have sent it with this letter. This council was on Saturday. I tarried with Mr. Holmes and attended worship with the Indians on the Sabbath. After worship in the evening, he stated to me the circumstances of his business with the Indians, and wished my assistance. I agreed to spend some time with him; and accordingly attended three days with the Indians; Mr. Holmes being otherwise employed. The Indians were very attentive, and the interpreter [Cusick] appeared very pious and faithful. I did not find the difficulty in preaching by an interpreter that I expected. Indeed, to see the poor creatures in such profound ignorance, and yet attentive to hear instruction, I must say, absorbed all my feelings, beyond any other preaching ever attempted in my life."

After this, Mr. Blood spent two weeks in company with Elder Holmes, among the Senecas. The following remarks appear in his journal.

"These are thought to be the most savage of any of the Six Nations, and have therefore utterly refused to receive missionaries. The Grand Council of the Six Nations met while I was there. I was ad-

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mitted with Elder Holmes to attend the Council, which continued four days. Our interpreter informed us what they were doing. They had business on different subjects, and among others to consult whether they would follow the dictates of their prophets, or receive the gospel: for in the Alleghany nation a prophet had arisen up, who professed to be immediately inspired by the Great Spirit to teach the people. He taught some good morals, just enough to answer the purpose of Satan to blind the poor creatures. He then urges the necessity of all their pagan worship. It has been the practice of this nation once a year to sacrifice two dogs to the Great Spirit. With this sacrifice they offer a kind of incense made of compounded spicy herbs, dried and pulverized, which are thrown into the fire, a little at a time, while the dogs are burning. They close the scene by a festival, and spend the night in dancing. The young warriors are generally pleased with the prophet, and love those high dances."

Rev. James C. Cusick confirms this statement about the prophet, and says he was called Toho-nya-da-hi, or "The Beautiful Lake"; that he professed to have had a dream, in which, as he said afterwards, he went to hell, and the Great Spirit showed him how drunken Indians were punished — by pouring melted lead down their throats;—that he went to heaven, saw Jesus Christ, who said he had nothing to do with Indians—that the white people had killed him, and they, and not the Indians were to be saved by him. His lectures produced a great reformation amongst the Indians in temperance. They quit the use of "fire water" in many instances. Such prophets have been common amongst the Indians, and it is a curious fact that their imaginary interviews with the Great Spirit impress them with the horrible effects of the use of "fire water," and they turn temperance reformers. Some of these instances, as in the history of the Shawanese prophet at Tippecanoe, afford evidence that their prophetic visions result from the delirium tremens, after a period of intoxication.

Mr. Blood speaks highly of Red Jacket, and says that "great exertions were made in the council to depose him from his office as sachem, because he was in favor of receiving the gospel, and would not submit to the dictates of the prophet." He held his place by the influence of a majority. Eventually Red Jacket became the advocate and leader of the pagan party, and lived and died a strong advocate of Indian rights and customs. Mr. Blood gives an account of an Indian meeting held by the prophet, and the effect of his instructions.

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"Their zeal went to great extremes, and there were such hideous yells interspersed with their devotions, as would have effectually tried my courage, if my interpreter had not been there to inform me what they meant."

From the Senecas, Mr. B. went in company with Elder Holmes to the Tonawanda village, but from the absence of the chiefs no council was held. The next year, 1803, the Shaftsbury Association sent two missionaries to the west, Elders Warren and Covell, who visited Long Point in Upper Canada, baptized thirty persons, and formed a church. During the same tour, Elder Covell visited the Tuscaroras and preached several times, Mr. Cusick being still the interpreter. In December, 1805, Elder Holmes writes to the late Rev. William Collier, then pastor of the little Baptist church in Charlestown, Mass., from Tuscarora village. He gives a distressing account of the dissipation, profaneness and general immorality of the white people in western New York and Canada,—mentions several whites and a considerable number of Indians who were seriously affected with the gospel, states that he was sixty-two years of age at that time, and says,—

"I have not been absent from the Indians in this place but one Sabbath since August, 1803, and that day my pulpit was supplied by our worthy and esteemed brother, Elder Covell."

The mission among the Tuscaroras, through the arduous and self-denying labors of Father Holmes, continued to afford promise of success. He broke up the fallow ground, cast in the seed of divine truth, and looked up to heaven with earnest supplications for the earlier and latter rains to cause it to germinate.

In 1805 we again find Elder Covell on this missionary field, in company with Elder David Irish. We copy from his journal, dated October 10, 1805.

"I rode to the Tuscarora village, where to my great joy I found our worthy friend and brother, Elder Elkanah Holmes, and his worthy spouse, in health, and much rejoiced to see me arrive safely at their hospitable home. I spent about a week at the village, and in the white settlements adjacent; preaching a number of sermons to the white people, and two to the Indians. I was joyfully received by the sachems of the nation, and by the greatest part of their people. Had several very agreeable conferences with the nation at large, besides several with their chief men by themselves. I delivered them a written

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talk from our Association, and received the promise that they would send an answer on my return."

After performing his customary tour in Upper Canada, Elder Covell returned to Tuscarora in December, and continued preaching and holding council for one month. The Indians sent a written "talk" to the Association, signed by the old chief Sacharisa, and William Printup, by appending the X to their names. Mr. Covell says at this visit,—

"I found this nation much improved since I visited them two years ago; and I have solid reason to believe that their chief sachem [Sacharisa] and some others have experienced a saving change of heart. Not far from one hundred of them are pretty constant attendants at public worship; and I never preached to a more orderly assembly of people, of any color, in my life. They hear with attention, and behave with the utmost decency. Their singing is performed with melody and harmony. They are very orderly and decent in their behavior on the first day of the week. The most of them have left off the use of spirituous liquors; and they adhere to the rules of temperance with the utmost scrupulosity. Some of them are making considerable progress in agriculture; but this is not general. There is an English school taught amongst them, at which their children attend, and learn reading and writing.

The worthy Elder writes in the strongest terms of the zeal, fidelity and success of the venerable Holmes. Covell died at Clinton, in Upper Canada, October 19, 1806, while on a missionary tour. The labors of Elder Holmes were continued with the Tuscaroras for a year or two longer, when he was discharged from the service of the Society, and the mission passed into the charge of a Presbyterian. On this point we have no documents at hand; but our impression is that a difficulty arose as to the character of the church about to be formed, and the rites to be observed amongst the converts. We have already stated that the society that sustained Mr. Holmes was a union between Presbyterians and Baptists, a sort of "Evangelical Alliance" on a small scale. Neither party were expected to relinquish any conscientious, and in their judgment, scriptural principle. Mr. Holmes was a strict, conscientious Baptist, and could use no substitutes for the laws of Christ. The members of the society agreed to divide, and the Baptist section formed the New York Baptist Missionary Society, which took Elder Holmes under

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its patronage, and continued him an itinerant missionary in the destitute white settlements along the Hudson river. A small Pædobaptist church was formed amongst the Tuscaroras, of which Nicholas Cusick was a conspicuous member, and, if we mistake not, William Printup was an elder or deacon. This mission was commenced by the New York Missionary Society in 1801, and in 1821, transferred to the United Foreign Missionary Society, and to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1826.

Elder James C. Cusick, known as a Baptist missionary, and the compiler of the hymn book placed at the head of this article, was a son of Nicholas Cusick, was converted in early life, and joined the Pædobaptist mission church about 1823, in which he sustained an honorable relation, and commenced preaching and exhorting the Tuscaroras about 1830. His Presbyterian brethren sent him to an academy at Lewistown, N. Y., preparatory to a regular induction into the ministry. He boarded with a Baptist deacon by the name of Furman, with whom he held frequent conversations on baptism; Cusick being much opposed to the peculiar tenets of the Baptists. The deacon showed him the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. This attracted his attention. He read carefully all the Epistles in the Mohawk language. At first he doubted; then believed, and in 1833, was baptized in company with William Printup, by Elder Andrus, in the Niagara river. Other members soon followed, a Baptist church was formed, and in 1839 the venerable chief, Nicholas Cusick, was baptized at the age of eighty-one. James C. Cusick was ordained to the ministry in June 1838, by the Rev. Messrs. Caldicott, Irons and Andrus.

The Tuscaroras are now a civilized people and nearly all Baptists, so far as they are professors of religion. About 100 are members of a church in Canada West, with a Mr. Lantern for their pastor, and including those who remain in New York, and those who, with Rev. James C. Cusick, have removed to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, there are in the United States between forty and fifty Baptist communicants. Holmes, and Blood, and Covell, and Irish, and Warren, and their interpreter, Nicholas Cusick, and Deacon Printup, and nearly every manager and member, both of the New

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York Missionary Society and the Shaftsbury Association have gone to the church above; but the seed they have sown in weakness, and watered with many tears, has become a tree, and spread its branches along Grand river in Canada, and the far distant plains of Missouri.

J. M. P.

Rock Spring, Ill.

ARTICLE VII.

MIRACLES.

Real Dialogues on the Evidences of Christianity. By a Clergyman of the Church of England.

Question Book on the Miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ. By Rev. LEMUEL PORTER.

IS THE PERFORMANCE OF A MIRACLE PROOF OF A DIVINE COMMISSION TO REVEAL TRUTH?

In order to reply understandingly to this inquiry, it is necessary first to solve another question, viz.—*Can any other being than God perform a miracle?* If no other being can perform a miracle, then it is a sufficient evidence of the divine commission of him by whose hand it is done. But if, on the contrary, another being can work miracles, then no occurrence of this nature can be adduced to evince the divine origin of any doctrine. From an effect which can be produced by a great variety of causes, we cannot infer what cause, in any given instance, has been at work. We shall consider separately both of these alternatives.

On the hypothesis that other beings, beside the Deity, can perform miracles, such events as an evidence of divine mission, would be of no value. This, however, is not admitted by those who advocate this side of the question. For, say they, though a miracle in itself considered is no proof that the individual by whom it was wrought

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acted under divine authority, yet the event may be accompanied by such circumstances as may render it abundantly manifest by whose authority he did act. Thus much may be admitted, that since ignorance and credulity are so liable to be imposed upon by designing men, the character of the professed miracle, the attendant circumstances, and the object for which it was wrought, are legitimate tests which may be employed to ascertain whether the occurrence was actually a miracle or a feat of legerdemain. It is not to be supposed that the Deity will ever interpose, either in a manner, or for an object unworthy of his infinite majesty, purity and goodness. We do not, however, believe, that all men are in any case, or that any man is, in all cases, competent to judge what is befitting the Divinity. Still, on these grounds, we may very profitably compare the miracles recorded in the Bible with the pretended heathen and popish miracles. These characteristics can avail only to distinguish the true from the false, the real from the merely apparent.

If other beings than God can work real miracles, have we any means to distinguish the divine from the angelic or demoniacal? In a book entitled, "Real Dialogues on the Evidences of Christianity. By a Clergyman of the Church of England;" and in "The Question Book on the Miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ. By Rev. Lemuel Porter," it is maintained that the devil may work, and actually has worked miracles. These authors, however, affirm that we may distinguish between the divine and the Satanic. The criterion, according to them, by which the distinction can be made, is this: the purity, or the opposite, of the moral precepts inculcated by the messenger. If his precepts are holy and consonant to our natural perceptions, then his miracles are wrought by the power of God. But if the precepts are impure and revolting to our natural sense of right, then the messenger performs his miracles by the power of Beelzebub.

Let it be admitted, for the present, that Satan can perform miracles. If by the rule proposed, the discrimination can be made, miracles will still remain, but with a greatly diminished force, as evidences of a divine commission to reveal truth;—with a diminished force, we say, because their power is no longer inherent, but borrowed from the moral precepts which accompany them.

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Other things being equal, the shorter and more direct an argument is, the greater is its power to convince. To ordinary minds, an argument will be weaker in proportion to its circuitousness. But if neither this rule, nor any other that can be devised, can be safely employed for such a purpose, then all the evidence for the truth of Christianity derived from miracles is irreclaimably lost.

We dare not say that, if miracles can be performed by different powers, other criteria than the one recommended by the authors above mentioned, may not be found. But we have not been able to conceive of any other equally plausible. Let us then put this rule in the balance. Our opinion is, that it is found decidedly wanting. Our reasons for it are the following.

1. This rule ascribes far too much to the knowledge and moral culture of mankind. It supposes that men already, before any revelation established by miracles is made known to them, are in possession of a perfect system of morals, or a system indefinitely approaching perfection; and that they have already a clear and keen sense of right. The hypothesis under consideration proceeds on the supposition that men, before they can receive any doctrine as divine truth, are in possession of such a system of moral truths, and of such a moral character as can result only from a lively belief of divine doctrines.

One distinction usually made between precepts and doctrines is, that the first are discoverable by the light of nature, and the second are not. The propriety of this statement is admitted. Yet there is an immeasurable difference between a thing being discoverable, and its being actually discovered. However legibly the moral precepts have been written on the pages of nature, and however brightly the light has shone upon them, the eyes of humanity have been too much obscured to read them to any good purpose. In all departments of human labor, discoverers and originators have been extremely few. If, in this respect, the moral science is an exception, it is so in such a way as not at all to favor the advocates of the hypothesis in question. If it be true that man is fallen, that he is depraved, must he not be by nature peculiarly incapable of discovering moral truth? And must he not, when it has been discovered by others, be extremely slow to assent to it? We do not deny that a few of the an-

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cient heathen sages stumbled on some grand, but most obvious moral truths. But it is incontrovertible that of moral obligation, properly speaking, they had hardly any idea. Their discoveries in this department were considered by themselves rather as fruitful subjects of speculation, than as laws of practical utility. Such truths were not known to them as parts of a grand system, binding on the conscience and involving the eternal destiny of the human race. Along with these truths, the best and wisest of the heathen held a multitude of errors, which rendered them utterly unproductive of good.

If moral precepts are discoverable by reason, it is by reason only as it appears in the exceedingly small number of the great and good, who had received a diploma of nobility from nature herself. The mass of men might breathe and dream here for millions of ages, without making a single discovery. Aside from revelation, the most obvious moral principles, so far as the multitude are concerned, derive all their authority from the philosophers who announce them. They have no penetration to perceive absolute fitness, nor the disinterestedness to be governed by the idea of general utility, even if they could be made to comprehend what would be for the general good. The very few sages of whom heathenism can boast, made nothing visible but themselves, unless it be said that they made the surrounding darkness visible. There may have been a solitary exception. Socrates seems to have had some living faith in the truths which were then known. He labored to diffuse a knowledge of them. But so far were the mass of the people from having any intuitive perception of the heavenly nature of his precepts, that they condemned him to death as a corrupter of youth.

Where, then, can the performer of miracles obtain competent judges to examine his moral precepts, and to pronounce a righteous sentence in regard to them? Can he trust his cause in the hands of those who sit in darkness, and eat iniquity as they would bread? Have such persons any guide, either external or internal, to direct them in judgment? Is man naturally and always inclined to ascribe absolute perfection to the supreme Divinity? Did not the great mass of the Greeks and Romans, especially in the most ancient portion of their history, believe in the

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supreme godhead of Jupiter? And is it possible for a being to be more impure than the oldest and best known poets represent him to be? As men have always clothed the object of their worship with their own passions, whence can they have such a conception of the attributes of the most high God, that by the character of his laws they can readily distinguish between his miracles and those of Satan? Is not the description in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans true both of the ancient and modern heathen? Can such people have a proper standard of morals, to test correctly the precepts of a performer of miracles and teacher of doctrines?

But it may be said, "We are not heathen; nor were the Jews, in the time of the Messiah, heathen. Had they not a proper moral standard? Could they not rightly decide in reference to the precepts of a pretended divine messenger?" Admit all this; what then? How came they by such a standard of morals? Whence did they derive such power to judge of precepts? The answer is obvious. They had been in a course of preparation for two thousand years. The system of instruction which they had enjoyed during such a period was originally founded in miracles. We have no reason to suppose, that, when Moses was sent to them—to go no farther back—they had either such knowledge, or such internal sense as would qualify them to decide rightly in reference to moral precepts.

Possibly there never have been any people, who had not some correct notions of moral laws. But in the absence of revelation, their knowledge has invariably been confined to a few of the most obvious principles; such as the *golden rule*, so called. Were a divine messenger to impart a systematic course of instruction, the first few principles previously known, would furnish by far too narrow a foundation for such a superstructure as he would labor to build. He would be under the necessity of ascending to more abstruse questions, where he would have to encounter immemorial prescriptions, and the most deeply rooted prejudices. In such a case, so far would his moral precepts be from operating in his favor, that from them would arise the chief obstacles to his progress. If the precepts of the religious teacher tended obviously and immediately to the promotion of what the people con-

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sidered as their chief interest, they would vociferously profess an unshaken belief in their divinity. But should they demand the immediate abandonment of what were deemed profit and pleasure, nothing but an overpowering evidence that they were from God could save them from being despitefully rejected.

Suppose a temperance apostle had been commissioned, fifty years ago, to New England. Suppose that he passed through the land, proclaiming to great and small, "To drink distilled spirit and fermented liquors as common beverages is a grievous sin against God," and then performed many undoubted miracles. As miracles are equivocal in their character, we may imagine a council of wise men convened to examine the credentials of the pretended apostle. "That this man," they say, "has performed notable miracles, none of us can deny. But as the emissaries of Satan, as well as the special messengers of God, can work these wonders, the question now is, whence has this man derived his authority? Let him be fairly tried according to the law. What are his moral precepts? Are they consonant to our views and feelings? Nay, they contradict all experience. Every creature of God is good, when properly used. To think it possible for a man to ward off the evil effects of a changeable climate, and to undergo necessary toil without liquor, is absurd in the extreme. Our most godly men use it. According to the most tried orthodoxy, excess alone is sinful. As to wine, we need only to allude to the transaction in Cana of Galilee. Our judgment, therefore, is that the morals which this pretended apostle teaches are dangerous; and in consequence, he works miracles by the power of Satan." We ask, whether, under the views that prevailed fifty years ago, such would not have been the legitimate operation of the rule proposed?

2. The rule under consideration ascribes far too little to Satan. It proceeds on the hypothesis that the evil one would immediately betray his true character; that he could not act the hypocrite; that by his moral precepts he would at once expose his cloven foot. Have there not been men, who, by a pretence of goodness, carried on with singular consistency for a long time, completely deceived virtuous individuals to their great injury? They placed their ample morals in bold relief, and under their

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shadow worked the ruin of their unsuspecting victims. Were they at the outset openly to profess the principles by which they guided their conduct, they would at once defeat their purpose. But by looking one way and rowing the other way, they successfully accomplished their designs.

Is not the Old Serpent as cunning as his human children? Can he not disguise himself like an angel of light? Is he always as barefaced as the hypothesis under consideration indicates? If human knaves can loudly boast of their lofty morality, cannot Satan do the same?

No people, whatever may have been true of rare individuals, have, in the absence of light from heaven, advanced in their knowledge of moral law beyond the first and most obvious principles. In their acquaintance with commutative justice, the ancient Romans were by no means deficient. But we speak of what is pure and light in a religious sense. No people ever had such notions of the supreme God as to enable them with any degree of certainty to recognize the imprint of his attributes in the things which proceed from him. So obscure and so loose were their ideas, that pretended divine commands, the most unjust and impure, did not shock them. Under such circumstances as these, all that a prophet of Satan would need, in order to place himself forever beyond the possibility of detection, would be to profess his belief in the exceedingly few moral truths known, while in the vast field that lies beyond these infant steps, he might take what direction he pleased. Is the fallen archangel not equal to such a simple management as this?

Suppose the moral laws of God would, if known, prove fatal to the reign of Satan,—cannot he place them in such relations as to annul their effect? The Pharisees, whom our Saviour denominated the brood of the viper, did not blot out the commandments. They professed a great regard for the law. But they made the whole of none effect through their glosses and traditions. If the pure law of God should prove the bane of Satan's authority, might he not learn wisdom from the conduct of his children, and make such a compound of law and tradition as might prove the elixir of immortality to his sovereign power? It may be, after all, that the completely neutralizing power of tradition is an original discovery of his

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own. But has Satan so much reason to dread the operation of the law as our hypothesis indicates? Have pure moral precepts always proved the death of sin? Has the law in itself a mighty reclaiming efficacy? Far from it. In proper combination with the gospel, its power is immense. But what is it alone? Let Paul reply,—"The law entered that the offence might abound." "Sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead. For I was alive without the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. And the commandment which was ordained unto life, I found to be unto death. For sin taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me." Is this law, then, when detached from other truths, such a mighty opponent to the reign of Satan? Yea, even in this holy law, may he not find a powerful auxiliary? A guilty conscience, when there is no knowledge of the blood of the cross, is extremely liable to become desperate.

It is, we believe, an acknowledged fact, that the ballads and songs of a nation contribute far more largely to the formation of their character than their laws. It is at least an established truth, that the reformatory power is in the gospel. "The letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive." The chief interest of the kingdom of darkness does not consist so much in corrupting the precepts of morality, as the doctrines of grace. And does it not seem, both from history and what we witness around us, that the chief energy and cunning of the grand enemy ever have been, and still are directed almost exclusively to corrupting the doctrines? When Christianity is deeply obscured, men speedily lose their interest in the moral law; they soon lose sight of its spirituality, extent and sanctions, and become proud and hopeless formalists—the most efficient tools of Satan.

3. The rule under consideration limits the Almighty. For it renders it necessary that his messengers, in all instances, should make a formal confession of their moral creed. It never can be sufficient that the revealer of his will should barely announce his message and perform a miracle in proof of his divine commission. He must also repeat the decalogue, or a summary of it, in order to evince that it is not by Beelzebub that he works miracles.

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If, then, the hypothesis under consideration be correct, and the rule in question be well founded, it follows that the Lord took the most effectual way to harden the heart of Pharaoh and to prepare him for destruction. For Moses was not commanded to deliver a moral disquisition before the Egyptian monarch. His message was brief. "The God of the Hebrews saith, Let my people go." He cast down his rod; and it became a serpent. How could Pharaoh decide who was the author of this miracle,—whether the supreme God, or the arch-apostate? Moses did not state moral maxims, and then draw from them the inference that slavery was wrong. He employed no argument but simply this—"Thus saith Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews." But the requisition made upon the king was a violation of what was then, and for many years afterwards, universally considered as an undisputed right. So far, therefore, was the Lord from giving Pharaoh a proof that he had sent Moses, that he placed him in such a position that he would certainly draw the wrong inference, provided he judged by the rule under consideration.

Jeroboam is another case in point. As he was burning incense in Bethel, a man of God came out of Judah, and predicted to him a future event, and performed a miracle as an evidence of the truth of his prophecy. But we do not find that the prophet made any declaration of his moral principles. Jeroboam, therefore, must have been left in doubt, whether the man was a prophet of Jehovah or an emissary of Satan.

If both God and Satan can perform miracles, and these are to be distinguished from each other by the moral precepts which accompany them, it would be indispensable that the divine messenger should invariably make a declaration of his moral sentiments. This would especially be the case, when the revelations he was about to make would apparently conflict with the known commandments of God, and would actually conflict with the notions of right entertained by the people to whom the revelation was about to be made. If a miracle in itself is not a sufficient evidence of a divine commission, how could Moses demonstrate that the command to destroy utterly the Canaanites came from Him who said, "Thou shalt not kill"? Suppose God had sent a prophet to command Abraham

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to sacrifice his son, and had empowered him to perform a miracle as an evidence of his mission, could Abraham believe on such a doubtful ground, when the thing commanded was contrary to the promise of God, and in itself, to all appearance, so unjust and cruel?

4. The Bible no where intimates that real miracles are an insufficient proof of a divine commission to reveal truth. If such an evidence had been inadequate, we should expect express warnings in reference to this subject in the New Testament. For we are told that the Jews sought after a sign. This was the proof that they required, in order that one might be received as a divine prophet. It was neither wisdom nor morality that they sought, but a miracle. Hence the dilemma of Annas, the high priest, and his kindred, when Peter and John healed a cripple at the beautiful gate of the temple. They were exceedingly enraged, and believed, or at least professed to believe, that the teaching of the apostles was subversive of the revelations which God had made by Moses. Still, seeing the boldness of unlettered men, and the person who had been healed standing with them, they could say nothing against it. When they had put the apostles out, they said, "What shall we do to these men? for that indeed a notable miracle hath been done by them, is manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it." It will surely avail nothing to say that the apostles taught nothing contrary to the moral law. For precepts are selected as a criterion of the divinity of miracles, simply on the ground that in reference to them reason can judge what is true and what is false. Though beforehand we cannot tell what is true or what is false in doctrine, yet where it has once been revealed, we can know with as much certainty what is true in doctrine, as what is pure in precept. Suppose that now miracles are performed both through the power of God and that of other beings, we can as safely and as lawfully employ doctrines as discriminating tests, as moral precepts. Were one to teach that forgiveness is not derived through the death of Christ, we should know as certainly that he was not of God, as if he had taught, Hate your enemies: return evil for evil.

If a rule had ever been given, or ever been employed in order to judge of miracles, the perplexity of the priests,

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on the occasion just referred to, would be almost as wonderful as the cure of the lame man. It is true that Moses speaks of a prophet, who might perform signs and wonders in order to entice the people to idolatry. Deut. 13: 1. If he made the supposition that an impostor might perform real miracles for the purpose of corrupting the true religion, why did not the priests, in the case of Peter and John, avail themselves of it? For they might with great plausibility show that the apostles were turning away the people from the religion of their fathers. Was it not said on another occasion, that they taught customs which they, as Jews, could not lawfully observe? But the passage in Deuteronomy, and others of like nature, had never been so understood. Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of Egypt, and who had encountered the sorcery of Jannes and Jambres, was well aware that such characters might easily impose on men ignorant of natural laws and of legerdemain. In the estimation of a people in the then condition of the Hebrews, most experiments in chemistry and natural philosophy would be miracles.

What importance the Jews, in the time of the Messiah, attributed to the evidence furnished directly by miracles, we may learn from the confession of Nicodemus. "Rabbi," said he, "we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." According to Dr. Robinson's Harmony of the Gospels, the only miracle recorded which Christ had performed previous to this conversation with Nicodemus, was the turning of the water into wine;—unless the casting out of the traders from the temple may be so denominated. We are not informed that previous to this time the character of the Saviour as a teacher, had become widely known. There is no intimation given that this Jewish counsellor had ever heard him or heard of his doctrine. He was fully persuaded of the divine mission of Jesus, and his conviction, according to his own statement, arose solely from the miracles which had been performed. If miracles could be wrought by any other than divine power, should we not expect that such a teacher as Jesus would hasten to expose the uncertainty of the evidence which had produced conviction in the mind of this master in Israel? Would he not have

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reflected—"this great and ingenuous man is completely at the mercy of the devil? He relies, without any suspicion of danger, on miracles, as a proof of a divine mission. How dangerous his position. Though I may now make some good impressions on his mind, as soon as he leaves me, he may meet with some emissary of Satan who may perform miracles before him, and then his principle leads him unerringly to ruin. Shall I not deal honestly with him, and put him on his guard?" But nothing of this nature do we find. The silence of the Saviour implies that so far Nicodemus was standing on a firm foundation.

This is not all. The Lord Jesus, in several instances, appealed directly to his miracles, exclusive of every accompanying circumstance, as a proof that he had come from God. "But I have greater witness than that of John; the works which the Father has given me to finish, the same works that I do bear witness of me, that the Father has sent me." "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him." How can any thing be more to the purpose than this passage? Does he not expressly appeal from his oral instructions to his miracles, as from a less to a more conclusive, or, at least, more tangible testimony? If the hypothesis we oppose be correct, should we not expect the passage to run thus: "If you do not believe from these miracles, that I have come from the Father, I refer you to my discourse on the mount, and I ask you, can one that hath a devil inculcate such morals?" But this would be reversing our Saviour's process; making that the proof, which with him was the proposition. Again. "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father." In this passage, as in the preceding, there is a distinct recognition of the entire adequacy of miracles, as a proof of divine mission. There is no where the least intimation of a necessity to refer to the precepts.

If we are not mistaken, we have arrived legitimately at the conclusion, that if other beings than God can perform miracles, properly so called, we have no means by which

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we can certainly distinguish between the divine and the Satanic, and the Scriptures give us no intimation of the necessity of any such means.

The second question proposed is, *Can other beings beside God perform miracles?* In reply we would state,—

I. The decision of this question is not affected by the moral character of the agent. We are not disposed to deny that ungodly men may have performed miracles. Judas was one of the twelve, when Jesus sent them forth with authority to cast out demons and heal diseases. It is not, indeed, stated expressly that the traitor wrought miracles; yet the presumption is that he did. Why should he not? He was clothed with the same power, and from the same source, as the remainder of them. Referring to the final judgment, Jesus said, "Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?" No intimation is given that the plea here is supposed false. The individuals themselves must have been persuaded that they had performed real miracles. But in so doing, they had acted under the authority of Christ. It is true that usually it was his own peculiar people that God clothed with supernatural powers. If he has, on particular occasions, employed other instruments, it does not follow that such individuals derived their extraordinary endowments from angels or demons. To predict future events, and to work miracles, are not the legitimate functions of personal piety. It is one thing to say, that God may at times employ wicked men to reveal the future, or to exhibit superhuman phenomena, and quite another to assert that the individuals who perform such things do them through the power of Satan.

II. If there are other beings beside God who can perform miracles, it is not probable that they would be allowed to do so, for the following reasons.

1. Man is so made as to expect miracles as proof of divine revelation. Impostors have recognized this as a principle of human nature, and it was by availing themselves of it, that they succeeded in imposing on mankind. The all-wise and gracious Father has so formed us, as to become most easily and certainly the dupes of Satan, provided he has the power and the liberty to work miracles.

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This natural relation which we sustain to the miraculous, would seem to be a door constructed on purpose for our Creator to hold intercourse with us; and knowing his character, the most rational supposition seems to be, that he keeps the key of this door in his own power.

If miracles are of so ambiguous a character as the hypothesis under consideration indicates, we should certainly expect that man would be so made as not to be so readily reminded of the Divinity, and so deeply impressed with his presence and authority, whenever he witnesses such phenomena. We can examine wonders. We can doubt whether they are miracles, or the natural production of principles unknown to us. But when the question is decided, and we are convinced that the phenomenon is a miracle of the highest order, is it possible for us then seriously to doubt, whether God is its author or not? If we cannot doubt, as it seems to us to be the case, is it credible that the Deity would so create us that, under certain circumstances, to err would become an unavoidable necessity?—for such would be the fact whenever Satan should perform real miracles.

2. External proofs have been deemed necessary by the Deity himself, in order to authenticate a revelation from him. Is it too much to say that such evidences are indispensable? We do not doubt that when the Deity wishes to reveal himself to any individual, he can cause the person to be fully assured that it is he and no other who speaks. But even to satisfy the person immediately concerned, miracles have been employed, as in the case of Moses and Gideon, when they received their commissions. The great question, however, is,—How can the individual to whom a revelation has been made, convince others that God has spoken to him? He cannot, it seems to us, produce such a conviction by means of internal evidences. For we are not in all cases competent to decide, from the character of the things communicated, whether they have, or have not, been revealed by divine inspiration. For man, before he has been instructed and purified by light from on high, cannot intuitively discern between moral good and evil. Suppose that, under the influence of such light, a man has become a fit judge of right and wrong, the circumstance that the moral precepts inculcated by a pretended prophet, approve themselves to

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him, can be no valid proof that the doctrines promulgated are true. The excellency of the moral principles themselves can be no convincing evidence that they have been divinely revealed. For principles which do wholly commend themselves to our minds as soon as announced, may certainly be originally discovered by a mind endowed with superior wisdom. In such a case, also, how can we be assured that excellent moral principles are not designedly employed to give currency to false doctrines? There have been men, very distinguished for talent and learning, who extolled the Christian morals; yet decidedly rejected the system, as a divinely revealed religion. We acknowledge that the argument from the morality of the gospel has great weight. Yet its force is chiefly, if not wholly, felt as a corroborative, rather than primary evidence.

Although beforehand we can form no idea even of the existence of the doctrines, much less can we conceive of their character, yet after they have found a firm footing, they do eminently commend themselves as divine. They have all the vastness, grandeur and proportion which belong exclusively to the works of God. Still this argument cannot be extensively appreciated, till the mind has been for some time under the invigorating influence of a felt belief in the heavenly origin of these doctrines. The great mass of mankind, whose salvation the gospel specially contemplates, can never attain to any impressive perception of such divine attributes of Christianity.

Though the argument from prophecy, in support of the inspiration of the Scriptures, has great force, it can afford no important aid to the divine messenger himself. Prophecy can be produced as an evidence of divine mission, only after its accomplishment. The predictions of Isaiah respecting the captivity, the fall of Babylon, and the advent of the Messiah, could be no proof to his contemporaries that he was inspired. The authority of a divine messenger cannot, by prophecy alone, be firmly established, during his life time. For prophecy, in order to appear really as the effect of divine inspiration, must be a prediction of a remote event, whose immediate causes are not yet in operation. Since by such an evidence a professedly divine revelation could not be confidently received as such, till the age in which it was made had

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passed away, and could not be established beyond all doubt in such a character till after several generations, it follows that by such means alone it could not be authenticated at all. For during the interval between its delivery and the time in which men would begin to regard it as sacred, there would be too many opportunities to practise deception. A professed revelation, in order to be truly worthy of confidence, must be visibly invested, at its first entrance into the world, with divine authority.*

Can we conceive of any means whereby a divine revelation can be authenticated, except by miracle? Does it then seem probable that this means, so well adapted to the constitution of the human mind, and, as far as we can perceive, the only possible means by which such an end can be attained, should be allowed to be vitiated, not to say, wholly destroyed? It will not be pretended that whatever mighty intelligences there are, the Deity cannot control them. Does it seem credible that the Most High will permit them to cast their poison into the fountain head of all knowledge? "Surely," says Foster, "it is fair to believe that those who received from heaven superhuman power, received likewise superhuman wisdom. Having rung the great bell of the universe, the sermon to follow must be extraordinary." Not improperly is miracle called the great bell of the universe. It is the instrument which the Deity has ever employed to direct the attention of men to himself. Shall this great bell be rung, and then Satan preach the sermon? For a like reason, miracle has been, with the highest propriety, denominated the great seal of the divine government. Will Satan be permitted to give currency to his doctrines by the use of this seal?

From these considerations we conclude that if there are other beings, besides God, who can perform miracles,

* Mr. Porter denominates prophecy "a kind of miracle." A more unfortunate definition could hardly have been given. It reminds us of Mitchell's definition of a railroad—that it is "a kind of an improved road." It unavoidably creates a suspicion that the author himself did not understand the nature of those things which he professed to explain. Suppose that instead of this subject, we had a text book on the divine attributes, in which the following question should occur. What is foreknowledge? What should we think of the wisdom of him who should reply, "Foreknowledge is a kind of omnipotence"? Yet such precisely is the kind of error that Mr. P. commits.

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it is not credible that permission to exercise such power would be granted them.

III. Have we reason to suppose that there are any created beings who are inherently endowed with power to perform real miracles? We will not now insist, that if our conclusion under the preceding head be correct, such endowments would be dangerous, and therefore improbable. We freely admit, that if there are any beings, as we have every reason to believe there are, endowed with faculties vastly superior to our own, it follows as a necessary consequence that they can do things which would appear very amazing to us. As the common acceptation of a miracle is, an extraordinary event wrought by a superhuman agency, the wonderful works of angelic beings might be called miracles. The term is often used in a lower sense even than this. The mighty productions of genius are sometimes said to be miraculous.

Such a definition, it appears to us, is not sufficiently exact. It is very true that miracles are extraordinary phenomena, produced by superhuman power. But so also are all the great natural events which recur at irregular intervals, and whose causes are unknown. The great body of the miracles recorded in the Scriptures are very much more than such language necessarily implies.

Miracles may be divided into two classes. First, those which apparently might be performed by an invisible being, endowed with powers similar in kind to ours, but exceeding them in degree. Secondly, those which require powers exceedingly different, both in kind and degree, from any thing of which we are conscious.

Of those belonging to the first class, but very few instances are recorded in the Bible. The killing of the first-born in Egypt, for instance, might have been achieved by a created being such as we can easily conceive to exist. An unseen agent might, to appearance, cause an axe to swim. We do not say, nor do we believe, that all such miracles as these were not wrought in precisely the same manner as the others. All that we intend to state is, that an agent endowed with invisibility, intelligence and physical power, might produce such phenomena.

We do not remember an instance of a divine messenger, at his first appearance, attempting to establish his claim to such a character by miracles of this nature. To the

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unreflecting multitude, they might appear as convincing as those of the second class. But minds endowed with much sagacity would deem the evidence of a divine commission to reveal truth, derived from them, far less forcible than that arising from the second class. When it has been already established by miracles of the second class that one is God's envoy, then miracles of the first class may produce nearly as much amazement and confidence as the others. Should an individual now profess himself a prophet of God, and in confirmation of his claim cause the dew to descend on certain portions of a field, while the remainder was dry, we should feel that fraud was possible. But if, on the day before, he actually raised a man to life who had been for some time dead, we should be prepared at once to receive the irregular descent of the dew as a true miracle.

The second class of miracles, are those whose performance evidently require powers different from human, both in kind and degree. This class embraces nearly all the miracles recorded in the Scriptures. The turning of a rod into a serpent, dust into lice, water into wine; removing instantly, and without the intervention of means, bodily defects and diseases; feeding a multitude, so that they leave very much more than there was at the beginning; raising the dead, are examples of this class. If such wisdom and power as we are now imbued with, were increased to infinity, we could do none of these things. They are all evidently performed by one who is clothed with creative power.

To say that such miracles are a violation, or a suspension, of the laws of nature, is a very unsatisfactory account of them. As long as we live in the flesh, we constantly suspend some of the laws of matter. What are experiments in chemistry and natural philosophy, but successful resistance to, or violations of, nature's laws? But are these things miracles? What should we think of such definitions as the following:—Embalming is a suspension of the natural law of decay; climbing a tree, or a precipice, is an infraction of the law of gravitation; the ascent of sap is a violation of hydrodynamics? The known and constant laws of nature do not all run in the same direction and in parallel lines. They cross each other, so to speak, at all possible angles. To say, then,

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that a miracle is a suspension, or an infraction of a law of nature, does not distinguish it from other events which we constantly witness. The raising of the dead recorded in the Bible is no more a violation of law, than the bursting of a chrysalis, or the sprouting of a decayed vegetable.

A miracle, in one view, bears a striking resemblance to the general operations of the laws of nature; as the very unusual attitudes of the human body, in order to meet certain emergencies, are in one important respect like its ordinary voluntary motions. All these changes in the body, whether ordinary or extraordinary, are the effect of the presiding intelligence, acting according to his own purpose. So miracles, like the ordinary phenomena of nature, are changes that occur in obedience to the supreme Mind. We recognize precisely the same power operating, in multiplying the wheat sown fifty fold, and in increasing a few loaves so as to feed thousands. In all these things alike, we see nature through all her domains doing homage to the supreme, controlling intelligence. Though to sustain and govern all the material universe is a greater exertion of power than to calm a furious tempest, yet the power in both instances is of the very same kind. We are so made as to feel assured that all the massive worlds on high will do homage to that being whom the winds and the waves obey.

In all the miracles of this class, we plainly recognize the distinctive attributes of the Maker and Sovereign of all. If the perfections which are clearly revealed in the works of creation and providence constitute him to whom they belong God over all; since the miracles in question display the same perfections, their author also is God. If there are any beings beside Jehovah who can perform them, then there are gods beside him.

It is true, we know not with what extraordinary powers creatures above us in the scale of being are endowed. We cannot, therefore, say with certainty, what they can or cannot do. Yet if we are correct in regard to the miracles under consideration, that they exhibit in their author the same perfections as creation and providence, then, we think we can safely say that to perform such miracles is absolutely beyond all created powers. For is it not quite evident, on the very face of the Scriptures, that no created being partakes in any degree of these attributes? Jeho-

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vah alone is the Creator and Governor of the universe. He is so, not because of any adventitious circumstance, but because he alone possesses the requisite qualifications. To create and to sustain belong exclusively to him. Without him, not a sparrow falls to the ground.

While in this respect miracles are like all the other phenomena of nature, viz. that they are the effects of a will that possesses a creative energy and universal sovereignty; in other respects they differ widely from the ordinary operations of nature—as the sudden stoppage or reversal of a steam engine differs from its ordinary motion. They are effects aside from common occurrences, attracting attention by their novelty. Their design is to prove that God is interposing, or has interposed; and to this end, they must bear the unmistakable divine signature. Sometimes they are the evidence that God produced in his own behalf, to prove that it was he himself who was speaking. At other times they are the divine autograph, conferring power on an individual to act as his extraordinary envoy. They are always remarkable phenomena, which take place expressly for the purpose of proving that God is there. To this end they invariably bear the legible stamp of the Creator or Sovereign of the world. Sometimes there is a suspension or a reversal of the laws of nature, as in the instance of Christ walking upon the water. At other times, there is neither suspension nor reversal, but the working out of extraordinary results by means of natural laws, so as to demonstrate that the being who demands human obedience controls all the elements, as in the case of most of the Egyptian miracles. At other times, the miraculous phenomena stand in no relation to known laws, but are the immediate effect of creative power; as in the various cures of diseases and bodily defects, and in the feeding of hungry multitudes with a very small quantity of bread. Between the two classes of miracles which we have mentioned, the only difference, so far as there is any, is simply this, that the first do not so clearly and indisputably reveal the attributes peculiar to the Divinity as the second.

IV. There are no instances recorded of miracles performed by any being except God. Here, to avoid an endless discussion, we shall assume the ground that all instances of real miracles known to us are mentioned in

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the Bible. Our object at present will be to examine those passages which, as many suppose, speak of real miracles, performed by Satanic influence.

1. The first that deserve notice are the magicians of Egypt. The history relates that they imitated Moses and Aaron in the first three signs which they exhibited. The magicians had for ages previous to this event, enjoyed great reputation for their wisdom and skill. In the time of Joseph, Pharaoh, in his perplexity on account of his dreams, applied to the magicians. After the time of Moses, they flourished in all their glory, we know not how long. Plato and Pythagoras sat at their feet. The remains of their arts continue even to this day. They were not, therefore, a class raised up at that time for the purpose of withstanding Moses. The wonders which they performed at that time were done by their accustomed arts. The very same powers, we may believe, had been possessed by their predecessors, and were afterward enjoyed by their successors. Did they, at the time in question, work real miracles? Or were what they did simply appearances? Moses gives us no clue as to the nature of their arts, or their performances. He does not tell us by what power they acted, whether by their own, or by the power of God, or of Satan.

If they cast down a true rod, and that very rod became an actual serpent, it will be at once conceded that they acted under superhuman authority. Was it by the power of Satan that they wrought this? Let the nature of the miracle be carefully borne in mind—a stick was converted into a serpent. The miracle was a creative act. Has Satan creative power? To us it is utterly incredible, that any being beside Jehovah can create. Some, at least, of those who believe that an actual miracle was performed by the magicians, have felt this objection, and hence have said, that God endowed them, for the present, with miraculous power, in order to give Pharaoh an opportunity to disbelieve Moses. It will not be pretended that the Bible gives any countenance to such an idea. If any have such a conception of the Deity as to believe that he can act thus, let them enjoy their opinion. In the absence of all proof, we dare not admit an hypothesis which ascribes to God what seems to us so unworthy of him. If, on the other hand, no real miracle was performed, there is no

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need of supposing that the magicians were clothed with superhuman power. Take which horn of the dilemma you please, you can derive from it no evidence that Satan can work miracles.

That what the magicians performed was nothing but legerdemain, in the common acceptation of that term, cannot perhaps be fully admitted. But that there was any superhuman influence in the case, we have in our judgment no reason to believe. Much that has of late been brought to light, respecting the ancient and modern Egyptians and the East Indians, gives great countenance to this view of the case. "Moses," says Hengstenberg, "was furnished with power to perform that which the Egyptian magicians most especially gloried in, and by which they most of all supported their authority."

The incantation of serpents has been native to Egypt, from the most ancient even to the present time. The French scholars in their description, have given the most accordant accounts of it. Even those who entered upon an examination of the subject with most absolute unbelief, have been forced to the conviction that there is something in it,—that the Psylli are found in possession of a secret charm, which places them in a condition to bring about the most wonderful consequences. "We confess," it is said, "that we, far removed from easy credulity, have ourselves been witnesses of some things so wonderful, that we cannot consider the art of the serpent tamers as entirely chimerical. Men and women uninjured handle the cerastes, and other serpents, whose poison produces immediate death. The art passes from father to son,—a stranger never learns it. Serpents in Egypt often conceal themselves in the houses, and then become very dangerous. When any thing of this kind is suspected, they have recourse to the Psylli. The French commander-in-chief wished at a certain time to examine the affair to the bottom. He called for the Psylli, and commanded them to produce from the palace a serpent, which, from traces discovered, was supposed to be there. The moist places were especially examined. There the Psylli called, by imitating the hissing, sometimes of the male and sometimes of the female serpent. After two hours and a fourth, a serpent truly presented itself. In the religious festivals, the Psylli appear entirely naked, with

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the neck, arms and other parts of the body coiled around by serpents, which they permit to sting and tear their breast and stomach, and effectually defend themselves against them with a sort of frenzy, pretending to wish to eat them alive. Their sleight of hand is very various. They are able, according to their assertions, to change the Haie,—i. e. the species of serpent which they especially make use of for their tricks,—into a rod, and compel them to feign themselves dead. When they wish to perform this operation, they spit in the throat of the animal, compel it to shut up its mouth, and lay it down upon the ground. Then, as if in order to give a last command, they lay their hand upon its head, and immediately the serpent, stiff and motionless, falls into a kind of torpor. They wake it up when they wish, seizing it by the tail and rolling it roughly between the hands."

"That which is related to us of the condition of modern serpent charmers in the practice of their sleight of hand, is entirely sufficient to give an insight into the condition of the Egyptian magicians who withstood Moses. The state of these last, no less than the first, was certainly that of the highest enthusiasm, and cannot be attributed to a merely deliberate attempt to deceive; although deception, as is shown to be the case with the modern Egyptian Psylli, is by no means excluded by enthusiasm, but rather often goes hand in hand with it.

"It deserves to be noticed also that the present condition of the Psylli in Egypt, is entirely one of decay. It is torn loose from its natural connection with the soil of the national religion, from which it originally sprung. It exists in a land in which even now modern illumination has variously exerted its influence and hindered its freedom. Accordingly, nothing is more natural than that very much that is artificial should be added to the extatic condition, and that very much charlatanry should creep in. But what now remains of extacy is entirely sufficient to convince us of the intensity of it, as it existed in the time of the glory of the Egyptian religion and priesthood.

"The opinion expressed upon the proceedings of the modern Psylli, which we find among observers who are most free from prejudice, guides us in explaining the fact, that the author of the Pentateuch does not speak definitely upon the nature and origin of the results produced by

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the Egyptian magicians. Were the thing so simple as it is generally considered to be, were it either common jugglery, or something really miraculous, performed by the permission of God through Satanic influence, then the author of the Pentateuch would not, it is presumed, fail to express an opinion upon it. But since the ground on which these things rest, a very dark and difficult one, is hitherto, indeed, but imperfectly explained by the most thorough investigations, it was preferable to remain standing at the outer edge, without going deeper into the nature of these results. As it respects the thing itself, a farther insight into the nature of these consequences avails nothing."

The supposition made by the author just quoted, that the counter signs of the Egyptian magicians might be real miracles, performed by the permission of God through Satanic influence, is not under any circumstances admissible; because it is not conceivable that any creature can, through bare permission, do such things. Then, to suppose that God assisted Satan to do them is wholly gratuitous. For in such a case, why introduce Satan at all? If God could perform the greater without Satanic intervention, could he not perform the less? As the object of the miracles of Moses was to show the greatness of Jehovah, it is not, therefore, reasonable to suppose that God either would do any thing himself, or permit any superior being to do it, whose immediate tendency would be to diminish the effect of what Moses was doing.

These magicians were a numerous class, and their authority was very great. Nearly all the learning then known was confined to their body. They could therefore have things very much in their own way. None would dare to scrutinize too narrowly their proceedings. If their degraded descendants could play such tricks with serpents as to have astonished the *savans* of Napoleon, what might not the wise men of Pharaoh have done? If these arts, in their declining state, presented to the learned French inscrutable mysteries, how could Moses explain these arts as they were in their glory, to the comprehension of the rude Hebrews? What better, then, could he have done than to say as he did, that they performed their wonders by their secret arts?

That their counter signs were of such a character is

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evident from the fact that Moses soon carried them out of their sphere. He commenced the contest with them by storming their chief position. He performed that miracle first, which they could most successfully imitate. But in that trial they were clearly worsted. In the second and third, they only imitated on a small scale, plagues that overshadowed the whole land. In the fourth, their secret arts entirely failed them. Had there been at all any miraculous power in the case, their failure now would be unaccountable. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that there is no reason to suppose the wonders of the magicians were any things more than the productions of arts unknown to us.

2. The resurrection of Samuel is said by some to have been a miracle wrought by Satanic influence. Necromancers were well known among the Hebrews. Though the law of Moses did not tolerate them, yet they prevailed, and were in considerable celebrity as far down as the time of Isaiah. Saul, in his distress, applied to one of them who resided at Endor, situated some four or five miles to the north of the place where the king was then encamped.

On the supposition that Samuel was actually raised, it is natural to inquire,—By what power it was done? For it needs no proof that man is not naturally endowed with any such power. How then was it accomplished? Was it by divine or by satanic agency?—for these are the only alternatives.

It could not certainly have been done by the latter. If the angels of the Lord encamp round about them that fear him and deliver them, an individual so devout as Samuel, during his life time, might indeed by annoyed by evil agents; but he could not be under their power, and at their disposal. Much less could they control his perfected spirit, who had gone to unite with the church of the first-born. Can Satan enter the paradise of God, and carry the blessed spirits from thence at his pleasure?

Did the Lord send him back in compliance with the incantations of the necromancer? He had the power to do it. But is it probable that he would perform such a thing? There were known and appointed ways by which men, in peculiar emergencies, might consult the Deity. Saul tried all these, but to no purpose. If God

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refused to answer Saul in his own chosen ways, would he answer him in that way which, according to his own law, constituted a capital crime? Will the Lord, without any necessity, violate his own law? If, on previous occasions, he refused to answer Saul, why should he answer him now? Should it be said, that it was to torment the king; it may be replied, that such an end would be unworthy of God. And if this were not the case, the Lord might have accomplished such an object as well by the ordinary methods of answering, as by this criminal one.

If it be said that Satan was permitted to do it, it may be replied, that if Satan did it, there must have been given him something more than bare permission. He must be endowed, for the occasion, with extraordinary power. This would render the morality of the act more objectionable, than if Satan had no hand whatever in it. For in such a case, Jehovah would unite with Satan in order to establish on a firm foundation the credit of necromancy. If, then, Satan had no hand in the event,—for the objections to such an hypothesis are, we think, insuperable,—it is not incumbent on us to explain the phenomenon.

Yet we may be pardoned, if we volunteer to give an opinion. We are, for ourselves, firmly persuaded that Samuel was not raised at all; that no other one was raised; and that the devil had no more to do with it, than he had with the Salem witchcraft. The whole affair, as it seems to us, was neither more nor less than a successful instance of necromancy. The woman had often brought up departed spirits, just as she did on this occasion. She was celebrated for that very thing. Those servants of Saul, who recommended her to him, might have consulted her, perhaps at this very crisis. To carry on such a business as this, the woman must have been a person of extraordinary cunning. Though she might not have known Saul in person, she knew all about him; and being so near his encampment, she was well informed of his circumstances at that time. It is by no means improbable, that she had been informed of the fact that the Lord had refused to answer him; at least she could not have been ignorant of his present excessively desponding state. It is scarcely possible that she should not have

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known Samuel; and it could have been no secret that David had been by him anointed king in the room of Saul. Was Pythia, then, ever better prepared to deliver an oracle, than was the woman of Endor on that occasion? As to the statement sometimes made, that the woman herself was terrified at the apparition, and therefore, it is to be supposed that something unexpected by herself took place on this occasion,—it is a sufficient reply that she must have been a most indifferent hand at her trade, if she could not pretend terror.

Then as to the interview between Saul and Samuel, it is not stated that the king saw the prophet. What is said is incongruous with such an idea. The woman said that she saw him ascending out of the ground. Then Samuel complained that Saul had disturbed him. The idea presented is that the prophet had been in a state of repose or sleep in the interior of the earth. This was in perfect keeping with the popular belief then prevalent; but had no foundation in truth. The sum of the whole matter is this—The mistress of divination pretended to have brought up Samuel; then personifying him, she carried on conversation with the king. She is called in the Septuagint, a ventriloquist. Necromancers were probably always ventriloquists. It would seem that such art must have been necessary to produce the deception. Isaiah says that they imitated the tiny voices of the shades. The historian, whoever he was—perhaps one of Saul's courtiers,—narrated the circumstances as he understood them. It may be that he, no more than the Puritans, knew that necromancy was a mere deception.

3. Our Saviour predicted the advent of false Messiahs and false prophets, who should show signs and wonders; Mat. 24: 24. The older English commentators generally supposed that the signs and wonders here foretold were actual miracles, performed by demoniacal agency. All the moderns of any note, on the contrary, believe that what is here predicted were nothing more than various sleights of pretended magic, produced by optical illusion, simulated cures, founded in artful collusion.

Josephus records various instances of the fulfilment of this prophecy. He mentions no miracles as having been actually performed by these impostors, either in reality or in appearance. They simply promised to show signs.

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Hence some have translated δωσουσν by "They will give out, or they will promise." This, however, is not very conclusive; for the same word and its corresponding Hebrew term are used in the sense of, to perform. Simon, the magician, may be considered as a fair specimen of what is here foretold. He performed, it would seem, many wonderful things, and deceived the Samaritan people. But as soon as they had an opportunity to witness real miracles, Simon lost his influence. If he could perform actual miracles by the power of Satan, there would have been no inducement for him to offer money for the gift of the Holy Spirit. He and others foretold by Christ had probably some skill in such tricks as were practised of old by the Egyptian magicians.

4. Paul, in foretelling the great apostacy, says,—"Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness." 2 Thess. 2: 9, 10. It is here said, that the introduction of the great apostacy will be powerfully aided by Satan. The kind, manner, and degree of this influence are not defined. The fact only is asserted. Elsewhere the same apostle says, that the arch-apostate exerts a baleful influence on the intellectual and moral natures of man, darkening and degrading the whole. We feel no disposition to deny that Satan may have some part, which we cannot define, in the miracles here predicted. If, indeed, it be true that he corrupts mankind, there can be no good reason to doubt his participation in these wonders; since they contribute so largely to the accomplishment of his ends. There is no ground, however, to believe, that Satan either clothes his agents with superhuman power, or in obedience to their wishes performs wonders. We do not profess to be deeply read in monkish miracles. But as far as our knowledge of them extends, we have discovered nothing beyond the capacity of human nature. We do not say, nor do we believe, that all the miracles are a mere sham. We are willing to admit that some instances of actual cure have occurred. But there is no necessity of supposing a superhuman agency. The effect of imposing ceremonies, and of a wild and highly wrought imagination, will most satisfactorily account for them. Generally, in these miracles we discover nothing but the littleness, and the

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moral degradation of man. Whatever coöperation of Satan may have been enjoyed, the effect of it invariably has been to lower the whole tone of the mind.

The construction of the passage under consideration is not so intelligible as it might be. ψευδους is rightly treated by our translators as a genitive of quality. But they have improperly confined it to the noun immediately before. It qualifies equally all the three nouns in the Dative case. The passage may be rendered thus—"Whose manifestation will be according to the energetic working of Satan (i. e. profoundly subtle in policy, and awfully pernicious, like the influence of the Evil One,) with all pretended power and signs and wonders, and with all manner of unrighteous deception." Thus construed, the passage gives no countenance whatever to the hypothesis, that Satan can work miracles. If these were wrought by his assistance, as we are not disposed to deny, what then? They are all expressly said to be counterfeit, or a deception. That by such means the lawless one should be enabled to impose on multitudes to their destruction, history furnishes the most sad and abundant evidence.

5. "And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire to come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast." Rev. 13: 13, 14.

The Revelator does not profess to give his own opinion of these miracles. He does not state whether they were realities, or mere appearances. The Bible very often speaks both of men and events as they appear, and not according to their true character. All countries and all ages, down to our own time, have been full of pretenders to miraculous gifts. There have been many who, through secret arts, sleight of hand, and ventriloquism, have exhibited the most astonishing feats. But are the wonders performed by jugglers and magicians true miracles? What if we cannot explain how they make fire come down from the sky? Does it follow that the feat is accomplished by Satanic influence? Is it sound reasoning to say, that because magicians, ventriloquists and jugglers can astonish and confound the uninitiated, therefore, Satan can perform real miracles? See Stuart in loc.

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Our task is accomplished. The result is this—There are true and false miracles. They are to be distinguished from each other in the same manner as all realities are to be distinguished from mere appearances. All true miracles are the undoubted divine signature, which no power in the universe can counterfeit.

D. W. P.

ARTICLE VIII.

ELEMENTS OF MINISTERIAL USEFULNESS; *as illustrated in the life and labors of the late Jonathan Going, D. D.*

There is no topic more deserving of the study of Christians generally, and especially of ministers, than the requisites of ministerial usefulness. In the investigation of such a subject, the advantages of the concrete over the abstract for most minds, are many and obvious. We are not endowed with such pure and vigorous intellection, as to be able readily to separate and properly embody, even in conception, the mental and moral elements of excellence, so as to have them exert on others, or even on our own minds, the utmost amount of influence. For this purpose they require to be presented in an embodied state, and their capacities for good developed, just as we find them in the lives and labors of Christ's most useful public servants. This indeed may be the very process of God's demonstrative philosophy,—a philosophy teaching by experimental illustrations.

There is, too, a charm in real excellence, presented in the life, the action, the success of its career, which moves, and wins and melts its way into the heart. True, indeed, we are liable to some injury from this same source. We are not a little inclined, first to extenuate, then to tolerate, and in the end to copy the faults, which mingle more or less with such examples as come to our notice, commended by many excellencies. Against this it is our

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duty to guard. This is the drawback, perhaps the only considerable drawback, on this kind of instruction. Hence all such models need to be studied with due discrimination.

Excellencies embodied in the life, require to be considered *relatively;* that is, their adaptation to the times and circumstances of their development must be carefully kept in mind. This is emphatically true in the case of Dr. Going. For though he has but just departed from the midst of us, and not in old age, still the circumstances and position of the Baptist churches have so essentially and greatly changed within the last thirty-five or forty years, that any one who remains ignorant of the situation of the churches and the ministry near the commencement of this century, will necessarily have a very poor idea of the adaptedness of certain traits and qualities to a condition so unlike the present. What, then, were some of the marked peculiarities of that period, as distinguished from our own?

They were such as naturally and almost necessarily, as human nature is constituted, grew out of the unpropitious relations of the Baptists to an overshadowing, bigoted, persecuting, dominant religious party; allied to the State, and having by that union engendered in their very frame-work much corrupting perversion, which marred and eclipsed, but had by no means annihilated their high moral and religious excellencies. Now the direct and almost inevitable tendency of such a state of things was to undue alienation between "the standing order" and the Baptists. The former regarded the latter as intruders, trenching upon their prescriptive rights, whose very successes were odious, as savoring of usurpation. This infelicity of position no doubt accounts for much of the haughty and unlovely bearing which they evinced. They were also the injurers and persecutors, and as such should be charged with having taken the first steps in producing the breach; but the injured party, with the common infirmity which attaches to poor, erring human nature, seemed to take it for granted, that the farther they receded from every thing adopted and practised by their injurers, the more clearly and decidedly would they show detestation and abhorrence of their wrong doing.

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The other "dissenting"* sects had in their common tie of Pædobaptism a strong identifying cement, to hold them to the standing order. Even the Friends, while repudiating this and all visible ordinances, held on to a species of birth-right membership, much more assimilated to the Jewish notion—the boasting of having Abraham for their father, so pointedly condemned in the gospels—than to the distinction of being born of God by the Spirit's renovation; and hence, by the way, the corruption and rapid tendency to extinction of this once flourishing and spiritual sect. All the rest besides Baptists had, therefore, a common tie in this common error, which tended to band them together; and from this great aggregation of wrong and evil, our fathers recoiled with a not unnatural resiliency of dread so strong and all pervading, that in the endeavor to escape the contamination of error, they renounced much of the true and the good embodied with it. This was one marked and characteristic feature of Baptist tendencies at the time Dr. Going entered on the stage as a minister of Christ. Jealousy of all extensive ecclesiastical unions, lest they should interfere with the independence of the church, was another; and jealousy of learning, lest it should corrupt the simple faith in God's word, was another.

It indicated no ordinary perspicacity, that from the first, he seems to have discerned the malign influence which this prejudice of his brethren exerted on them directly; and also the indirect injury it produced by increasing the odium against them on the part of their neighbors. With less conscientiousness, Dr. G. would have been powerfully tempted to leave the prejudiced, illiberal, uncandid Baptists, who were so tenaciously determined to adhere to "the right opposite," of whatever their oppressors had practised;—who dreaded, if they did not hate, "the college learned ministers," the written sermons, and the stated stipends or fixed salaries of pastors, which were all esteemed the inseparable adjuncts with that order. But, happily for him and for us, his unswerving adherence to the right and the true of Bible

* This term was allowable, and had an intelligible meaning, while one sect was established by law, or recognized with favors denied to the others. Now it can have no place, and its use in reference to our country should not be tolerated.

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principles and practice, would allow him to be nothing but a Baptist.

Again, a man of less firmness would, by adhering to our churches of that day, gradually have imbibed their spirit, and become assimilated to their wrong, but not unnatural, prejudices. Thus is it seen not unfrequently, that a good, easy kind of Mr. Pliable, chooses his place among that denomination which he regards as, on the whole, most conformed to the scriptural standard; and if at first he perceives some things wrong, and dishonorable to their professed subjection to the Saviour, he gradually gets used to these very things. He first apologizes for them, as is very natural; then he defends them, and finally embraces them. Thus did not Going.

Once more, a man of less courage, perseverance and admirable tact, would have felt constrained to abandon in despair the Herculean task of endeavoring to reform such abuses,—to weed out such inveterate prejudices, and bring up the popular judgment and taste to an enlightened appreciation of a worthier standard. It must have been with no small degree of solicitude, that he entered on the work of improvement and reform; especially as he was himself a young man, and of the generally suspected class,—a graduate of the University. But he manfully grappled with all these difficulties, and the labors of his life have left their benign impress on the churches and ministry of his own denomination, while they have also essentially aided to bless our country and the world.*

This general glance at the state of things as they existed when he entered on the stage of official action, may conduce to a more just appreciation of the arduousness, the perplexity and the value of the services identified

* We have not space for any details of the beneficial changes in the above respects, which one third of a century has witnessed. A single summary statement must suffice. At a period just anterior to his settlement in this commonwealth, of the four score Baptist ministers in this State, but fifteen had enjoyed the advantages of a public education. Now there are not less than 115, out of 212, who have enjoyed these advantages at College, or the Theological Seminary, or both. The support furnished to ministers has advanced in an equal ratio. The influence of Dr. G. in securing this change has been immense. As Trustee of Brown University and Amherst College, and of Newton Theological Seminary, of which he was one of the founders, and in all his intercourse with ministers and candidates for the ministry, with churches seeking pastors, or licensing to preach, and with the public at large, he efficiently promoted this advance. The other New England States and New York have been led on by a vigorous and persevering emulation of this noble example of Massachusetts.

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with his ministry. Let us now look at these labors in two aspects; first, as he appears simply as a persevering, faithful, enterprising pastor; and next, in the wider sphere of more general evangelical benevolent effort.

Of his services in Vermont, his native State,—where for a few years immediately subsequent to his first entrance on the ministry, he was the pastor of a small but flourishing church,—we have no personal knowledge. From the testimony of some of his contemporaries, however, he appears in a good degree to have evinced, even there, the incipient proofs of the same excellencies which distinguished him at a subsequent period, when settled in this State. It was, however, as pastor of the church in Worcester, that his eminence and success were more prominently manifested; and to that scene of his labors our examination in this department of his service may properly be confined.

Dr. Going, in his ordinary ministrations to his own people, was emphatically a good preacher. He fed his people with knowledge and understanding; studiously and with discrimination bringing forth from the inexhaustible treasury of God's word things new and old; keeping back nothing which was profitable to them, but laboring most anxiously to establish them in what the apostle describes as "the present truth"; that is, the truth most required by their present exigencies. He preached not in the pulpit alone, but every where; in the Sabbath School, the Bible Class, the conference and prayer meeting, in his pastoral visits, and in his casual intercourse with all around him. In this last, there was no mortifying and incongruous drawback, which marred the effect and derogated from the influence of what he had uttered from the pulpit. Like most ministers of this class, whose unselfish preference of the welfare of the cause at large to their own reputation, induces them to do all the good in their power, it was undoubtedly true of him that his ordinary discourses at home, to the people of his own charge, were his best performances. The urgencies of his Master's various and engrossing service did not allow him time to bury himself for half a month in his study, to elaborate with consuming anxiety, and repolish with finical fastidiousness every sentence and paragraph of some great sermon or address, for a special occasion,—which might give

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a world-wide renown to its author, and feed his vanity, whether or not it ever fed the hungry sheep and lambs of the fold which the Saviour had entrusted to his care. As a natural consequence, some of those who came together on great public occasions, with more of Epicurean relish than of healthful appetite, and especially those whose morbid anticipation had been unduly stimulated by hearing Dr. G.'s high praises, as a really great man,—were wont to feel and express some disappointment on listening to him. But it is doubted whether he ever failed to satisfy the honest, humble demand for appropriate instruction on such occasions, and often his words were clothed with a power and unction not to be forgotten. The impression which would be left on a discriminating observer on such occasions was, that he was so engrossed with desire to serve the Master and the exigencies of his cause, that all idea of catering for, or in any way promoting his own reputation, his mental or other emolument, was cast into utter oblivion.

Very few of the Dr.'s sermons were ever published; nor is there much hope, it is presumed, that he has left behind him such manuscript preparations as will be deemed by his more judicious friends a fair exponent of his achievements. And yet it is known that he wrote much and well; but without such regard to final revision, as would be deemed requisite for submitting his writings to the press. What this and the coming generations know of him as a preacher, must therefore be gleaned from personal reminiscences, or read on the broad page of the history and progress of the cause to whose promotion these efforts were devoted. His style as a writer was plain but not bold, rather lucid than ornate, never or very rarely offending by its violations of good taste, and happily adapted to his varied themes.

Next look at him in the scarcely less necessary sphere of his service, as a good pastor in other relations. His excellent common sense would not have allowed him to depend merely on preaching for insuring the success of the cause with which his heart was filled. He was the advocate and enforcer of order and discipline in the church of Christ. Patient and meek in dealing with offenders, he was at the same time fearlessly faithful; neither himself forgetting, nor allowing those around him

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to forget what was sacredly due to the honor of God's house. He could select, and had adequate influence to induce the church to choose proper coadjutors for his associates in office, and he well knew how to combine his endeavors with theirs, so that the best results might flow from their harmonious coöperation.

He did much good too, especially in the early part of his ministry, by discreet pastoral visiting from house to house. Though sorely tried for a large part of the time in his domestic relations, (his excellent companion, the fond mother of his children, having been repeatedly and for long periods insane,) he did not fail to evince that prime requisite in any good pastor—lively, honest, and abiding sympathy with all the families of his flock in their alternations of joy and sorrow, in the successes and the reverses with which they were visited.

He was eminently successful in getting and keeping in train such coadjutors of his pastoral efficiency as were most valuable:—such as a good choir of singers, a well managed Sabbath School, with such adult and juvenile Bible classes as were required,—either taught by himself, or when other labors made that impracticable, by such instructers as he could confide in for capacity and fidelity. Then, too, he looked abroad to all the social interests and intellectual or moral wants of the community in which his lot was cast. He visited the district schools, in every part of the town, with most happy effect on the teachers and pupils, and indirectly on the parents of the children. He assisted to form, and he mainly sustained by his wisdom and energy and his fertile suggestion of varied resources, the Village Lyceum,—making its social discussions, (before stipendiary lectures were so much known and relied on as now,) a means of incalculable good. Before Temperance Societies were organized or thought of, he was lecturer, committee and council all combined, and many an inebriate did he reclaim with noiseless but energetic perseverance, in pouring upon them instruction, remonstrance, and sometimes most solemn rebuke.

The young men and young women of hopeful promise, whom he called forth from obscurity and often from environing difficulties, guided with wholesome counsel, and encouraged to put forth their best efforts in various spheres of honorable usefulness, were not few; and the

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effect of his labors in this department will prove to be of benign, lasting and widely extended efficiency.

Very pleasant, and not perhaps unprofitable, would be the endeavor to follow out some of these rills which he sent forth from their spring-head, and trace their meandering course, as they flow on, blessing all they reach, and augmenting by fresh accessions in their way, till sweeping before them all impediments, they roll on their full and powerful tide of benign influences for the consummation of the world's hope. How many of those already passed into the skies, and of those who still remain in Worcester and elsewhere, cannot but remember with unutterable thankfulness the various services of the pastor of that once despised Baptist church, which his counsel and care, his toils and enterprizes so greatly improved.

This sketch of his pastoral efficiency would be sadly deficient without the mention of one other item. He loved, honored, sought after, and joyously welcomed and improved genuine revivals of religion. In his days, as now, there were not wanting many specious counterfeits of these richest tokens of the divine favor. But because of base metal which often had to be nailed to the counter as spurious and deceptive, or because of some portions of alloy which often mingled with and dimmed the lustre of what was really valuable, he did not spurn away in disgust, or distance from him by suspicious fears, what bore the marks of scriptural revivals. His efforts to honor them, to extend them, to keep them pure from corrupting admixtures, are believed to have been among his most useful services to the cause of Christ. He specially delighted in the solemn and infinitely responsible work of instructing inquirers. To apply the whole surface of the seal of God's precious truth to the molten wax, while it is most ductile and in a state most easily formative, seemed to him so obvious a dictate of reason and Scripture, that he could not but greatly marvel when he saw ministers and others, mistaking conviction for conversion, begin their jubilant exultation at the very point where the moral crisis was scarcely reached. He had great confidence in thorough, practical instruction at such a time, as a means of discriminating between the precious and the vile; which like the fan of the threshing-floor, will expel

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the chaff, that the precious grain may be surely gathered into its appropriate garner.

But let us look next at the wider sphere of usefulness to which Divine Providence introduced him. Happy and successful as he was in the bosom of his flock, his heart was large enough to take in the case of others. To the ministers and churches of that great county in the heart of the Commonwealth, where he was now located, his efforts were naturally first directed. He had the happy faculty of leading the minds and drawing the hearts of those around him, without arrogance or dictation on the one hand, or fawning sycophancy on the other; so that he excited neither envy nor disgust.

His position at the centre of the county, naturally pointed him out, even while youthful, and comparatively unknown, as the man on whom the chief labor and care of the ministers' meeting, the associational interests and the various plans and organizations for doing good which he set in motion, must in the first instance devolve. He met these various requisitions, and called into counsel and coöperation with himself one after another all the ministers and many other brethren of intelligence and efficiency around him. Their improvement—and doubtless his own too, in a degree—was thus secured: but above all, as they learned by close contact his unselfish and true-hearted desire for their mutual good,—as they witnessed his sagacity, which never degenerated into cunning, his free familiarity unmarred by irreverent trifling, his engrossing and paramount desire to honor God and bless the souls of men, they spontaneously and gladly yielded to him the preëminence which he neither claimed nor desired.

His success in his own local sphere, led by natural and easy steps to more enlarged enterprises. The formation of the Baptist State Convention of Massachusetts, in 1824, was through his agency; and after gaining over by its influence, the combined interest and strength of this Commonwealth, to the more general devotement of evangelical effort, he could not and did not stop till a similar organization was effected for the whole country. For this purpose, his brethren of his own State deputed him to explore the wide field of destitution in our country; having accomplished this, and submitted to them the re-

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sult, their consent and approval encouraged him to lead on the way for consummating the second grand combination of American Baptists, their Home Mission Society. In all the preliminary measures, and in its final organization in New York in April, 1832, his instrumentality was at every step paramount. The four years which he laboriously devoted to its interests, as its first Corresponding Secretary, were an era in his life and in the history of the denomination. The wise, and far reaching plan of operations adopted at the outset, embraced these three points.—1. To obtain and disseminate information respecting the moral condition of all parts of the country. 2. To excite the entire Baptist community to systematic, liberal and vigorous action, to meliorate that condition and advance the spiritual prosperity. 3. To secure this by the preaching of the gospel to every creature in our country.

The closing paragraph of the address sent forth, with the account of the formation of this Society, to all the Baptist churches in the United States, will clearly indicate the comprehensive and wise design of its founders, to promote all the laudable objects of evangelical benevolence.

"We trust that the indirect fruits of a zealous pursuit of this great object may prove many and priceless. To bring into the labors of love which our Foreign Missions present, the prayers, the wealth, the influence and the hearts of our western brethren; to superadd to the ties of a common discipline, the more lasting union of common sentiments and harmonious feeling; to substitute, for an external uniformity of practice in Christian ordinances, the internal 'unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;' to advance Christian truth and Christian holiness, by seeking the favor of that 'God who is not the author of confusion, but of peace in all the churches of the saints;' to inherit the promise, which assures those who 'devise liberal things' that 'by liberal things they shall stand;' to bring our own beloved country more under the dominion of Him, who alone can give wisdom to her counsels, create 'upon all her glory a defence,' and impart safety and durability to her prosperity, are objects of no mean moment. Let us seek for all these, in promoting the objects of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Let the Christian into whose hands this sheet shall fall, give his aid to this good design, not more by pecuniary contributions, than by the formation of auxiliary societies, the communication of intelligence, and the interchange of sentiment; and, above all, by the communion of devout and fervent prayer to the Father of Lights, the Prince of Peace, and the Spirit of Truth, that the light of salvation may, by means of this society, over the whole breadth of our land, 'go forth as a lamp that burneth,' that the peace of God

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may unite and bless all our churches and the whole American Israel, and that the Word of Truth may be made each day, more and more, the means of sanctification to all the elect of God."

Dr. Going was now located in the great commercial metropolis of our country, at a period when the condition of our churches there was far less eligible than it has since become. His enlarged, intelligent views, and his cordial, untiring efforts, found ample scope in devising and assisting to accomplish the requisite measures for their improvement. He seems to have early appreciated the importance of establishing there a good religious paper, to be sent forth all over the land. And if truth requires the admission, that in his endeavors to promote an object so desirable,—without adequate experience in such details, without the requisite capital, or ready and efficient helpers,—he thereby drew on himself some embarrassment, and less perfectly succeeded than he wished and hoped, it certainly should excite no wonder.

At this period, and even earlier, his efforts in behalf of our denominational coöperation with the American Tract Society, in diffusing more widely in our own and other lands a healthful Christian literature, and his successful endeavors to secure a Baptist edition of the Comprehensive Commentary, and by its wide diffusion, not only purify the minds and hearts of much error and superstition, but also incidentally furnish a small pecuniary profit from each sett of volumes sold, to the treasury of the Home Mission Society, will remain a lasting monument of his wisdom.

He had now reached the last transition point in his eventful and useful life. His services in the Home Mission, and his repeated and extensive tours in the mighty west, had fully convinced him of the indispensableness of early and adequate endeavors to educate the ministry of the west in their own domains. His eloquent and able advocacy of their claims to present aid in furtherance of this object, naturally pointed him out to them as the most fit instrument to be claimed by them for its successful execution. Accordingly, the colleges at Alton in Illinois, and at Granville, Ohio, simultaneously elected him, each to its Presidency. His conviction of duty, under the existing circumstances, constrained him to visit both;

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and, as the writer of this article had occasion to know at the time, his mind was mainly solicitous to fix on the most destitute and needy; for willingly did he proffer to a brother deemed qualified to share these toils and trials along with him, the choice of the two, with the resolute purpose to occupy the forlorn breach himself.

After full investigation, it seemed to him, and perhaps to others then, that the exigencies of Granville College were the most pressing, and to their urgent solicitation he yielded himself. Rather too late in life for his own comfort, (a point which he very rarely consulted,) he made this great transition. But with his ample stores of varied experience and respectable learning, he was not too late for the advantage of the College, more especially for that of the theological classes, and most especially for the welfare of the Baptist churches and ministers throughout the State. A careful and generous observer can scarcely fail to notice with delight the cheering advance of the Baptist cause in that great State within the last ten or twelve years. Allowing all due praise to other favoring instrumentalities, it is impossible to doubt that a principal share is fairly traceable to his plans while Secretary of the Home Mission Society, and still more largely to his counsel, his aid, his spirit after he became a resident within it.

His modest but free recapitulation of his efforts, in particular instances, to disabuse the minds of some good, but prejudiced and misjudging brethren, as rehearsed by himself in the very last interview enjoyed with him, are still fresh and indelible on the tablet of memory. They occurred in a morning ride we took together, from his residence to the national road. I had just seen him, for the first and last time, presiding with dignity and efficiency in the College halls; had listened to his words of wisdom and kindness in the recitation and lecture room; had sat with him, and knelt with him in that private study, where he was wont to toil and weep and rejoice; had mingled with the inmates of his afflicted family circle, from whom the last adieus had scarcely died away upon the ear. Wending my own way homeward, to enter on the discharge of duties not unlike those which at an earlier period had occupied him in New York, it was to me a more than usual privilege, thus freely to commune

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with him on the great and good things already achieved, and the still greater number remaining to be accomplished, with the best and most speedy means of securing them. Thus filled up, those hours sped all too rapidly away; we reached the great thoroughfare, fondly lingered for a few moments to drink in the last lessons of friendly counsel from his lips, and then the stage bore me from his sight. * * * * *

Less than two years had elapsed, ere official duty again hurried me over the same road, and I knew that this beloved and venerated brother was lying down by the side of the grave, not expecting recovery; yet such was the pressure of public requisition on me, that it was impracticable to turn aside for a single day, to weep, and pray, and rejoice with him. Long before my journey was completed, he had gone up on high, to meet the welcome and the "well done" of Him, whom most devotedly and unsparingly he loved and served.

Eminently may it be said, he was taken away from the evil to come,—before the violent and painful sundering of those great and before united operations of our religious benevolence had been consummated. Other hands were lifted up to divide the living child. Its true parents would not have done the deed; and could their counsels have availed, we should not at this hour have presented the spectacle of the

"Membra disjecta cruentaque,"

so vividly portrayed by the Latin poet. Thou loving, forbearing, patient hearted brother! thine eyes were spared this spectacle.*

It only remains to eliminate from this brief sketch some of the elements of Dr. Going's usefulness.

None who knew him would fail to assign the first place to his genuine piety. It was in him no narrow or super-

* The writer of this article has no purpose to attempt awarding the discriminate modicum of censure to which any party or individual may be justly entitled in this matter. Nor would he let fly poisoned or barbed arrows behind him, to rankle in any bosom. What has been done cannot now be retraced; and with humble hope and prayer, that even this schism may be overruled for ultimate benefit, by HIM whose prerogative it is to bring good out of evil; and especially that the more violent spirits on either side may the sooner cease from unholy strife, now that one of its occasions is removed, he will patiently wait the farther developments of this great drama.

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ficial exercise, but embraced love to God in all his character, as well as all his truth, and all his cause.

Next to this should probably be placed noble disinterestedness,—uniformly evinced in subjecting self to the paramount claims of duty, and yielding himself to that duty, no matter at what extent of personal sacrifice. He was just such an one as Paul's heart would have leaped to embrace, when in almost utter abandonment, he cried out, "I have no man like minded—for all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's."

With this should be joined his unvaunted humility,—delighting to honor others,—uncaring for personal distinction himself.

Intimately allied to this last trait, was his generous respect for, and confidence in his brethren, and all good men. Hence this wise, broad-reaching eclecticism, which loved to gather out and combine the good, the true, the useful, from every quarter.

Another element was his wonderful fertility of resources, without recklessly resorting to doubtful and pernicious expedients.

He had also a quick, far seeing eye, a steady hand, fearless intrepidity and faithfulness, coupled with the tenderest commiseration.

To all the rest, it may be added, that he happily combined the spirit of true perseverance, divested of obstinate pertinacity, with a heart that could only exult in what God required and approved; and you have before you the outlines of the man. Take him all in all, not soon "you'll look upon his like again."

R. B.

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ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY NOTICES.

1. A History of German Anabaptism, gathered mostly from German Writers living in the Age of the Lutheran Reformation, and embracing a full view of the Peasants' Wars, the Celestial Prophets, and other fanatics of that day, and of the Historical Connection between the present Baptists and the Anabaptists. By Parsons Cooke. Boston. B. Perkins & Co. 1846. pp. 412. 18mo.

One of the external peculiarities of this book which strikes an accurate reader at first sight, is the immense number of typographical errors which deform its pages. To atone for them we find at the end a table of Corrigenda, containing *five* corrections; but a still larger number than this can be found sometimes on a single page, as on p. 36. The title-page seems to lay claim to special credibility, being drawn from contemporary historians; but it is questionable whether contemporary historians, viewing events from a near position, are not less qualified to give a fair statement, in some instances, than those who stand at a little distance, who are able to form an unprejudiced judgment, and who are at liberty to compare various and conflicting accounts, and to eliminate from them the exact truth. We are unable to express a full judgment on the merits of the book. Perhaps they are various, some parts having more to be praised, others less. One is desirous of comparing Mr. Cooke throughout with his authorities, and of estimating the value of the authorities themselves, before expressing a decided opinion of his book. The spirit, feelings and object of an author sometimes influence him very much in the use he makes of his authorities; and, in some cases, occasional remarks in the body of the book disclose these matters more exactly than the announcements contained in the preface or introduction. We think the efforts of Mr. Cooke to establish a connection between the Baptist denomination and the Anabaptists, as well as some other things which might be referred to, are of this suggestive character. If the Anabaptists chanced to hold some point of doctrine or practice in common with the Baptists, it does not necessarily follow that the latter sprung from the former, or have any sort of historical connection with them. We do expressly disclaim such connection. Mr. Cooke says, "the sect of Anabaptists took its birth in 1521." We trace the birth of the Baptists to the example of our Lord and Master, and the practice of his apostles. "The fathers of the Anabaptists were Nicolas Stork, Mark Thomas, Martin Cellary, and last but not least, Thomas Muncer." The fathers of the Baptists were the founder of the Christian church, and his immediate disciples and followers. The Anabaptists were from the beginning, to a certain extent at least, a political party, denying the right of civil government. The Baptists were never a political party, and have always maintained the authority

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of the magistrates. The Anabaptists rejected the doctrine of original sin, and adopted the errors of Pelagius and Socinus. The Baptists are not Socinians; they are not Pelagians. True Baptists have never been either. Men, adopting these errors, may have coupled with them correct views of the ordinance of baptism; but that alone does not entitle them to be acknowledged as Baptists; much less does it make it necessary for us to trace our paternity to them. The Anabaptists, says Mr. Cooke, were "hordes of banditti," and from them the Baptists "trace their pedigree." But as we have affirmed above, we do not trace our pedigree to the Anabaptists; most certainly, we do not confess to the sin of having had our birth among "hordes of banditti." There are facts in existence which will prove that the Anabaptists were not, in any proper sense of the term, Baptists.

We dislike the manner in which Mr. Cooke seems resolved to force this connection upon us. In various ways, he contrives to exhibit the two sects in such proximity, as almost to compel a stranger to believe us, not only the successors of the Anabaptists, but as partaking also of their errors and sins. He affirms that the first opposition to infant baptism arose out of the denial of the doctrine of original sin; and adds, that "there is evidently a natural affinity between the two doctrines;" and that "there are facts which shew a connection of cause and effect between this rejection, and the adoption of Pelagian, fanatical and disorganizing views." This ungenerous insinuation speaks for itself. The community are witnesses that the Baptists are not given to "Pelagian, fanatical or disorganizing views." He closes the volume by another implication as unjust as it is ungenerous. He says, "The mind naturally refers to a different state of society touching the interests of religion in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Here were two colonies settled side by side, near the same time, by men from the same stock; the one under Baptist, and the other under Pædobaptist auspices. And the difference in the moral and religious state of the two is manifest to all. Whence has it come?" So he concludes his history. But how sad a begging of the question, in various respects, is involved in such a suggestion! If the "state of society touching the interest of religion" in Rhode Island is greatly inferior to that in Massachusetts, is it demonstrated or demonstrable that the difference is chargeable to the influence of the Baptists—of the Baptists, commonly so called? Far from a generous mind be so unworthy a thought! Far from a cultivated, discriminating intellect, and a noble soul be so prejudiced and narrow a conclusion! It is because the writer of this book is capable of such things as we have pointed out—and they stand not alone—that we said, "One is desirous of comparing Mr. Cooke throughout with his authorities, and of estimating the value of the authorities themselves, before expressing a decided opinion of his book."

With his gratuitous insinuations against the Baptists, Mr. Cooke also manages to insert in his "History of Anabaptism" a series of statements favoring infant baptism, as he affirms, drawn from ecclesiastical history. Their value may be inferred from what we have already seen. Evidently they cannot be allowed on the strength of the author's *ipse dixit*. A good and trustworthy history of the Anabaptists is yet a desideratum. A fair and candid writer, we are convinced, would give us a history in some respects very different from this.

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2. *The Great Commandment.* By the Author of "The Listener," etc. New York. M. W. Dodd. 1847. pp. 250. 18mo.

We have perused with great pleasure this delightful little book. It is a gem in our current religious literature. The strain of thorough and evangelical piety, the apt use of the Scriptures, and the earnest applicatory method of the writer carry the reader along from page to page, always gratified, affected and profited, and never wearied. Love to God is enforced on the ground of the love of God, manifested in creation, providence and redemption. The book is full of the "faith that was once delivered unto the saints"; but at the same time, it contains little that is trite or common-place.

3. *Loring's Massachusetts Register, or Record Book of Valuable Information for the year* 1847. Designed as a suitable Companion for the Professional Man, the Merchant, the Public Officer and the Private Citizen. Boston. James Loring. 268 pp. 16mo.

This well arranged and neat hand-book of useful statistics is worthy of general circulation throughout the State. There has been an annual issue of the Register for fourscore years. It is less scientific than the American Almanac, but abounds in valuable information, and is of great importance as a reference book for persons in all the walks of life. It embraces a catalogue of the towns, with their population and number of representatives, the Courts, the civil officers, a historical list of the governors, the present legislature, the first provincial Congress, the postmasters, physicians, and ministers throughout the State, literary institutions, benevolent and other societies, banks and insurance companies, military catalogue, foreign ministers and consuls, tariff of 1846, Royal family of England, Cabinet, Queen's Household, etc., with a great variety of other useful and important information.

4. *Christian Consolations. Sermons designed to furnish Comfort and Strength to the Afflicted.* By A. P. Peabody. Boston. Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 312 pp. 18mo.

We have read most of these Sermons with sincere gratification. Though they do not present the strong and rich views embraced in an evangelical faith, nor enter into the sublime depths of Christian doctrine, we cannot but admire them, so far as they go. They suggest a multitude of considerations full of comfort to the afflicted, and cannot fail to be read with pleasure.

5. *Payson's Complete Works in three vols.* Portland. Hyde, Lord & Duren. 1847.

These large and beautiful volumes contain the Memoir of Dr. Payson and all his works which have already appeared before the public, together with a very considerable quantity of new matter. The judgment of the public has already assigned a high place to this eminent man, and we rejoice to see his remains in so appropriate a form. We are happy also to learn that a new edition of the works is called for, and will be issued the present summer. It is our intention to revert to these works at a future time.

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QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

AARON ABBOT, Fairfield, Huron Co., O., Feb. 3, aged 84.
B. CHAMBERS, South Carolina.
J. DANGERFIELD, Matthews, Va., Jan. 7, aged 47.
BENJAMIN MORGAN DANIELSON, Sharon, Washtenaw Co., Mich., Feb. 23, aged 76.
BENJAMIN HARVEY, Frankfort, Herk. Co., N. Y., March 18, aged 111.
J. NEALE, Fauquier Co., Va., Jan. 12, aged 76.
J. SCOTT, near Ghent, Ky., Nov. 12.
E. TAYLOR, Monroe Co., Ga., aged 78.
PETER THURSTON, New York, N. Y., Feb. 15, aged 79.
SAMUEL WARD, Coxsackie, Green Co., N. Y., April 8, aged 28.

ORDINATIONS.

THOMAS H. ARCHIBALD, Concord, N. H., March 3.
N. B. BALDWIN, Monticello, Sullivan Co., N. Y., Jan. 20.
THOMAS BRITTAN, Philadelphia, Pa., April 11.
JOHN COOK, Agawam, West Springfield, Mass., March 3.
JOHN VAN EPPS COVEY, Lebanon, Tenn., March 7.
T. J. DEANE, Bethel Chh., Ky., Oct. 11.
NIMROD T. ELGIN, Walnut Grove, Boone Co., Mo., Jan. 23.
ROBERT W. FULLER, Beaufort, S. C., April 10.
J. B. GAGE, Canton, Miss., Dec. 26.
J. GARDNER, Chesterfield, Connecticut, March 2.
—— GARDNER, Montville, Con.
GEORGE WILLIAM HARRIS, Mt. Zion, Berkely Co., Va., April 4.
JOHN H. HARRISON, Madison C. H., Va., Jan. 9.
W. H. HEAD, Louisville, Miss., Dec. 13.
R. C. HILL, Clear Creek, McNair Co., Tenn., Oct. 18.
THURSTON HORTON, Canaan, N. Y.
B. F. HUBBARD, Springvale, Me., March 31.
LYMAN HUTCHINS, Litchfield, Herk. Co., N. Y., March 17.
THOMAS W. LEWIS, Madison C. H., Va., Jan. 9.
H. P. MAYES, New Hope, Ky., Oct. 18.
J. B. MCCLELLAND, Louisville, Miss., Dec. 13.
J. C. NASH, Jeffersonville, Ia., Feb. 11.
WILLIAM RUTLEDGE, Philadelphia, Pa., April 2.
ADDISON A. SAWIN, Ticonderoga, N. Y., Feb. 25.
W. SHELTON, Clarksville, Tenn., Jan. 17.
GEORGE S. G. SPENCE, West Wrentham, Mass., March 31.
ALMOND VIRGIL, Montrose, Penn., March 10.
J. WALTON, Jeffersonville, Ia., Feb. 11.
E. T. WINKLER, Albany, Geo., Dec. 5.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Panther's Creek, Madison Co., Miss., Jan. 1.
Benton, Yazoo Co., Miss., Feb. 14.
Flushing, Mich., March 3.
Chelmsford, Mass., March 10.
Mt. Tabor, Caroline Co., Va., March 14.
Novi, Mich., April 7.
New York, N. Y., (Hope Chapel,) May 3.

DEDICATIONS.

Philadelphia, Pa., (colored chh.)
Freehold, N. J., Feb. 4.
Hebron, Southampton Co., Va., Mar. 1.
Galway, N. Y., March 11.
Mansfield, O., March 11.
New Marlborough, Mass., March 11.
Hampton, Va., March 28.
Baltimore, Md., Madison St., March.
Dorchester Plain, Mass., March 31.
Boston, Mass., Rowe St., April 7.
Peekskill, N. Y., April 8.
Easton, Pa., April 14.
Union Baptist Chh., New York, N. Y., April 15.
East Bennington, Vt., April 21.
Twelfth St. Chh., New York, N. Y., April 28.
Troy, N. Y., (1st chh.,) April 29.

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THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1847.

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II. Classical Literature.

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III. General Literature.

3. The Genius of Scotland, or Sketches of Scottish Scenery, Literature and Religion.
4. Boston Editions of the Standard English Poets, including Milton, Young, Cowper, Burns, and also Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress with Scott's Notes.
5. The Church Member's Manual.
6. Neander's History of the Christian Religion and Church.
7. Miscellaneous Essays and Discourses.
8. The Bible not of Man, or the Argument for the Divine Origin of the Sacred Scriptures, drawn from the Scriptures themselves.
9. The Laboring Classes of England.
10. The Works of Henry Ware, Jr., D. D.
11. Good for Evil, or Love to Enemies.
12. Chambers' Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge.
13. The History of Sunday Schools and of Religious Education.
14. Cheap Publications of the London Religious Tract Society.
15. The Scriptural Law of Baptism.
16. Juvenile Anecdotes.
17. Discourses on the Character of Rev. Thos. Chalmers, D. D. A Tribute to the Memory of Alex. Vinet and Thos. Chalmers.
18. The Eloquence of the Colonial and Revolutionary Times.

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THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

NO. XLVII....SEPTEMBER, 1847.

ARTICLE I.

THE GENEVAN SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY.*

The Origin of the Genevan Academy.

The Academy was founded, according to some German writers, in the latter part of the fourteenth century. But this is an erroneous statement. It is true that the emperor Charles the fourth did issue (1366) a certain ordinance for the establishment of a University in Geneva. But the bishop of the city, supported by the popular sentiment, made a vigorous opposition to the proposed institution. The citizens feared that its protector, the count of Savoy, might use it to crush their liberties. Hence

* In preparing this article, we have consulted the following works. His. lit. de Genève, G. Sénebier. Gen. 1786. The author was a minister of the gospel in Geneva, and the "Librarian of the Republic." He was familiar with the natural sciences and general literature. He was laborious, erudite, but deficient in the depth and discrimination which such a work demanded. Hence his literary history has every excellence, except the one we most desire,—a critical estimate of what the Genevan scholars and theologians have written.

Spon, Picot, Thourel have each written in French a history of Geneva. The first published his work in 1680. We have seen only an English translation, "printed in London, 1687." It has the usual excellencies and defects of the histories of that period. Picot's work is the best of the three. A great part of our notice of the Academy is taken from it. Thourel brings his history down to 1832. His manifest indifference to religion, and his shameful partiality to the libertines of Geneva, has made his history any thing but a profound and philosophical one.

There is also "a church history of Geneva in five books, by the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, Pastor of the French church in Boston, 1732." The author was

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the ordinance was never executed. Catholic Geneva* has not the honor of founding the Academy.

The most noted school prior to the time of the Reformation, was that established by Francis de Verronay, (1429), to teach the common branches, as well as Latin and logic. He was, without doubt, a good Catholic. An altar was erected, after his death, in the school-house, before which every pupil must recite a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria* for the repose of the soul of the founder.

In 1541, Calvin returned from exile, and recommenced his theological labors in Geneva. The great number of

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educated in the Academy. It contains some interesting facts and incidents, which came to his knowledge while residing in the city.

Besides Beza's life of Calvin, we have in German a biography of the Reformer by Henry, an evangelical minister in Berlin, in three octavo volumes. We have here the whole man. He stands before us with his dark eye, his thin and pale face, as the legislator and theologian of his time It throws much light on the great epoch in modern history—the Reformation. Audin, a French Catholic, the celebrated biographer of Luther, has written also a life of Calvin. Here we have an instance of what the enthusiasm of hate can do. He is patient in the collection of his materials, but is as artful and dishonest in the use of them as a Jesuit of the old school. It has been translated into English, and is now circulating in the western cities.

We have referred to the "Insti. theo. elen.," by F. Turretin, 3 vols., 1734, and to Pictet's theology in French, published in 1721. The edition of the Institutes which we have used, is that translated from the French of 1559, by John Allen.

* Christianity was introduced in the fourth century. The Romans were then in possession of the place, and had reared their temples to Jupiter and Apollo. In the fifth century, it became the capital of Burgundy. For several centuries the city experienced various fortunes. It was first under the dominion of the Franks, then united to Lorraine, and afterwards to Arles, and then to Transjuran Burgundy, till at last it became a part of the German empire. But the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibelines soon broke out. The pope absolves the emperor's subjects from their allegiance. The moment was propitious. And under the sanction of religion, Geneva achieves her independence. During all these convulsions, the papal religion had become firmly seated in the affections of the people.

From this period till the fourteenth century, there were three parties in the city—the bishops, the counts and the citizens. The prelate carried the sword and the mitre; he was their feudal lord, as well as their spiritual guide. Hence he became the natural protector of Geneva. The count of Geneva held the lands about the city. With his strong castles, and men clad in steel, he often waged a successful war with the bishops. In the midst of such feuds, the common people were not idle. They had their rights. At the sound of the bell of St. Peter's, all the heads of the families assembled to impose taxes, elect their magistrates, or choose their bishops.

From the fourteenth century to the Reformation, we see the count of Geneva yielding to the count (afterwards duke) of Savoy. The bishops who, at first, resolutely oppose him, at last become his slaves. The patriot band is formed with the secret purpose of throwing off the authority of both parties. For the corrupt lives of some of their chief pastors had disgusted them, and the usurpation of pope Martin the fifth, in appointing a bishop without their approval, and the sanction of this by Sixtus the fourth, outraged their love of freedom. Thus papacy and the feudal system were tottering and ready to fall, in Geneva.

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refugees* which came to the city, and his success in gathering a goodly company of students, led him to propose to the Council, the establishment of an Academy. But his struggles with the libertines, and the poverty of the state defeated, for a time, his plans. But in 1558, the government determined to found such an institution as the Reformer had suggested. But its means were not equal to the expense, and it was forced to depend on the generous contributions of private citizens, many of whom gave a large portion of their property.

On the fifth of June, 1559, the church of St. Peter was filled with six hundred scholars, and with all the learned men and the most noble of the city. Calvin first rose and made an address in French, in which he stated the object of the institution, and exhorted the people to pray for its success. When he had taken his seat, the secretary of state read the laws of the Academy, and the confession of faith, and the names of the officers and professors of the University. After he had finished, Beza delivered a Latin oration on the usefulness of learning. And then Calvin concluded with prayer.

The Organization of the Academy.

The school thus established in Geneva, remained without any material alteration for more than two centuries. During this period, several new professorships were created, and some classes added to the lower department; but the organization was essentially the same. The following account relates to the Academy, as it existed dur-

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At the commencement of the sixteenth century, we find that Berne had already embraced Protestantism. Under her protection, Farel, Viret and Froment preach the doctrines of the Reformation. Very many were truly converted, and became in heart and soul Protestants. But the great majority, embracing almost all the patriots, were so only for political considerations. Thus when Geneva gave up her old faith, it can hardly be said she had any substitute. The fierce declamation of Farel could raise a storm, but could not still it. The old rotten edifice had been nearly torn down; who should build a new and more beautiful one on its ruins? To make religious reformation as well as a political one—to make an inward change as well as an outward one, to do all this in the midst of divines and heretics, belongs to John Calvin.

* There were at Geneva, soon after the Reformation, an English, a Spanish, an Italian and a French church, made up of exiles from these countries—almost all the highest posts of honor in church or state, were filled with these refugees or their descendants.

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ing the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,*—the impress and monument of Calvin's genius.

Besides the Academy proper, there was a gymnasium or preparatory department, called "the college." In this there were nine classes. Each of these was taught and governed by a "regent," and all were under the immediate superintendence of an officer, generally a clergyman, with the title of "principal," who was also a member ex officio, of the faculty of the Academy. The three lower classes were for reading, writing and spelling.† In the six upper ones, nothing was taught but Greek and Latin. The preference was given to the latter language, while the Greek was much neglected. This was in accordance with the taste and custom of the age. It may have been the case that the influence of the Reformer was felt here also; for he wrote Latin with purity and elegance. As the "regents," or teachers, were thorough scholars, this course of instruction, though limited, must have given an admirable discipline to the young mind, and fitted the student for a higher and wider range of studies. As an incentive to honorable ambition, medals and presents were annually conferred on the most worthy of the pupils. Boys left the "college" or preparatory department, at the age of fourteen or fifteen.

The Academy, properly so called, consisted of two departments. The upper, corresponding to our schools of theology and law, and the lower, which resembles our college. It was the latter, that the student entered on leaving the gymnasium. It consisted of two "auditories"—the lower for Belles-lettres, the higher for Philosophy. Two years were to be spent in each "auditoire;"—in which were two classes, who recited together. That is, the class which had just entered was taught with

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* When the Academy was founded, there were five prof., two in Theology, one in Greek, one in Hebrew, one in Philosophy; in 1565, two prof. of Law were appointed; in 1592, a prof. of Belles-lettres. In 1612, another prof. of Philosophy added. In 1632, a prof. of Mathematics appointed. In 1697, a professorship of Ecc. His. created. In 1724, another prof. of Mathematics was added. In 1773, an observatory was erected. Besides these, two professorships of Theology were added.

† This was not sufficient for the wants of the people, and there were several "*succursales*," or branches, in various parts of the city. With the exception of these, there were no other public schools in the city during the period of which we are speaking.

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the class before it; and after it had been there a year, with the class which succeeded it. Faulty as this method certainly was, it must have secured a thorough knowledge of the languages. The "auditoire" of Belles-lettres had but one regular professor, who gave to his classes two hours a day, except on Thursday; to him was added a professor of history, who read occasional lectures; with this exception, Latin and Greek were the only studies. The "auditoire" of Philosophy had three professors,—one of Mathematics, one of Natural Sciences, and one in intellectual and moral Philosophy. Here the study of the languages was excluded. But this neglect was more than atoned for, by having all the lectures and examinations in Latin. In this way the habit of speaking this language fluently, though without elegance, was preserved.

After having spent four years in this collegiate preparation, the students entered, if they desired, the higher department, the school of theology or law. The former was under a faculty of four professors,—two of theology, one of ecclesiastical history, and one of oriental languages, or Hebrew. The faculty of the latter consisted of two professors, one of civil law, the other of natural law and the law of nature. The term of studies for the student, in law or theology, was four years. They were then ordained,* or admitted as advocates. There was no medical school till the beginning of the present century. Before this period, those students who wished to study medicine went to Edinburg or Paris.

The professors in theology gave a system of Divinity of their own composing. They also lectured on the Old and New Testament. In addition to these labors, most of them preached† as often as once a fortnight. The

* Before ordination the candidate was examined one day; a text was given him, from which he must make for the next day a sermon in French; and another text from which he must make, in two days, a sermon in Latin, which he must commit to memory and preach. Besides his examination as a theologian and preacher, he must be approved by the ministers, professors and council.

† Calvin preached much oftener than this. Between the twenty-first of September, 1549, and the fifteenth of February, 1560, he delivered 2,023 sermons, making nearly four a week. A scribe sat under the pulpit, and gained his livelihood by transcribing them. Calvin's style of preaching was clear, his manner calm and dignified, except when his eye fell upon the scoffing libertines; then he took fire, and the words came like a burning torrent upon the head of the offender.

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students attended, from Monday to Saturday, the lectures of their teachers. On Saturday morning, each student in his turn maintained a *thesis* in Latin, on one of the articles of the Genevan confession of faith. Another was appointed critic.* In the afternoon of the same day, one of the students read a discourse, either in French or Latin, from a text given to him by one of the professors. When he had finished, the student smade their criticisms, and the professor added his suggestions. These two last regulations remind us of something very similar in the Institution at which we pursued our theological studies.

The instruction in the Academy was gratuitous, the professors and teachers being paid by the state.† In a few instances, men of great reputation were elected as professors without an examination. But in most cases, competition was open to all. No one could be elected a professor who had not sustained a severe and thorough examination in relation both to his general knowledge and capacity, and to his skill in teaching. The choice was made by "the venerable company of pastors," and confirmed by the council.

JOHN CALVIN.

His Boyhood—his Law Studies—his Conversion.

An excellent abstract of the life of the Reformer has been given in the Bibliotheca Sacra of 1845. We shall only, therefore, notice those events, and traits of character, which marked the man, and fitted him for the work he was sent to do.

Calvin, when a boy, showed a strong religious nature. He was accustomed to walk away from the house, and pray in the open air. The sense of God's presence, which he then had, seems never to have left him. It was this feeling which led him, twenty years after this period, to

* Some of these *theses* were printed in Latin. We give the title of a collection of them, translated into English and published in Edinburg, 1591. "Propositions and principles of Divinitie, propounded and disputed in the Universitie of Geneva, by certain students of Divinitie there under T. Beza and Ant. de Faye."

† Their salary was small, but they were at the head of the social scale. The confidence which they enjoyed made the place of a professor an object of ambition to the learned. Calvin received a dwelling-house, about thirty-eight dollars, near twenty bushels of grain, and two tuns of wine. Besides these, the state made several appropriations. But he was always poor.

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close all his sermons to the persecuted Christians of France, with a quotation from Paul,—"if God be for us, who can be against us?" Beza assures us that he was a stern censor of the morals of his school-fellows. His father, seeing these traits in his son, devoted him to the service of the church; and he procured for him, when twelve years old, a benefice in the chapel of his native city. He now goes with the boys of the Mommor family to Paris to prepare himself for his University studies. The slender body and pale face of the young student of Noyon afford a strange contrast to the ruddy Saxon boy, singing for his bread on the road to Magdeburg. But the large forehead, the prominent eye, the Grecian nose, the thin and slightly curled lip, made ample amends for other bodily defects. A dull observer must have seen that there were in the young man powers of the highest order—powers that were needed in his time to stay the storm, and to create from the scattered ruins a new and harmonious whole.* He already exhibited, says Remond, "a sharp and vigorous intellect, prompt at repartee, bold in attack. He spoke but little, his language was serious and always to the point. He seldom entered into society."

We must also follow Calvin to Orleans, and afterwards to Burges. His father, seeing the troubles of the times, and the honors which awaited the student in the study and practice of law, sent his son to the first jurist of France, Peter de Estoile. He was the delight of his master, docile and full of zeal for study. It is said that when his teacher was absent, he took the chair and performed the duties of the station in a manner quite acceptable to his hearers. In the midst of thoughtlessness and vice, Calvin still led the same quiet, diligent

* Audin, who certainly is not very partial to Calvin, gives the following incident which illustrates this element in the Reformer's character. "The council of the two hundred had assembled. Never had any session been more tumultuous; the parties, weary of speaking, began to appeal to arms. Calvin appears unattended; he is received in the lower part of the hall with cries of death. He folds his arms, looks the agitators fixedly in the face. Not one of them dares strike him. Then, advancing through the midst of the groups, with his head uncovered, 'If you want blood,' says he, 'there are still a few drops here, strike then.' Not an arm is raised. Calvin ascends the stairs, a few words calm the agitators. He descends, and cries out to the people that he wishes to address them. He does speak, and with such an energy and feeling that tears flow from their eyes; they embrace each other, and the crowd retires in silence.

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and austere life. One of his bitterest enemies tells us, that his fellow-students were wont to say of him, John knows how to decline even to the accusative, indicating his knowledge of the Latin and his censorial spirit.

He left Orleans for Burges. Here he met the famous Italian Alciati, the man of all sciences. Under him, he seems to have stored his mind with various learning. Beza informs us that "he wrote and studied till night; and to be able to do this, he ate very sparingly at supper; then, on awaking in the morning, he was wont to remain awhile in his bed, recalling to mind and ruminating upon all he had learned the evening before." But there was another professor there, who also exerted a great influence on Calvin. It was Melchior Wolmar, professor of Greek. He loved his pupil and was loved by him in return. Calvin thus speaks of him in his Pref. Epis. Cor. "During my whole life, I shall cherish the memory of your zeal for my advancement, of your love for your disciple, of your delight in ornamenting my mind with all the gifts of science, and for opening your purse." Wolmar said to him one day, as they were walking together, "Do you know your father has mistaken your calling? You have not been called, like Alciati, to preach law, nor like myself, to talk Greek; give yourself up to theology, for she is the mistress of all the sciences."

While engaged in the study of law, the student did not abandon the idea of preaching the gospel. He himself tells us that in spite of all his efforts to lead a quiet life, his room became a public school, where resorted all the earnest inquirers after the true faith. He even went so far as to give public discourses in the cloisters about Burges.

It is impossible to determine when the conversion of Calvin took place. It may have been when he was but a child, under the care of a Catholic, but pious mother; or while at the University, where he first opened the word of God, and first met with those who were inclined to the doctrines of the reformers. It is certain that he did not leave the Catholic church, till he had found something which better satisfied the religious wants of his nature. While in the service of the papacy, he was not always at ease. He thus speaks of himself in a letter to Sadolet, who had written an epistle to Geneva, exhorting the people to return to their allegiance to Rome. "I was

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very far from an assured tranquillity of conscience. For as often as I descended into my heart, or lifted my mind to thee, extreme horror seized me, which no purification, no satisfaction could cure. Ah! the more closely I looked into myself, the sharper stings pierced my conscience, in such sort that no solace or comfort remained for me, except to forget and thus to deceive myself." In his preface to the Psalms, he declares "that when he had been somewhat hardened in those things (papal customs), God by a sudden conversion subdued his heart and made it docile." How manifest it is, that this great moral change, whenever it did take place, was the work of the Spirit of God.

His Theological Views.

Calvin's character and training were well fitted to make him the theologian of the Reformation. His intellect, naturally acute and comprehensive, had been sharpened and strengthened under the favorite masters of the age. He loved to think, not because the exercise of mental power afforded gratification, but from the fact, that there were truths worth knowing and pondering. He was an earnest Christian man. We see in him nothing of that sickly sentimentalism which is so much in vogue at the present day. He had a profound personal sense of the great realities of religion. His logical power, and the clearness with which he reasoned would not allow him to be a mystic; yet he possessed a depth of religious feeling, which it would be difficult to find in union with the reasoning faculty in any other man, if we except the apostle Paul, and our own Edwards. Calvin had, too, all the learning of his times. This was of great service to him in his controversies with the papists and the heretics, who seemed to swarm round Geneva to destroy it. And where there is no necessity of one's being a polemic, knowledge of every kind will be of value. Especially is this true of historical information. We may safely affirm that the profound historian, other things being equal, will make the ablest theologian. In noticing the theological views of Calvin and his successors, Turretin and Pictet, we shall confine our attention to those doctrines which characterized them, and the school they represented.

Calvin's great theological work was the Christian Insti-

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tutes. The first edition was issued in 1535, of which no copy has been found. In the next year, it was printed in Latin at Basil. This contains the celebrated dedication to Francis I.* It was then a small work of 514 pages octavo. It was called forth by the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen. He tells us that he had written it "for the French, of whom I apprehended multitudes to be hungering and thirsting after Christ."† It contained six chapters on the following subjects.

1. Explanation of the Decalogue.
2. "Of faith, where the symbol (called the apostolic) is explained."
3. "Of prayer, where the Lord's prayer is expounded."
4. "Of the sacraments, where baptism and the Lord's supper are treated."
5. "In which it is shown that the five others, commonly esteemed sacraments, are no sacraments."
6. Concerning Christian liberty, ecclesiastical power, polity, government.

This work underwent great alterations in the several editions, which were published during the life time of its author. In that of 1559, we have the most complete view of Calvin's theological system. It was printed in one folio volume of 564 pages. In his preface to the work, as thus finally corrected by himself, he says, "In the first edition of this work, I handled the subject, for the most part, in a superficial manner, as is usual in small treatises." "Now my design in this work has been to prepare, and qualify students of theology, for the reading of the divine word. I think I have given a comprehensive summary and orderly arrangement of all the

* How Francis regarded the Reformation may be gathered from a paragraph in Viller's influence of the Reformation of Luther. "Brantom relates that one day, when the king was explaining his views on this subject, he let drop the remark, that this novelty tended to the utter overthrow of sovereignty, whether it was vested in God or man. On another occasion, when he had intimated to the nuncio, that he might follow the example of Henry VIII, the prelate who saw through the artifice, replied, 'Let me be frank, Sire! You would be the first to regret it. If a new religion be once established among a people, they next demand a new prince.'"

† Audin thus remarks on the style in which the dedication is written. One is at times in admiration while reading the dedication to Francis I, and some of the chapters to this treatise, to behold with what docility the material sign obeys the caprices of the writer. Never does the proper word fail him; he calls it and it comes.

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branches of religion." The Institutes, as enlarged and improved, contained four books.

The first relates to God, our knowledge of him, his character and mode of existence.

The second relates to Christ, in which the atonement is explained and proved.

The third relates to the Holy Spirit. There must be a new spiritual life in the soul of man.

The fourth relates to the church, sacraments and civil government.

The fall and depravity of man are treated of in the second and third books, where he shows that justification takes place through Christ, and sanctification through the Spirit. We think it would have been better to have treated of these subjects in a separate book. It is common also to discuss the work of the Son and of the Spirit together, relating as they both do, to our redemption. Faulty however as was the Institutes in method, it was much superior to Melancthon's great work, "Loci communes." The translation into nearly all the modern languages shows that it exerted an influence, wherever the doctrines of the reformed had gained a foothold. It would be an interesting labor to trace this influence, especially as it is seen in France and England. It is worthy of note, that Calvin's views were the same in the first edition as in the last. This shows that they were not formed by controversy, though they might have been strengthened by it. We might make the same remark with reference to his favorite author, Augustine. It is equally true of both, that their views were the result of patient and protracted thought. Controversy did not give them birth, but only a vigorous growth, and a form a little out of proportion with the other truths of Christian theology.

The chief glory of the Calvinistic system has exposed it to the bitterest attacks of its enemies. The reformer, turning aside from all discussions on the attributes of Deity, grasps the one, but grand idea of the holy God, whose decrees are eternal and unsearchable. On this account Calvin has been called a fatalist. Nothing could be more false or shallow than such a charge. The very reverse of this is true; no view of religion could be more opposed to the doctrine of fate. The only way of escaping from pantheism or fatalism is by holding fast to

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the idea of a personal and sovereign God. Chance and necessity are but different names, given to the same lifeless principle, which is supposed to govern the world. Calvin started with the overwhelming conviction that there was one living Being, who was the governor, not of a multitude of isolated worlds; nor the director of what might seem the most important matters in the universe; but the absolute ruler of the entire creation. It formed one government under his sway. Hence he inferred, there must be one purpose, worthy of the supreme Lord, to secure which, every event in the universe shall be turned to account. While all his intelligent creatures are free, none of them can defeat his plans. Thus the scheme of providence and of grace are full of mystery. We can love God, we can confide in him, but we cannot fathom the eternal counsels of his will. Hence, too, God alone is responsible, and responsible alone to himself. So without despairing on account of seeming want of success, we have the highest incentive to labor,—that we shall participate, through Christ, in the glorious triumphs of our God. In some such way Calvin reasoned. The starting point of the fatalist is altogether different. He assumes the dogma that mind and matter are under the law of physical necessity. In such a system there can be no virtue, no providence, no infinite and wise God. It is easy to see then, that the school of Geneva has presented a bolder and more effective antagonism against these views, than that exhibited by the Arminian system. And as to the semi Socinian scheme which prevails to such an extent in New England, it has always shown a tendency to naturalism. Priestly, as a theologian, had a much stronger resemblance to Spinoza than Calvin had. A few sentences from the chapter on decrees, taken from the Institutes, will show the truth of what we have asserted. "Notwithstanding the ordination of all things by the certain purpose and direction of God, yet to us they are fortuitous, because the order, reason and necessity of events are chiefly concealed in the purposes of God. For they present no other appearance, whether they are considered in their own nature, or are estimated according to our knowledge and judgment."

There are many who seem to think that Calvin's God was a mere deification of power, and that election was

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the exercise of a purely arbitrary will. We are satisfied that this arises from a superficial knowledge of the man and his writings. His early Christian experience, the practical character of his theological works, show that this was very far from being true. The holiness of God was as essential an element in his system as the sovereignty of God. We quote again from the same chapter. "It is true, indeed, if we are ready to learn with quiet and sober minds, that the final issue sufficiently proves the counsels of God to be directed by the best of reasons. For the will of God is the highest rule of justice; so that what he wills must be considered just, for this very reason, because he wills it. When it is inquired, therefore, why the Lord did so, the answer must be, because he would. But if you go farther and ask why he so determined, you are in search of something greater and higher than the will of God, which can never be found. Yet we espouse not the notion of the Romish theologians concerning the absolute and arbitrary power of God, which, on account of its profaneness, deserves our detestation. We represent *not God as lawless*, who is a law to himself, because the will of God is the highest standard of perfection—even *the law of all laws.*" The opponents of Calvinism spend a great deal of idle declamation on this subject. What we want is a refutation of the Genevan heresies, if they bear that character. The religious world has yet to see this. It must be patient, however; for the task will not be very easy.

But why did Calvin insist so strongly on the doctrine of election? This is the question which many good men have asked. They seem to suppose that it was the result of a mere process of reasoning—a cold and lifeless abstraction; that, though it was true, it had as little to do with Christianity as one of the theories of Euclid. Now had this been the case, the reformer would never have given it a place in his theology, for he was not fond of idle speculations. In one of his letters to Melancthon, he objects to this feature in some of his writings. This doctrine has a vital connection with the great truths of our religion. Let us suppose that it is rejected; we will not say that the beauty of God's moral government would be greatly marred, though we have no doubt such would be the fact; but what we insist on is that the

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scheme of redemption would have no foundation. For if you deny God's gracious purpose to save, then you reject the actual execution of that design—regeneration. Give up regeneration, and you cannot hold to the actual depravity of man. Then the last scenes in the life of the Redeemer become a solemn farce. He is a teacher, a little more exalted than Moses. This system differs only in degree, but not in kind, from that taught by Confucius or Socrates.* We do not mean to charge these consequences upon all who reject the doctrine of election; men sometimes hold views which are inconsistent with each other. But what we wish to show is, that a mind like Calvin's, possessing great logical power, must either hold to this doctrine, or abandon at once the essentials of Christianity.

That God acts as a sovereign in electing from the human family some to eternal life, Calvin not only taught, but preached. He had none of those doubts about the propriety of introducing it into his discourses, which seem to trouble some worthy ministers of the present day. We believe that these doubts spring from the mistake that such preaching can serve no practical purpose. We hold, on the contrary, that, when presented in the proper manner, it will tend to deepen the religious convictions of the Christian, while it shows to the sinner the rebellion of his own heart. We are satisfied that the history of individuals and communities who have listened to preaching on this subject, and have become practical believers in the doctrine, will confirm this statement. Care however should be taken not to present it in a scholastic dress, nor to tear it from its natural connection in a system of theology.

Calvin believed not only that God had a purpose in predestinating some to eternal life, but that in leaving others to work out their own ruin, he also was governed by his own infinite wisdom. He used strong language. We quote from the chapter on election. "In conformity,

* We had the pleasure of hearing, one evening, the Rev. Mr. Shuck, Baptist missionary to China. He gave an account of the conversion of a Chinaman who was present, in which we were struck with two remarks. He asked the convert why the system of Confucius had not exerted a greater religious influence. The reply was, "*because there was no Holy Spirit in it.*" When he was asked by the same missionary what feature in Christianity had most interested him, he answered, "*the atoning feature.*"

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therefore, to the clear doctrine of the Scriptures, we assert that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God hath once for all determined both whom he would admit to salvation, and whom he would condemn to destruction. We affirm that this counsel, as far as concerns the elect, is founded on his gratuitous mercy, totally irrespective of human merit; but that to those whom he devotes to condemnation, the gate of life is closed by a just and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible, judgment." . "Let them not, therefore, accuse God of injustice, if his eternal decree has destined them to death, to which they feel themselves, whatever be their desire or aversion, spontaneously led forward by their own nature. Their perdition depends on the divine predestination in such a manner that the cause and matter of it are found in themselves." "Predestination to life is grounded on the election of grace. Predestination to death is prepared for those 'fitted for destruction.'" This view does not differ from what is held by the Calvinists of the present day. There are some expressions which are exceptionable. Some passages, taken from their connection, do certainly convey a false notion. But from those we have selected, one, we think, must see that there was in Calvin's view of "reprobation" nothing so monstrous or absurd as has been charged upon him. Condemnation of the sinner for his sins takes place under the government of God. It was in harmony with his eternal purpose, that the sinner should meet his merited doom, and be thereby the occasion of making manifest the glory of the divine character.

Here it may be proper to allude to the reformer's view with regard to the future condition of unbaptized infants. He rejected the Catholic opinion, that baptism was necessary to salvation. Nor did he affirm that infants, who died unbaptized, would fail of salvation. In this respect, too, he differed from the Catholic writers. He believed that the offspring of Christian parents were included in the covenant of grace. And he also held that the children of unbelievers were in a state of sin, and hence exposed to its effects and deserts; and that they must be renewed; for "in Adam we can only die;" if they are left there, "they are left in death." As to their actual future condition, he is, as he thought the Scriptures were, silent.

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Calvin is a strong Pædobaptist. It was a misfortune that some of the opponents of infant baptism were either fanatics or heretics. Their doctrinal errors were much more effective in the support of that ancient papal rite, than were the arguments of its supporters. This is quite manifest from Calvin's contest with Servetus. The scoffs of that Spaniard at the holiest truths of the gospel naturally prevented Calvin from seeing what correct principles he might have had in his system. The following short quotation from the chapter on infant baptism, in the Institutes, will give the reformer's view. "The whole of the subject, if I mistake not, may be clearly and summarily stated in the following proposition: that persons of adult age, who embrace the Christian religion, having been aliens from the covenant, are not to receive the sign of baptism without the intervention of faith and repentance, which alone can give them an admission to the fellowship of the covenant; but that the infant children of Christian parents, being admitted by God to the inheritance of the covenant, as soon as they are born, are also to be admitted to baptism."

If we were to reason *a priori*, we should suppose that the scriptural account of a religious rite would be so plain, that almost every unprejudiced person would understand its nature and design. And such we believe to be the case. Reasoning in the same way, we should come to the conclusion that the advocates of the true view would present a simple method in their argumentation, which would reach the common mind;—that though their reasons might be different, they would seldom be opposite, and never radically so. And this, also, we believe to be the fact. Hence when we see the advocates of a certain view of a matter so plain in itself, differing from each other as to the very ground on which to rest a defence, we have a strong suspicion that the view itself must be erroneous. Is not this true in regard to the arguments used in support of infant baptism? Many Catholic writers defend it on the authority of the church, and say, as Bellarmine did, that it can be proved from Scripture. There are those who ground it on circumcision; while others, equally talented and pious, reject this foundation as insufficient to support such an edifice. Not a few acknowledge that there is no certain command

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or example for this rite in the New Testament; while very many refer us to Christ's commission to his disciples and to the baptism of households. Some writers believe that there is grace bestowed upon the child in baptism, and hence the propriety of the rite; others, however, reject this view, and regard it as an act of dedication. Augustine held that the prayers of the church procured this regenerating principle, while with many it is the faith of the parents, which is substituted for the actual faith of the infant. We certainly need the republication of an old tract by Joseph Wiston, called "The right method of proving Infant Baptism," printed in London, 1690.

Before the divine origin of this rite can be proved, the principle must be established, that baptism ought to be administered on the faith of the parent. One clear case of such a baptism would establish this rule. One command to the parent, whom the apostles so often address on their duties to their children, would demonstrate its truth. One brief exhortation to children, in view "of their covenant obligations," would settle the question, and establish forever the law of Christian baptism, as it applies to infants. How is such a silence to be accounted for, on the part of Paul? Would our Pædobaptist brethren have been silent, had they written the epistles to the churches, in which they had occasion to allude to the duties of the Christian father to his children? Nor is it any where intimated in the Scriptures that baptism takes the place of circumcision. This is not the case, even when such an admission might have allayed the prejudices of the Jewish Christians. In truth one rite cannot be said to take the place of another, unless in reference to one and the same economy. Nor is any rite in the old dispensation a type of another rite in the new Christian economy.

But though Calvin believed that the children of Christians were proper subjects of baptism, he evidently preferred immersion to sprinkling, as the mode of baptism. In proving that "ignorance does not vitiate a first baptism," he says, "And among us, what rivers would be sufficient for the repetition of ablutions, as numerous as the errors which are daily corrected in us, by the mercy of God." After remarking that it is of no importance

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"whether a person be wholly immersed, whether thrice or once, or whether water be only poured or sprinkled upon him," he adds, "The very word baptize, however, signifies to immerse; and it is certain, that immersion was the practice of the ancient church." A distinguished preacher of the present day admits that if the word βαπτιζω means to immerse, when used to designate a religious rite, then immersion is the true mode of baptizing. But on the other hand, we are told that there is no certain evidence that this mode was practised at all in the days of the apostles." We are compelled to say, however, that the great majority of critics are with Calvin.

Nothing more clearly reveals the character of Calvin than his views on the Lord's supper. Had he possessed less independence of spirit, or had his religious life been less deep, we should have found him among the followers of Zwingle. He not only rejects transubstantiation, and the equally absurd consubstantiation of Luther, but repudiates the notion of the minister of Zurich as resting "in contemplation merely." He regarded this sacrament as involving a mystery "too sublime for" him "to be able to express or comprehend." At the same time, he declares in his chapter on the Lord's supper that "his view contains nothing absurd, ambiguous or obscure."

We give his own statement: "The sacred mystery of the supper consists in two parts; the corporeal signs, which being placed before our eyes, represent invisible things in a manner adapted to the weakness of our capacities; and the spiritual truth, which is at the same time typified and exhibited by these symbols." The spiritual truth thus exhibited includes three things,—"the promises"—"Christ with his death and resurrection"—"the benefits which Christ confers upon us." Thus it was not in his opinion a mere memorial, and the moral enjoyment which results from calling to mind an absent friend. He believed that the communicant who partook of the elements did receive a special spiritual influence from his crucified Redeemer. And that thus he did eat his body and drink his blood; and that in this way his soul was spiritually nourished. We quote a few passages from the Institutes. In the sacrament, "the Lord communicates his body to us in such a manner that he becomes completely one with us, and we become one with

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him." "His life is transferred to us and becomes ours, just as bread, when taken for food, communicates vigor to our body." The manner in which this union is effected is not by having the bread and wine changed into the body of Christ, or having them include that body, nor is it by giving an objective efficacy to the mere symbols; but through the secret operation of the Spirit. Calvin uses the following language: "Though it appears incredible for the flesh, from such an immense local distance, to reach us, so as to become our food, we should remember how much the secret power of the Holy Spirit transcends all our senses." "Now that holy participation of his flesh and blood by which Christ communicates his life to us, is by the exertion of the energy of his Spirit." The reason why he alludes so often to our eating "the flesh" of Christ, is this. The fountain of divine life is in the Logos, the divine nature of the Redeemer; but that fountain has been opened for us through the suffering and death in human nature. It is only in union with Christ crucified, that we receive the principle of a holy life. In his short treatise on this subject, against Hesshuss, in 1561, he explains what he means by partaking of Christ's flesh, in these words. It is "not in the way of any carnal mixture, or as if the flesh of Christ drawn down from heaven entered into us, or was swallowed with the mouth; but because the flesh of Christ as to its power and efficacy vivifies our souls, not otherwise than the body is nourished by the substance of bread and wine." So that "through the secret energy of the Holy Spirit, this life is made to reach us from heaven, out of the flesh of Christ."

That this impartation of divine life is not, in Calvin's view, different in kind from that which the Christian receives in hearing the truths of the gospel, is evident from the following quotation from the Institutes. "We are to understand those words by which the elements are consecrated, to be a lively preaching, which edifies the hearers, which opens their minds, which is deeply impressed upon their hearts, which exerts its efficacy in the accomplishment of that which it promises." "He gives it (his flesh) daily, when, by the word of the gospel, he presents it to us that we may partake of it as crucified." "It (the flesh of Christ or the life which flows from it) is

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applied by the gospel, but in a more illustrious manner, by the sacred supper."

Zwingle's view only allows of a mere moral influence such as a Socinian might acknowledge, without recognizing a real communication of life from the divine Spirit. Let it be transferred to an earnest religious mind, and it begins to approach the Calvinistic view. The memorial of Christ brings him near to the communicant, makes him present to his soul. And when the union has taken place, then the spiritual life flows from Christ crucified, into the very heart of the believer.

FRANCIS TURRETIN.

A Brief Notice of His Life.

The family of the Turretins came from Lucca in Italy. They were forced to leave on account of their religious views, about the year 1575.* Francis Turretin, the grandfather of the theologian of the same name, is the first of whom we have any knowledge. He abandoned his home about the time we have mentioned. He went to Holland and then to Switzerland, where he spent the last years of his life. He was a man who resembled the Puritans not merely in the place of his exile, but in his character; for he was stern in his faith and loyal to his conscience. Benedict, his son, was born at Zurich, A. D., 1588. He was elected pastor and professor in 1612. He wrote separate dissertations on nearly all theological subjects, besides a "History of the Reformation of Geneva," which is still preserved in MSS. in the library of the Academy. Francis was born the seventeenth of October, 1623. He gave, when a boy, evidence of a superior intellect. He studied with great success under Tronchin, Spanheim and Morus. His first theological essay was written in his seventeenth year, with this title, Thesis theo. de felicitate morali et polit. His second attempt secured for him quite a reputation, Thesis theo. de necessaria Dei gratia. It was written in his twenty-first year. Soon after he visits Paris and studies under Gassendi, where he became acquainted with Daille, the

* Besides the Turretin family, there were the Diodati, the Calendrini, the Burlamachi. The latter was distinguished in the law.

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author of a work very famous in its day. He was received into the company of pastors at Geneva in 1652, and the next year he was elected professor in theology, having a few years before refused the chair of philosophy. The University of Leyden wished to secure his services as professor in theology; and, on his declining, they requested him to nominate some one to fill the place. He mentioned M. le Moyne, and he was elected. Turretin wrote his great work on theology, between the years 1679 and 1685. He had previously published dissertations on some of the most difficult theological subjects. He died in 1687. Pictet delivered his funeral oration.

His Method and Theological Views.

The "Institutio theo. elencticæ" in three parts is the ablest work of the Genevan school. It is equal to Calvin's Institutes in depth and reach of thought, and superior to it in method. It is a complete system of Divinity. It is inferior to the great work of the reformer, only in the warmth of life which bound his doctrines together. Perhaps the "body of Divinity" cramped a little its spirit. But we shall have occasion to allude again to this peculiarity. We will give a brief account of the method and contents of this work. It is divided into three parts. Each part contains a number of "*Loci*," devoted to the discussion of one general subject. In each of these "*Loci*," several questions are proposed, the solution of which leads the mind to the reception of the truth. The mode of discussing these questions is certainly admirable. We have first an introduction consisting of the statement of the question, or the occasion of its being offered,—its origin or importance,—a brief history of opinions, or an explanation of terms. Which of these shall appear in the opening of the question depends on the subject discussed. Sometimes there is no need of any introductory remarks. In this case he proceeds directly to the proof of his position, from reason and revelation, and then to the results, in the light of which all objections are removed. Locus 1, treats of theology—its nature and design. 2. The Sacred Scriptures. 3. The one and triune God. 4. Decrees of God and predestination. 5. Creation. 6. Providence of God. 7. The state of man

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before the fall, and the covenant of nature. 8. Concerning sin. 9. Concerning the free will of man. The first Locus of the second part treats of the law of God. 2. The covenant of grace. 3. The person and condition of Christ. 4. The mediatorial office of Christ. 5. Calling and faith. 6. Justification. 7. Sanctification. The first Locus of the third part treats of the church. 2. The sacraments. 3. The last things.

Turretin resembled the scholastics. They were a race, notwithstanding their occasional boyish pranks, of intellectual giants. The history of their times is even now quite an unexplored field to the English student. The few dead leaves which have been blown in his path are a very poor measure of the strength of the living tree. If we judge of them on such grounds, we shall be guilty of greater folly than they ever committed. One might open Turretin's theology where he proposes the question, "At what season of the year was the world created?" but the discussion here would hardly give a fair view of the theologian's ability. Nor would the question, "whether the terrestrial Eden still remains," seem to the reader worthy of a place in such a work. But it is in his exposition and defence of the atonement and other kindred doctrines, that he shows his power. Our limits will not permit us to quote at that length which would be requisite, fairly to present his views. But in treating of the attributes of God, he is clear and profound. We will venture to translate at some length.

"The attributes of God do not, in reality, differ from the essence (of God,) or among themselves, as one thing differs from another; because God is, in the highest sense, simple and perfect." "We may define the very thing itself, or our conception of it. These are two different matters. The former, not the latter, argue a real distinction; now the definitions of the divine attributes are the definitions of the conceptions we have of God, when we consider him under this or that relation, rather than of the thing itself, which is one and most simple."

The general division of the attributes. "God produces in his creatures, especially those who are rational, effects analogous to goodness, justice and wisdom." These are called communicable. The attributes which are so peculiar to God, that nothing like or analogous to them, nor

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any image or trace of them can be found, as eternity, are incommunicable."

The simplicity of God. "In whom there are many real entities, in him there is composition; but this is not so, where there are only many modes; for modes only modify and characterize the essence; they do not compose it. But in the Godhead there is one essence and three hypostases; these are the modes which truly distinguish the persons from each other, but do not compose them." "Simplicity and triplicity are opposed to each other, that they cannot exist at the same time; but not simplicity and trinity, because these terms are used in different senses. Simplicity has respect to essence, trinity indeed to persons, in which sense there is nothing to prevent God, who is one in essence, from being triune in person."

The eternity of God. "The infinity of God in respect to duration is called eternity, to which these three things belong. 1. That it is without beginning. 2. Without end. 3. Without succession." "The eternity of God cannot have succession, because the essence, with which it is in reality identified, admits of none; both because it is, in the highest sense, simple and immutable, and thus rejects the change of the former into the latter, of the present into the past, of the present into the future, which succession involves; and because it is immensurable, as original and independent; but what allows of these successions can in some way be measured." "The eternal duration of God embraces indeed all times, the past, present and future; but in him nothing can be past or future, since his life continues always unchanged." Although eternity coëxists with all the different periods of time, it does not follow that these coëxist among themselves, since it (eternity) does not coëxist with these (periods) at the same time as several and at the same time existing, but it coëxists with them as they are separated, and as they succeed each other." "A point is either mathematical, the beginning of a line, or of time; or it is physical and civil, a very brief extension of a body, or of time; or it is metaphysical, which marks the negation of extension and divisibility; in this last sense, it is not absurd that the world and time are contained in a point of eternity." "Eternity alone has been and will be."

The omnipresence of God. He "is entire; entire in

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all; entire without all; included in no place, and farther, excluded from none." "He is in himself, in the infinity of his own essence, as he was before the world was founded." "The immense spaces of the world cannot exhaust the immensity of God, that he should be contained in them or circumscribed by them." "He is called omnipresent, not that he comes into composition with created things as a part of them, or that he is contained in them, but because the essence of no one of them either limits or excludes him."

The immutability of God. "By this it is affirmed concerning the Deity not only that there is no change, but that there is no possibility of a change, both in regard to his nature and in regard to his will. Because, 1. He is a necessary and independent entity. 2. Because he can neither be changed for the better, since he is the best of beings; nor for the worse, since in that case he would cease to be the most perfect. 3. Because all causes of change are removed from himself—a prior dependence on a passive power, error of mind and inconsistency of will." "When God became the creator, he was not changed in himself, for nothing was added to him *de novo*." "And as to the act in creating, since it is transient, not immortal, it is not so much in God, as it is for him." "The power of varying his own acts is not the principle of mutability in him, but only in his objects, unless it be understood of the variation of his own internal acts, which a perfect will does not vary, but only an imperfect one; for no one varies his purpose, unless he detects some imperfection in it, which can never be the case with God." "God can will the change of various things, his own will remaining unchanged, because he had already from eternity decreed such a change." "Penitence is attributed to God, not by reason of the resolve, but on account of the event; not because of the will itself, but of the things willed; not on account of an emotion and internal grief, but because of the effect and the external work, since he does what a penitent man is accustomed to do." "The promises and threatenings which are not fulfilled, do not argue a change of will, because they were conditional and not absolute, as is plain from Jer. 18: 7; and though the condition is not often expressed,

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but as it is tacitly understood and implied, it ought to be taken into account."

Turretin was a very able defender of the doctrine of "original sin." He held that the sin of Adam had brought the race into a depraved state. This is one of those points which may be said to characterize the Calvinistic system. That there are difficulties connected with this view of human corruption, none will deny. But it is equally true that there is no escape from them by adopting a theory, according to which the condition of the human race is equally hopeless, and where there is no interposition on the part of God, even when the obstacles to it seemed to be less. The view, that God sends each soul into the world with a certainty that it will fall, affords no relief. But is it wise for us to construct a scheme, according to the feeling we have, as to what our Creator ought or ought not to do? It cannot be philosophical to reject the obvious drift of Scripture, confirmed as it seems to be by the teachings of nature. We cannot see why a theologian should deviate from the rule which the man of science has adopted—to found the system on the facts in the case. Nor can we consider it as altogether a speculative question, without any practical bearing. It cuts off all hope of saving any man through moral instruction. The plea cannot now be raised, that it is within the limit of possibility that this or that soul may not need the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Hence the Bible represents the race as being morally and physically like Adam, after he had fallen. The apostle Paul represents all to be in such a state as to require the infusion of a new divine life. He teaches us that "if Christ died for all, then were all dead," and brings out this thought more fully in the fifth chapter of the epistle to the Romans. John also declares that "whatsoever is born of flesh is flesh." It is on this last passage, more than on any other one, that we rest the doctrine. It is impossible, on any fair principles of interpretation, to make it mean any thing else. The early and universal developments of depravity are not certainly out of harmony with this scriptural view.

But such a view involves a peculiar relation between Adam and his posterity. So Turretin regarded it. We will here quote a paragraph from him, in which he gives us

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the connection we hold to our first parent. "Adam in a manner included the whole human race which should spring from him, both as the root and seminal principle, from which the entire family must spring, and as the public person and representative head, who should represent all men, who in the course of nature might derive their origin from him; whence the covenant pertains not only to Adam, but to all his posterity in him. The ground of this communion arises from a double chain, by which men are bound with Adam, it (the chain) being in one respect natural, according to which he was the common father of all and they were his children, in another light being forensic, by which, in the most wise providence of God, he has been constituted the chief and head of the human race, who might contract for himself and his people, and might keep or lose for himself and his descendants, those benefits which were conferred upon him, as benefits for the entire human nature." It is a remarkable fact that God never renewed the covenant he made with Adam. Eternal life is never again offered on the ground of obedience. It would seem that the whole race were involved in the dreadful consequences of the first sin. But if our first parent had gone through the trial, then his posterity might be considered safe. The moral conservative influence would have been constantly increasing. Such a relation, too, would make it possible to provide one plan of redemption for the human family. Thus this unity of the race is also fraught with the greatest blessings. Had each one come into the world unaffected by Adam's sin, and been required to go through the same trial that awaited him, the same baneful consequences would have followed; but it would seem to exclude such a common redemption as that which Christ has procured.

There is, however, in Turretin's view, a vein of speculation. This is especially true of his doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin. We do not say that it is erroneous. But we should prefer a different phraseology, and a little less certain and dogmatical tone. It is well to endeavor to explain the reason of our suffering in consequence of the transgression in the garden. But let it be kept in mind that this explanation may not, after all, be the true one; that the rejection of it is not a rejection of

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the fact. Turretin regards this suffering as a kind of punishment, and consequently assumes a kind of guilt, which he calls "an exposure to punishment on account of sin." But this theologian does not teach a transfer of personal sin and guilt. It is in a "judicial" and not a personal sense, that men are sinners in Adam. Turretin uses the following language in reference to this point. "But when the sin of one is said to be imputed to any other, it is not to be understood that the sin becomes another's in itself and in every respect; but that in some way it pertains to him, to whom it is said to be imputed, if not properly, separately and personally, yet it does by common participation, on account of the communion which subsists between him and the proper author of it. For there can be no imputation of another's sin, unless some peculiar connection, which one party has with the other, has been established." Turretin pledged himself not to deviate a hair's breadth from the received doctrine of the Genevan church. He undoubtedly had a confidence in the truth of his system, and his ability to defend it. We respect him for his positive faith. But we hold that the object of theological discussion is religious truth. We have no sympathy with that class of men who dread an honest investigation in the truths of theology. We have no idea that the word of God is to be overthrown by learning and philosophy, whether they have their home here or in Germany. If we are earnest and faithful, we need not indulge such fears. It is only when there is a stagnation in the mind and heart, that the seeds of heresy are scattered over the land.

Turretin, as we have intimated, was the logician of the Genevan school. He was a lover of subtle distinctions. His logic, so admirable in the discussion of some isolated and obscure question, sometimes failed when a great sweep of thought was required. His work, though hardly suited for a text-book, is yet of immense value for the consummate ability with which he treats some of the essential truths of theology. He seems to overlook the fact that there is a unity in the Christian scheme. He dissects the system with all the skill of an anatomist; but to reconstruct this frame-work and breathe into it the breath of life is out of his power. It is easy to see from the references he makes to "the Master of Sentences" and his

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expositors, that they were his favorite teachers. The scholastic mode of discussion leads him at times to overlook those indirect arguments, which often are of much greater weight than certain isolated passages, which might be considered as proof texts. We will close our remarks upon Turretin, with an illustration of this principle, in reference to the Divinity of Christ. We will be as clear and concise as we can.

A diligent reader of the New Testament must be struck with the fact, the idea of a divine and adorable Redeemer interwoven with the apostolic mode of thinking and feeling. It had evidently taken root in the inmost depths of the minds of the New Testament writers. Hence we do not find so many formal statements of the doctrine, as we find assumptions of its truth. We see it associated with every other doctrine of Christianity, and made the moving principle of every Christian duty. But let us consider in a very brief manner, Christ's relation to the believer.

1. He is, in some sense, the Christian's substitute. We do not mean to enter into the discussion of the theological question. He is represented as suffering for him. His agony and anguish came from human guilt. No other being has endured what he has experienced. He stands alone in this respect. The load of our sinfulness was upon him through his life, in the garden, and on the cross, in a manner and to a degree which cannot be said of any other being. Hence we are bound to him, not merely as our benefactor, but as one who procured for us the greatest possible blessings, by the greatest possible sacrifice.

2. He is the source and support of spiritual life. From him it springs, by him it is sustained. Our Redeemer said, "I am the vine, ye are the branches." And on another occasion, "I am the bread of life." The apostle to the Gentiles tells us, in reference to himself, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." Thus, in his view, all holy life was derived from our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

3. He is the great object of our faith and love. All are invited "to come to him," "to believe on him," "to love him." Hence Paul says, "I take pleasure in distresses for Christ's sake." "I count them but dung, that I may win Christ." "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha." No caution

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is thrown out, either by our Saviour or his disciples, that there was any danger of loving such a being too well. We are not then surprised, when we read that the seer of Patmos saw the redeemed, ascribing to the Lamb that sitteth on the throne, "dominion, power and glory."

Christ also held a peculiar relation to the system of redemption. He did not come simply as the ambassador of God—as his agent. For he not only seeks to bring back the rebellious to their allegiance, but he aims to secure their affections for himself, to make his own character the object of their love and homage.

The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews draws a comparison between Moses and Christ. "For this (person) was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he who hath builded the house hath more honor than the house." "And Moses verily was faithful in all his house, as a servant, for a testimony of those things which were to to be spoken after; but Christ as a son over his own house." We may express it thus,—Christ rules over the dispensation of which he was the founder; Moses serves in the economy of which he was a member.

The record of the lives of these two confirm this view. Christ approaches the Father, as one whom he had eternally and perfectly known. He who was "in the bosom of the Father" could "declare him." He had a glory with him "before the world was." The Jewish lawgiver approaches the Almighty with profound trembling and awe.

As the author of the new dispensation, he sends the Spirit into the world to carry on his work, and promises to come again and gather his people home to himself. Acting in the same capacity, he commissions his apostles to preach Christ. They are not to make it their great work to enlarge on the moral beauty of virtue, nor simply to unfold the attributes of God; but to make the character and work of the Redeemer the great theme of their sermons. Thus Paul says, "I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified."

Again, as the founder of the new economy, Christ established two rites, baptism and the supper. The first is a profession of faith in him. In the death to sin, and the rising to a new life, which it symbolizes, it also points to Christ's death and resurrection. The supper is a memo-

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rial of Christ's broken body and bleeding side. By it we are mindful of the sacrifice he made for us, and that he is the spiritual manna for our souls. Thus these rites have a peculiar relation to our Redeemer.

Now we ask, what must be the nature of a being holding such a connection with us, and with that system of religion by which we obtain eternal life? It is these considerations which influence the great mass of believers, and make their faith strong against the attacks of the skeptic or the Socinian. It would be easy to show that Christ held a peculiar relation also to the creation; that between him and all other beings, there was an immense gulf; that no where is he spoken of as a creature, but as existing in eternity, enjoying perfect intimacy with God, and as endowed with creative energy, through which the world was brought into being; but we meant only to indicate this indirect method of proving our Lord's divinity, without developing it to that extent of which it is capable.

BENEDICT PICTET.

A Brief Historical Notice.

Benedict Pictet was born in Geneva on the thirtieth of May, 1655. He studied with great success under Francis Turretin, in the Academy of his native city. At the age of twenty, after his studies were completed, he visited France, where he formed an intimacy with the families of Claude and Allix, distinguished Protestants of that country. He then went to Leyden, where Frederic Spanheim was teaching. Here he acquired such a reputation that afterwards, on the death of that theologian, he was invited to fill his place. After spending a short time in England, he returned to Geneva and was soon admitted into the company of pastors. In 1702 he was elected professor of theology. Having filled this chair with great credit to himself, he died on the ninth of June, 1724. John Alphonso Turretin performed the same sad service which Pictet had rendered to his distinguished father. He was a man of great benevolence and piety, and seems to have gained the esteem of all classes of Geneva, by the urbanity of his deportment. He may be considered the last of the distinguished theologians of the Genevan orthodox school. Besides his principal work on theology, he

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also published a treatise on Christian Morality in eight volumes, duodecimo, and a history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in two volumes, quarto, besides many excellent tracts of a controversial or practical character.

His Character as a Theologian.

His Christian Theology was first published in Latin, in eleven volumes, octavo, in 1696, at Geneva. It appeared at Amsterdam in 1701, in two volumes, quarto, and again with a third volume containing a brief history of the councils, the popes, and distinguished Protestant theologians, besides a sketch of profane and sacred history, in 1708, also in 1721. This last is the best edition. This work has been translated with some abridgment into German and English. The Presbyterian Tract Society has also issued a translation of the same character, containing rather the results of the theologian's discussions, than the investigations themselves.

The following is a synopsis of the contents of the work. The first book treats of "the proofs of the existence of God. 2. The nature of God and his perfections. 3. The holy and adorable Trinity. 4. The decrees of God in general. 5. Creation. 6. The fall of angels and men. 7. Providence. 8. Of that which God hath determined concerning the salvation of men. 9. Of the means by which God has saved men—of Jesus Christ, the Mediator, and of grace. 10. Of vocation. 11. Of justification. 12. Of sanctification. 13. Of glorification. 14. Of the church. 15. Of the sacraments."

Each of these books is divided into a number of chapters, under each of which is discussed a separate branch of the general subject. His mode of treating theological topics is very simple. He first gives a clear statement of the subject, and proceeds at once to the proof of the proposition, drawn from reason and Scripture. After this he enumerates all the principal objections, and gives to each a separate answer. In addition to this, he generally adds a history of the doctrine, which, however, is of little service to the critical student. In this department of theological science, he must rely on German scholarship. One may well object to this method of disposing of the objections. It leads the mind into a servile dependence on his text-book. So long as the student can remember the objection and answer, he

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is able to meet his antagonist; but if a difficulty be raised, of a somewhat novel character, the student is at a loss how to remove it. Thus lifted from the sphere where alone he was invincible, he is thrown, like the giants of old, in the first encounter. In short, he has not been taught to master the great principles of the science, and to see how they will apply to overthrow not only all existing objections, but all that may arise in the brain of the infidel or heretic. It is worse than useless to follow every single foe through the windings of the forest, when by merely taking and holding certain commanding positions, we can compel the whole opposing army to surrender. The Jesuit mode of controversy may be agreeable to those who are fond of making a display of their skill in the use of the old scholastic weapons; but the cause of truth often suffers from the signal defeat of such champions. Still there are specific objections which must be taken up, especially those which rest on a false interpretation of Scripture. Pictet is not so profound as Turretin; but he is as clear, and perhaps more learned than that eminent theologian.

We may here notice another doctrine, which has been identified with the Calvinistic system,—the Holy Spirit, the only efficient cause of the new holy life of the Christian. The "means of grace" have no efficiency in producing this moral state. There is no course of action which a sinner can take, that, without an element of holiness, will secure the grace of God. We cannot say with the Scotists, that there is a merit in a sinner's acts, which will bring down upon the soul the regenerating influence of the Spirit. It is not only contrary to the direct teachings of Scripture on this subject and on the doctrine of election, which such a view would overthrow, but when stated in all its nakedness, is offensive to our moral feelings. If we may venture to give it in plain terms, it is this. There is a certain form of human sinfulness which, either by its own merit or by the sovereign promise of God, will secure the renovating power of the Holy Ghost. We know this seems a very different statement from those glowing descriptions of the outward phenomena which appear, as the man passes from one moral state to the opposite. But one greatly imposes on himself, when he thus covers the very points in question by a multitude of words. We must see clearly in all such descriptions

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what was the condition of the sinner prior to the moment when his regeneration is supposed to have taken place, and also what connection there was between that state and the efficient cause which worked a new creation. There is as much truth as beauty in the words of our Lord on this subject. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit." It is true, that truth is the grand instrumentality in the conversion of the sinner; but God uses it when he pleases, and in a manner above our comprehension. The preaching of this doctrine in an earnest Christian manner, will continue to exert, we have no doubt, the most salutary influence.

We will give here a translation of a short chapter from Pictet, on the personality of the Spirit. It is an interesting subject, and, though not treated with as much power as some others, yet gives a fair view of the writer's method, with his excellences and defects.

THE MOST HOLY AND ADORABLE TRINITY. THE HOLY SPIRIT; HIS PERSONALITY.

BOOK III. CHAP. XV.

We must now speak of the third person of the most holy Trinity—the Holy Spirit. But first of all it is needful to state that the term "spirit," in all languages, signifies, in a literal sense, wind or breath; and that this word is employed to represent the nature of the Divinity, because among all material objects, from which we borrow emblems to express divine things, there is not one which better represents the spiritual essence of God, joined with an infinite efficiency and power. We also remark that as the wind is in its nature less known and yet more sensible, so it is true of the Deity, whose influence all intelligent beings feel, but of whose nature they are nevertheless ignorant. We must besides add, that the name "spirit" is given to souls and angels. The third remark we have to make is that this term is often used to denote the gifts and graces of the Spirit of God; but that it most often designates the third person of the truly adorable Trinity, and it is in this sense that we use it in this chapter.

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To treat this subject as clearly as its difficulty will allow, we must examine these five questions.

1. Whether the Holy Spirit is a virtue of God, or a person distinct from the Father and the Son. Gregory of Nyssen seems to have doubted whether it was a substance.

2. Whether it is a divine person,—that is, if it is the Deity.

3. From whom did it proceed?

4. Why do we name it "holy"?

In regard to the first question, whether it is a virtue of the Deity, or a person, it is easy to demonstrate that the Holy Spirit is a person, and a person distinct from the Father and the Son. It is only necessary to read the sixteenth verse of the fourteenth chapter of John, and the thirteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter. "And I will pray the Father, and he will give you another comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive." "Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear that shall he speak, and he will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine and shall show it unto you." It is not possible for one to persuade himself that there is a question whether, in these passages, a virtue or a person is spoken of.

If the Holy Spirit were only a virtue, would Jesus Christ have said to his disciples, Go baptize in the name of the Spirit? One cannot say, we may baptize in the name of an attribute.

In answer to this we are told, that if we are baptized in the name of the Holy Spirit, so also it is said we are baptized with the Holy Spirit.—Matt. 3: 11; Acts. 1: 5. Now this, they declare, cannot be predicated of a person. I reply, 1. That if this reasoning could hold, we should have to say that Jesus Christ was not a person. For it is said, we are clothed with Jesus Christ; we eat Jesus Christ. Yet we can affirm that one does not clothe himself with a person, and does not nourish himself with one. 2. When it is said, we are baptized with the Holy Ghost, we are taught that we receive the graces and gifts of the Spirit.

All those passages which represent the Spirit as show-

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ing, testifying, making overseers of the church, separating, and searching the deep things of God, confirm the truth of this doctrine. One must desire to blind himself, to wish to explain these passages in the same way as when we say of sin, that it seduces us, or that it slays us, Rom. 7: 11; of charity, that it suffereth long and is kind; of the blood of Abel, that it cries; of heaven, that it hears, Is. 1: 2; since one has only to compare these passages with the others, in order to see the difference.

But above all, one cannot doubt, when he sees in the twelfth chapter of the first Corinthians, the Spirit is distinguished from its gifts, and this in a passage where the Spirit is spoken of in distinction from the Father and the Son. "There is a diversity of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administration, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God."

But the matter will appear yet more plain, if we notice those passages where we are warned not to grieve the Spirit, which could be said only in reference to a person. The mention of the sin against the Holy Ghost clearly shows that the Spirit is not only a person, but also a divine person. One cannot doubt, if he considers that the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is distinguished from sin against the Father and against the Son; Matt. 12: 31, 32.

In short, when one reads that the Spirit has descended upon Jesus Christ in the form of a dove, and on the apostles in the form of tongues of fire, one cannot understand this as not said of a person; for we cannot say of qualities and accidents that they descend under visible forms.

No valid objection has been made against this truth. It is argued that the Spirit is called the power of God, Luke 1: 35; 24: 49, compared with Acts 1: 4, 5, 8; 10: 48, and cannot be a person. I reply that it does not follow that the Spirit is not a person; Jesus Christ is also called the power of God, 1 Cor. 1: 24. Simon, the magician, called him the great power of God. Acts 8: 10. In order that in all the passages which they cite, they may distinguish the Spirit from the power of the Spirit, let them only read the eighth verse of the first

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chapter of Acts. "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost has come upon you."

They make use of all those passages, where it is said, the Spirit is given to men, and that they receive it. Luke 11: 13; John 14: 16, 17; Rom. 5: 5; John 20: 22. But has not God told us, in many places of the sacred Scriptures, that he is the portion of the faithful? Lam. 3: 24. Is it not also said that Jesus Christ is given to us, that we receive him, John 3: 16; Col. 2: 6; that he dwells in our hearts, Eph. 3: 17? St. Paul says of Christ, that God sent him, as he also said of the Spirit, Gal. 4: 4, 6. We cannot conclude from these expressions that the Spirit is not a person. Besides, we ought to remark that in these passages, when the Spirit is represented as a gift, it is also described as a person, distinguished from his attributes, Rom. 5. "The love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Spirit which is given us." The love of God, which is the effect of the working of the Spirit, is separated from the Spirit itself.

They do not admit those passages as proof-texts, where it is said that we are anointed and filled with the Spirit. But first it is also said we are filled with all the fullness of God. And when it is said, we are anointed with the Spirit, it is clear that this is spoken in reference to its gifts. They bring up the passage in John, 20: 22, where Christ gave the apostles his Spirit in breathing upon them. But who does not see that the breath of Jesus Christ was only an emblem of the Spirit which Christ communicated to them? It is then clear, that the Spirit is a person. But we must now see if it is a divine person; or, to speak more clearly, if it is the Deity.

Although the works of these theologians* are of great

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* We give a list of the professors in theology, from the commencement of the Academy to near the close of the eighteenth century. The dates show when they entered on their duties, and when they resigned or died.

	Accessus.	Exitus.		Accessus.	Exitus.
John Calvin,	1559	1564	Charles Perrot, (e)	1598	1608
Theo. de Beza, (a)	1559	1605	J. Diodati, (f)	1609	1645
N. Colladon, (b)	1566	1571	G. Alexius,	1610	1614
C. B. Bertram,	1572	1586	Theo. Tronchin, (g)	1615	1657
Lambert Daneau, (c)	1572	1581	Ben. Turretin,	1612	1631
Ant. la Faye, (d)	1584	1615	F. Spanheim, (h)	1631	1642
J. B. Rotan,	1587?	1589	Alex. Morus,	1642	1648
H. Signardius,	1596	1598	Ant. Leger,	1645	1661

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value, from the literary information which they contain, and from the signal ability exhibited in the discussion of many subjects, yet they are hardly suited for text-books. They were written more than a century and a half ago, and are not adapted to the wants of the present age. We are aware that the doctrines of Christianity do not change, and that the relation they hold to each other does not alter. But as new forms of error arise, we are called upon to pay special attention to those truths which are the object of attack. No new place or prominence is given to them in the system; but only in the discussion of theological topics. Thus we have to meet those who deny the authority of the apostles. There are very many who, satisfied that a fair interpretation of the Scriptures will not sustain their faith, are the more disposed to reject the inspiration of the writers of the New Testament. There is, too, an æsthetic view of religion which has taken hold of some minds, and which is not treated of by the older theologians. We sometimes hear individuals talk of love of holiness, as though it was one with the artist's love of the beautiful, as though religion had its seat, not in the affections, but in those sentiments which are awakened by the presence of the objects of taste. We are to remember also that science is making new discoveries, and opening a wider field for illustration. And

	Accessus.	Exitus.
Ph. Meztrezat,	1649	1690
Francis Turretin,	1653	1687
Louis Tronchin, (i)	1661	1705
B. Callendrin,	1690	1713?
Benedict Pictet,	1702	1724
J. Alph. Turretin,	1705	1737
Ant. Leger, (j)	1713	1719
Samuel Turretin, (k)	1719	1727
Ant. Maurice,	1724	1750
J. Bossonet,	1727	1750
L. Tronchin.	1737	1756?
De Roches,	1749	1769
J. Vernet,	1756	1789

(a) See his life, written in German, by J. W. Baum, a close follower of Calvin, learned, but less profound than his master. He was more of an artist than Melancthon, but with less delicate sensibility.

(b) He was removed from his place for his abusive language.

(c) A voluminous writer, but deficient in genius.

(d) His chief work is Enchi. dispu. theo. 8vo. 1605. A friend of Calvin.

(e) He wrote against the separation from Rome, which was effected at the Reformation.

(f) A learned and sound theologian—distinguished at the Synod of Dort. Translator of Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.

(g) He sustained, under the famous Gomar at Leyden, a thesis "de pecc. originali."

(h) His most noted work is, Dubia evan. discus. et vindicata, quarto, 3 vols.

(i) His best work is "Theses theologicæ,"—the teacher of J. A. Turretin.

(j) More of a philosopher than a theologian.

(k) Talented, as all the family were, but died too soon to distinguish himself.

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speculative systems of philosophy are setting up their rival claims to universal dominion. Besides all these considerations, the older theologians were somewhat faulty in the interpretations they give of Scripture. In this department a real progress has been made. It cannot be denied that while the critical study of the Bible has set aside many of the proof-texts of the orthodox theologians, it has also placed all that they hold essential, on the only sure foundation—the word of God.

A BRIEF NOTICE OF THE CHANGE OF VIEWS IN THE GENEVAN SCHOOL.

Here it may be proper to notice the change which took place in the Genevan school of theology. We will briefly note some of the events connected with it. In the first half of the seventeenth century, a controversy arose in Geneva with regard to the imputation of Adam's sin. From a letter which Claude wrote to Turretin, it is manifest that the professors were divided on the question. Morus and Meztrezat were suspected by the council of denying this doctrine, together with election. In 1649 a "consensus" was drawn up by this celebrated teacher; and, to prevent any mental reservations, the council called on the ministers to sign it with these words, "Sic sentio, sic docebo, et nihil contrarium hisce docebo, vel publice vel privatim." But in 1705, J. A. Turretin, the son of the theologian, whose works we have noticed, procured the repeal of this regulation. He was a man of great learning, but with a strong leaning to the Socinian view. His work published in 1719, "Disser. de arti. fundamentalibus," translated by Mr. Sparks, gives us his character. It professes to be a work on the essentials of religion; but it is without depth or earnestness. It is difficult to see how a Christian could write such a tract on such a subject. He was elected professor, but he did not adopt any system, but only read his lectures on certain theological topics, as the evidences of Christianity. In 1725, the students were released from signing the Helvetic confession of faith, and were pledged only to preach the doctrines of the Bible, as the catechism summarily set them forth. Vernet followed, or rather went beyond, Turretin. This course produced an apathy; but the general silence was at last broken. D'Alembert in 1757, in his article in the Enclyclopedia on Geneva, accused

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most of the ministers of denying the Deity of Christ. This drew forth from the pastors a vague declaration of their opinions, which tended to confirm the charge. Rousseau, in a letter to Montague, says of them, "They are asked, what mysteries they believe? They dare not answer. One knows not either what they believe, or what they disbelieve; one does not even know what they pretend to believe; their only method of establishing their own faith is by attacking that of others." The influence of Rousseau and Voltaire was the greater, from the fact that there was no vital energy in the Unitarian view of Christianity to resist their attacks. In 1788, Calvin's catechism was given up, and another one adopted, more suited to the tastes of the pastors. The open controversy broke out in Geneva, not far from the time when it appeared in New England. But we do not mean to enter further into the history of this subject. The chain of causes which brought about this apostacy may be thus stated: unnatural connection of church and state, an intolerant dogmatism, the passive reception of the doctrines of the creed, and the stagnation which followed. And when the spiritual life seemed to have reached its lowest point, the great infidels of Europe appear, and complete the work of destruction. And now, as might be expected, the theological school of Geneva has lost all its glory. It has no positive system of theology, no enthusiasm in its study, and, we fear, no divine life.

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ARTICLE II.

RHETORICAL STUDIES.

WITHOUT the formality of a definition, we shall here consider rhetoric as aiming to produce good public discourses; good as to their matter, their structure, and their delivery. This view of the design of rhetoric is sufficiently near, for all practical purposes, to the definition which Quinctilian prefers; namely, rhetoric is the science of speaking well; or, if we may expand the definition in order to show the full meaning of the principal terms, rhetoric teaches the proper composition and the proper delivery of a good oration. It agrees sufficiently, also, with Campbell's definition of eloquence:—"Eloquence is that art, or talent, by which a discourse is fitted to produce its end."

The design of rhetoric, as here expressed, renders it unnecessary to discuss the utility of this department of study to a candidate for the ministry. All will agree as to the utility of the end proposed by sacred rhetoric. A judicious system of instruction in the forming period of life, with direct reference to this end, will evidently contribute to its attainment, and must therefore be pronounced useful.

§ *Objections against the Study of Rhetoric.*

Objections have very gravely been urged against rhetoric, as a department of study, both by the unlearned and the learned. These objections arise, however, in part, from misconceptions of the study itself. It has been supposed that its main design is to teach a writer how to marshal his words and sentences in the most elegant manner, and particularly, to form a flowery style of writing, that may please, without solid benefit. This is a misconception; for while rhetoric seeks to cultivate style, and to produce an agreeable and at-

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tractive mode of writing, it also enjoins, as of far higher value—indeed, as the only foundation of a truly good style—sound sense and solid argument.* The style which rhetoric enjoins on a public speaker, is precisely that which nature, in earnest operation, prompts as most surely, most readily, and most impressively conveying his thoughts to an audience; a style, far remote from that which often calls forth the praise of being a beautiful one. Let a man honestly set himself, in real self-forgetfulness, and in deep solicitude for the one object of "communicating important truths to others, in the best, simplest, strongest, briefest mode;" and he is, in that way, conforming to the precepts of genuine rhetoric.

An objection has arisen, also, from the fact, that men, who had the credit of much rhetorical power, have not unfrequently succeeded, by this power, in vanquishing a good cause and making error and falsehood triumphant. This objection involves the idea of an intimate connection between rhetoric and logic, and this connection it is well to observe. The fact, stated as a ground of objection, must certainly be conceded. But it only illustrates the abuse of a good thing, or the mischievous misapplication of a most salutary power. On the other hand, it may be said that, while rhetorical power may "make the worse appear the better reason," it is able also to detect the perversion, and may secure an ultimate triumph for virtue and truth. The forces of rhetoric act more freely and effectively in behalf of truth and of a just cause; and it is no solid objection against it, that sagacity may often so conceal circumstances, or so color them, as to give an undue temporary advantage to error. In almost every sphere of action in this world, truth has to conflict with error. Now this simple statement implies, that error has powers at its command. It is no wonder, then, that rhetoric shares the common lot. It is one of the facts which we must meet, and for which we must become prepared by putting on the whole armor, with which our nature and divine providence have furnished us. A truly philosophical training in rhetoric materially increases a person's ability to expose error in

* Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.

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its deformities, and to strip the unfair writer, or speaker, of his unlawful advantages.*

It is very obvious, however, that a rhetorical training is not justly chargeable with the impositions which have been practised on the unwary; for such a training is far from being necessary, in order that one may learn the modes of deception, or of concealing truth, or of wrongly coloring circumstances. The truth is, the elements with which rhetoric deals, and by which she would form able writers and speakers, and which may be made, according to men's dispositions, or principles, subservient to a righteous or an unrighteous cause, are originally in our constitution; they are exhibited by the uneducated as well as the educated, in private life as well as in public. So true is this, that we shall probably only express what has been a matter of observation to our readers as well as to ourselves, when we say that one of the most crafty public speakers we ever heard was a man who could make no pretensions to rhetorical culture.

An objection has also arisen from the fact, that rhetoricians have given rules for the express purpose of showing how to defeat a good cause, and to secure triumph for a bad one. Justice does not permit an attempt to vindicate those who professedly arm an opponent of truth and right for the purpose of securing his own, or others', selfish ends. It deserves, however, to be remarked, that those who are called to plead a good cause ought also to be clad in armor, and be able to defeat dishonest artifices, and ought not to allow any legitimate means to be neglected which the author of their nature has given them for carrying a good point. If error may be promoted by a skilful reasoner, or advocate, shall truth be allowed to be overborne through the failure of its friends to cultivate, or to employ, their natural, or acquired, endowments in the best manner?

It ought, also, as an offset to this objection, to be considered, that an adequate acquaintance with the most

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* The above paragraph regards rhetoric and logic as combined; and this is the true view, since rhetoric has to deal so much with reasoning. Compare Whately's Rhetoric, Introduction, § 1, and the remark of Zeno, who, as Cicero relates in his *Orator*, § 32, clenching his fist, said, "This is logic;" opening his hand and spreading it out, said, "This is rhetoric." In other words we may say, rhetoric is logic expanded,

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promising modes of approaching men's minds for a good purpose involves, from the nature of the case, a knowledge of the most promising modes of approach for an opposite purpose, provided a man has the disposition to attempt such a purpose. A good course of training and instruction for a physician, makes him acquainted with the nature of poisons as well as of remedies, and with the mode of using the same article for a good purpose or a bad one; so that the very skill which makes him a preserver of life may, if he be so disposed, make him a destroyer of it. But where is the blame in such a case? In the art, or in the man? In the knowledge, or in the application of it? In medical principles, or in the individual practitioner? And who would wish his physician to be ignorant of the human constitution, and of the principles which are indispensable to his practice, but which can be most easily abused?

We have thus far looked at the subject generally; and that the rather, because the opportunity could thus be employed to correct some of the partial and false conceptions, which are current concerning this department of study. When we take a view of sacred rhetoric specifically, it would seem as if scarcely any specious objection can be raised against it. For we place before our minds a pious man, engaged in preaching the gospel, and in vindicating its principles from error and perversion. Such a man's object is, not to deceive on any occasion, but to exhibit and enforce divine truth, to forestall, or to correct, errors and misapprehensions concerning it, and to form a holy character in his hearers. Sacred rhetoric designs to help him present religious truth intelligently, attractively, convincingly, persuasively; and this not for accomplishing a present, or merely temporary, purpose, nor for producing a single act, or series of acts, under a kind of irresistible impulse; but to make men righteous in heart and life, towards one another and towards God, and to prepare them for heaven. If now by instructions having specific reference to preaching, men can be qualified to preach the gospel in a more effective manner, there can be no hesitation in concluding that such instructions are too important to be dispensed with. It need scarcely be added, that sacred rhetoric proposes as its special object,

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to cultivate in candidates for the ministry, the power of being intelligible, convincing, persuasive preachers.

§ *Relation of Rhetoric to other Studies.*

While, however, the object of rhetoric in general, and of sacred rhetoric in particular, is thus confessedly important, it will not be gained unless this study be allowed to occupy its appropriate place. Now rhetoric does not undertake to furnish the materials of a discourse; it teaches how to employ materials which have been gained from other sources. It does not design to make a man learned; but to direct him how to to use his learning and his natural skill. It does not design to increase a person's knowledge, as theology, for instance, does, or history, or the sciences in general. It takes for granted, that stores of learning have already been acquired and will be increased, and that the mind has become disciplined; so that the person, whom it would aid in preparing to address public assemblies, is regarded as having all the substantial qualifications for this service, and as needing instruction and preparatory practice in reference to the proper manner of using his materials. Should a person, therefore, enter on this branch of study with the expectation of its adding to his knowledge, or of its being able alone, or mainly, to make him a good writer and an orator, he will necessarily be disappointed; for he is expecting from it what it does not promise to give, and what, from its very nature, it has not the capacity of giving. But let it occupy its proper place, and it will greatly aid him in making his acquisitions available to the purpose for which he has sought those acquisitions.*

Such, indeed, is the nature of rhetoric, that the interests of a person who is destined to some department of public oratory would by no means suffer, should his rhetorical

* Compare Cicero's declaration in his treatise entitled ORATOR, § 3. Fateor, me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis, exstitisse. . . . . Hujus [Platonis] et aliorum philosophorum disputationibus et exagitatus maxime orator est, et adjutus. . . . Positum sit igitur in primis, sine philosophia non posse effici eloquentem. See also § 33.

The reader will remember the latitude which was given to the term *philosophy* among the ancients. Theology was one of the branches of philosophy; at least, so far as discussions on the being, the nature, and the attributes of God are concerned. The remarks of Cicero should be understood rather with reference to the general principle involved in them, than to any particular class of studies.

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training be deferred until his general education is far advanced, and he has secured its substantial parts. A very early, and especially at the commencing point of a literary course, a disproportionate attention to rhetoric—such as seeks its benefits directly and mainly, rather than indirectly and incidentally—is in danger of making a showy, superficial writer, instead of a solid one, and of forming habits in writing which must be corrected in order to produce efficient public speaking, but which will most strenuously refuse to yield to the maturer judgment of the man. A mere lad, who learns somewhat concerning figures of speech, and contemplates some choice specimens of what is called fine writing, and exercises his skill in presenting his thoughts in various pretty forms of expression, is apt to conceive of this as studying and practising rhetoric; and it may be that he will not, through his whole life, be disabused of this idea.*

A due consideration of the nature, the proper relative position, and the purpose of this department of study, at once explains how it happens that men may be very useful in the ministry who have not attended to it; though, clearly, if with their attainments in religion and general knowledge, and with their industrious habits, they had enjoyed rhetorical culture also, they might have been far more useful.

This view also explains why a mere, or a chief, attention to style, or phraseology, may terminate in producing only a shallow, or a feeble, though, it may be, a showy writer. If a man's aim is to write in a beautiful style, without a just regard to copious and exact knowledge, to weight of thought and vigor of conception, it is surely not surprising that he is not an instructive, or influential, or permanently interesting writer or speaker.

These remarks are specially applicable to candidates for the ministry, in whose expected calling solid usefulness, rather than reputation for any external graces, is the real and the proposed aim. They, above all men, should avoid the mistake of valuing light and trifling ornaments of language; while at the same time, they can-

* Cicero has the following appropriate remark in the Orator, § 34. De materia loquor orationis. . . . Volo enim prius habeat orator rem, de qua dicat, dignam auribus eruditis, quam cogitet, quibus verbis quidque dicat, aut quomodo.

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not, if truly wise, neglect as of no value a branch of study which may so directly subserve the end and aim of their intellectual discipline and of their literary acquisitions, both general and sacred; namely, the increased ability to proclaim the word of life clearly, attractively, forcibly.

§ *Value of Rules.*

By these views of the utility of rhetorical studies, we may judge of the value of rules in the preparation of public discourses. Rules cannot furnish materials, nor supply the lack of genius; and hence can, by themselves, never form a profitable public speaker. They can give a right general direction to genius, and suggest modes of properly employing materials. But they cannot, from the nature of the case, supersede judgment in considering the demands of each particular case, nor supersede reliance on a person's own resources, and on his own invention, in regard to a method of proceeding. No system of rules can anticipate the vast variety of circumstances, which will arise in active life; and it is eminently true in the case of a public speaker, that he must have judgment and tact, so as not to be fettered by any rules. The proper end of a truly philosophical education is, not to impart a certain amount of knowledge, nor to mould a pupil's mind by a certain model to which he must ever after be slavishly conformed, but to fit the mind for independent action, to make it an inventing agent, ready to exert its own inherent powers on all the occasions of activity. Rhetoric, consequently, can only mark out a general course, as suggested by the teachings of nature and the results of experience on the part of men who have been successful public speakers. And a due consideration of such men will show, that, while in their efforts they paid a general regard to certain rules, they also followed the impulse of their individual genius, and no one of them could have walked in the track of another. We need not, as is suggested by a judicious writer in the Edinburgh Review, we need not a system of minute technical rules; still less, a formal application of any system whatever. But to imbue the mind with great general principles, leaving them to operate imperceptibly on the formation of habit, and to suggest, without distinct

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consciousness of their presence, the lesson which the occasion demands, is a very different thing; and this is precisely the thing which rhetorical precepts aim to accomplish.

There are, then, two extremes to be avoided; one, that of servile subjection to rules, which cramps genius, or rather which can be exemplified only in men of no genius; the other, that of entire disregard of rules, which does not condescend to receive benefit from the success of distinguished men. The vanity of this latter extreme should receive as little quarter, as the dulness and servility of the other. A wise man will know how to make a good use of rules, and will be able, through their proper influence on him, to make rules for himself, or rather to obey the impulse of a well trained and suggestive genius with the same freedom as if his principles and resources were all self-originated.

The case of a public speaker who has been trained by the precepts of rhetoric in the earlier period of his life, is the same as that of any man who has passed through a process of training for any employment which tasks the intellectual powers. Even a mechanic, who during his apprenticeship was required to follow the rules of his master, obtains at length, by observation and experience, superiority to mere rules; and though he was trained by rule, yet his inventive powers, properly cultivated and directed, enable him to strike out and execute new plans, which prove him to be the master, not the slave, of his profession. But how much he owes to the tedious, formal processes of his apprenticeship, he may not be able to estimate; or, perhaps, none will be more ready than himself to acknowledge. The same is eminently true of many who have obtained distinction in the fine arts of painting and statuary. And in general, it may be said,—and the important bearing of the remark on candidates for the ministry is instantly obvious—the more intellectual a person's employment may be, the greater will be the demand on his independent ability to guide himself. This suggestion is made, of course, not in order to provoke a disregard of regular instruction,—for that, in many cases, would be suicidal,—but to show how lofty should be the aim of such men, and how earnest should be their purpose, by well directed efforts, in the early period of

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life, to become qualified for the responsibilities which they are hereafter to bear, personally, as leaders, not as followers; as teachers, not as pupils.

As sustaining the opinions here advanced, the following thoughts are appended, in part, suggested by certain passages in Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind, and, in part, extracted from the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Rules may sometimes be hurtful to the student, or to the practical man. When this happens, the cause will probably be found to be one of these two: 1. The rules were not properly philosophical, but arbitrary, not founded in the nature of the human mind. 2. The rules were not sufficiently familiarized, so as to be almost, if not altogether, insensibly applied. In order that a system of rules may be useful, they must, by familiar acquaintance, become a sort of second nature. (Compare Stewart, Vol. I, pp. 51, 52.)

Rules are the results of successful experience. One who follows a judicious system of rules, then, avails himself of the experience of predecessors, and enables himself to save, at least, a great amount of time which would otherwise be spent in making experiments, or in acting blindly. Such a system of rules puts him far in advance of what he would be without them, and makes his success far more likely. The difference between a man who enters on his employment without such study and one who avails himself of such aid, is akin to that between a man who has experience and one who has it not.

In this view, a man of ordinary powers may rise near the level of an uncommon man, and may sometimes even succeed better than a superior man, who does not choose to profit by the experience of predecessors. At the same time, a man of uncommon genius, instead of finding his powers cramped by attending to a judicious system, may find himself placed on vantage-ground by the successful labors of predecessors. No one can wisely slight, or neglect, a judicious system of instruction in regard to any important department of labor. (Compare Stewart, Vol. I, p. 47.)

Sir Joshua Reynolds, the eminent painter, and first president of the British Royal Academy,—whose Discourses well deserve the perusal of all who are contem-

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plating any department of public oratory, as well as students in painting and statuary, of all indeed who love good sense and pure English—in his Discourse at the opening of the Academy, (Literary Works, Vol. I, p. 12,) has the following instructive thoughts on the value of rules.

"Every opportunity should be taken to discountenance that false and vulgar opinion, that rules are the fetters of genius. They are fetters only to men of no genius; as that armor, which upon the strong is an ornament and a defence, upon the weak and misshapen becomes a load, and cripples the body which it was made to protect.

"How much liberty may be taken to break through those rules, may be a subsequent consideration, when the pupils become masters themselves. It is then, when their genius has received its utmost improvement, that rules may possibly be dispensed with. But let us not destroy the scaffold, until we have raised the building."

H. J. R.

ARTICLE III.

EDUCATION OF THE CONSCIENCE.

By R. E. Pattison, D. D.

The importance of metaphysical studies is, perhaps, never duly appreciated. The exhibitions of a vigorous intellect are rare, in an age in which the study of metaphysical philosophy is fallen into disrepute. The athletic vigor and versatile skill, which characterized the European understanding in the sixteenth century, is attributed by Sir James McIntosh to the influence of metaphysical controversies. "We may be allowed to doubt," he says, "whether any knowledge, dependent directly on experience, and applicable to immediate practice, would have so trained the European mind as to qualify it for that series of inventions, and discoveries, and institutions,

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which begins with the sixteenth century, and of which no end can now be foreseen but the extinction of the race of man.

While metaphysical studies are eminently favorable to the cultivation of the understanding and to the sharpening of the wit, some of them are equally useful in their influence on the heart and character. It is believed that eminent examples of moral excellence are rare, in proportion as these studies fall into disuse. And nothing, in this general department of human investigation, can exert a more favorable influence on man's moral nature, than the science of conscience; or that specific view of it which we propose—its education. It is a theme involving principles purely philosophical, and in their practical bearing as vast and as important as the immortal interests of man, whether as an individual, or in his social relations.

Before entering, however, upon the consideration of the main subject—the cultivation of the conscience—it will be necessary to consider several elementary principles, which will show a foundation laid in our moral constitution for successful education.

Duty is the condition of man's being. By this fact, as much, if not more, than by any other, he is distinguished from the lower orders of the animal creation. We never say of a beast that it is its duty to do any thing, any more than we say of grain, that it is its duty to grow, and yield fruit. Such language is peculiar to man. Such is his nature and the circumstances under which his Creator has placed him, that there are certain acts which he ought, and others which he ought not to perform; by the former he is eligible to reward, by the latter he is the fit subject of punishment.

This idea of obligation is, also, something wholly distinct from every other. It is neither self-interest, nor general benevolence, nor truth, nor fitness of things, nor justice. It is never contrary to any of these. It palpably accords with justice and truth; and were our views sufficiently comprehensive and vast to embrace the eternity of our existence, it would unquestionably be seen to harmonize, not only with the dictates of general benevolence, but with our highest individual interest. Duty, however, is something distinct from each and all of these; and with some of them it appears, at the time at least, to be

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at variance; one of which is required to succumb to the other.

We are not required, perhaps, to answer the question, why we ought to do one thing and to omit another; that is to explain the reason of duty. It is enough for our present purpose, that it be admitted that there are obligations, which our race cannot escape; which, though utterly distinct in their nature from hope or fear, are as much a motive of action as either. Some have made truth the foundation of duty; others, the greatest good of the universe; others, the will of God. It will meet our present object to admit the fact, that men are accountable creatures, whether that obligation arises from God's command exclusively, or from that command in accordance with other reasons. It matters not whether God's will be the ultimate reason of our duty: or because it is God's prerogative to enforce on his creatures the observance of the immutable distinctions of right and wrong,—a prerogative arising to him from the fact that he is our Creator. Perhaps it is the glory of the self-existent Deity, not only to do right himself, to have given existence to innumerable finite beings, all in his own image and so his children, whom he also requires to do right; or to act in accordance with an immutable morality, as eternal as his own being and throne. The practice of virtue being important in all, in the ignorant as well as in the learned, the motives which induce to it are many and obvious; while the ultimate foundation, or the reason why a given action should be performed, may require a revelation, or a mental penetration, exceeding mere metaphysical acuteness. The profoundest philosophers are often divided in their opinions as to the foundation of virtue. Every Christian admits that the will of God, when known, is his rule of life. But good, as well as great men, may differ, when they endeavor to assign reasons for the divine will's being what it is; or when, without a divine revelation, they attempt, on the principles of natural religion, to infer what is the will of God. We pass over these more subtile inquiries, and only say, as a preliminary remark, that there are right and wrong actions; and that *ought* and *ought not* are, to man, motives of conduct.

It is necessary to admit, still farther, that man has a moral constitution, fitted to feel the force of these moral

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reasons. That is, he has a moral faculty to be acted upon, so that when a case of duty occurs, the mind shall give birth both to the idea and to the feeling of duty. And as this moral idea, as a motive of action, is distinct from every other idea, so the faculty which it addresses must be equally distinct from every other faculty of the mind.

It has been said that no tribe is so rude as to be without a faint perception of the difference between right and wrong. This statement some have denied. Not to mention Locke and others, Rev. Mr. Moffat, a missionary for many years in Southern Africa, says that some of the entire tribes among whom he labors were, on his first visiting them, destitute not only of all notions of a Supreme Being, but of moral distinctions. His testimony goes to prove that, previous to the introduction of the gospel, the people were ignorant of duty as a motive. They neither perceived it, nor felt its constraining influence. As to the correctness of this testimony, we have no means of judging beyond that which is common with our readers. Of Mr. Moffat's eminent piety, the world has had undoubted proof; and though not to be compared with his colleague, Dr. Philip, in his power of generalization, by which the latter has earned the title of the philosophic missionary, yet Mr. Moffat has quick perceptive powers; rare talents of observation. It is this mental habit, exhibited in his graphic style, which gives such enchantment to his missionary details. To deny the statements of the missionary, would be unphilosophical. Theory is a suspicious method of disproving facts; since facts are the only true basis of theory. Instead of attempting to invalidate the testimony, we shall endeavor to account for his facts as stated, in accordance with the doctrine, that every man has, constitutionally, as a man, a conscience. A block of marble, chiseled into a human form, cannot be so acted upon by moral ideas as to have a feeling of duty. It can be changed; it can be made to receive any shape, or aspect, the ingenuity of the artist pleases to give it. But that genius a hundred times told cannot give it a perception or an impulse of duty. It is not in its nature to experience either. It may be made to look like a man, but it never can be made to feel like one. All this is equally true of the brute. Neither the ox, nor the more sapient elephant, can ever perform an

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action from a conviction of duty. For this, they want the capability.

Let us carry this consideration still farther. There is no evidence that the infant has, at the commencement of its mental activity, a developed moral constitution—a conscience in action. No one supposes it to perceive any thing to be its duty, or to feel the force of ought and ought not, until after several of the other faculties of the mind have been developed. It is scarcely possible that self-love, in distinction from the appetites and passions, is awakened, till after the mind begins to take cognizance of its own acts; specially, of its pleasures and pains. The fruit tree bears foliage years before it blooms. Blossoms are an after development. So the mind of an infant is capable of receiving the idea and of exercising the feeling of moral obligation, when the appointed time arrives. It is the peculiar endowment of the human mind, that moral exercises shall result from others which are antecedent to them. On this principle there may be tribes of men so degraded, so destitute of the necessary antecedent mental conditions, that the moral faculty has not been brought into distinct being. What might be said of a given number of infants previous to their consciences being quickened into action, might be with equal truth of a whole tribe of adults, on whom the requisite moral influences for giving activity to the conscience had not been brought to bear. The seed lies buried, and needs, in order to germinate, a genial influence. Moral law, and those exercises of the soul which moral law awakens, or coöperates with, are necessary to the development of the conscience. Reason, in such tribes, is but little above that of the infant. Self-love is feeble. Appetite and passion are supreme. The savage has his full growth as an animal, but not as a man.

But it should be borne in mind, that as in infants, it is difficult to distinguish the incipient and the very faint action of the conscience, begin when it may, so Mr. Moffat may not have been able to detect what actually existed in the mental habits of those tribes. Nothing is more unsatisfactory than the accounts which men, not educated, nor accustomed to take cognizance of their own mental phenomena, give of them. The less educated the human mind is, the less observant it is of its own exer-

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cises. Of this every Christian pastor, accustomed to elicit from religious inquirers their first religious views, is sensible. There is no place like the room of religious inquiry to study mental philosophy. The religious teacher, of accurate habits of observation, soon becomes skilful in discriminating amid the chaos brought under his observation. Mr. Moffat may have been deceived; but if not, it is sufficient for our purpose that his poor Hottentots, and Bushmen, and Namaquas, came to have consciences, so soon as the doctrines and precepts of the gospel were expounded to them.

Till of late years, very little attention has been given to an analysis of the general powers of the mind, and still less to that of its moral faculties. The recent progress in psychological investigations is scarcely less than that in some of the physical sciences. A rigid analysis of the mind not only assigns to men an appropriate moral faculty, as distinct as memory is from judgment, or taste from reason, but it also subdivides the faculty into the moral understanding, and the moral sentiments or feelings. It makes it the office of conscience both to perceive duty, and to influence the will to discharge it.

The history of the terms employed to express the action of conscience will give additional clearness to our views. The Hebrew language has no term that means precisely what we do, when we speak of the conscience. The Hebrews employed the word which we translate, heart; the Greeks, καρδια, a term that includes the understanding, the feelings and the will. In the word heart, therefore, there is nothing that distinguishes the moral faculty from every other mental power. In the Greek of the New Testament, however, a term is occasionally found, which, so far as it regards precision, is in advance of the word heart. The philosophical character of the Greeks is as manifest from the genius and precision of their language, as from those philosophical speculations which have been transmitted to us. And the writers of the New Testament, though Jews by birth, being familiar with the Greek language, naturally availed themselves of this improved nomenclature in morals. What gives us more confidence in these remarks is that the same New Testament writer, in the choice of his terms, is sometimes a Hebrew, and at others a Greek. The apostle Paul, as

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he was better instructed in the Greek than his brethren, frequently uses the word συνειδησις. The other apostles ordinarily employ the term, καρδια, or heart. "If our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart," etc. He who, in turning the moral eye in upon the temper of the soul and the motions of life, discovers there nothing but purity and rectitude, which action is a moral perception, has confidence toward God, which is strictly a moral feeling. All this is ascribed, in the Old Testament and often in the New, to the heart. But in the writings of Paul, we frequently find the term συνειδησις, or conscience,—a good conscience, a pure conscience, a weak conscience, a testifying conscience, an accusing or excusing conscience. It is to be observed, however, that in the etymology of this last term, there is no recognition of moral feeling. The perceptive power only of the moral faculty is included. The simple meaning is that of consciousness; but the *usus loquendi* is that of moral consciousness.

An accurate analysis of this faculty is of modern date. Even so late as the beginning of the last century, Dr. Samuel Clarke, in attempting to overthrow the infidel philosophy of Hobbes, considered the whole moral power to be pure reason: endeavoring thus, by elevating its operations above the feelings, which were looked upon as transient in their nature, to give to morality an immutable basis, and so a more honorable rank. This, though well intended, was a partial view of the phenomena of conscience, omitting one of its most important elements—the feeling included in every exercise of approbation or disapprobation. Lord Shaftsbury, who wrote about the same time, obtained a better analysis of the faculty. He distinguished in it feeling as well as reason. Bishop Butler improved on this incipient discovery. He showed not only that the perception of a moral idea by the conscience was attended by a corresponding moral feeling; that is, of pleasure and pain, of approbation and disapprobation; but that one of the essential attributes of this feeling was authority. According to his analysis, we are not only happy in contemplating right actions, and unhappy in regarding those of an opposite moral character, but over and above this, there attends the idea of duty an urgent internal sensation, essentially like the feeling experienced

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when we receive a command from one whom we ought to obey. The tone of authority in the human voice acts upon the mind of any one,—even of a child. The mind of man was intended by the Creator for obedience; and causes are provided, adapted to such a result. One of these is the authoritative sensation of conscience. So palpable is this now, to those who reflect on this element in the operations of conscience, that it is often called the voice of God in the heart of man. It does not imply a willingness to obey; for this spirit of obedience to the divine commands is lost in the fall of the race; but the authoritative faculty yet remains; impaired by sin, but not destroyed. The Deity has withdrawn from the unsanctified mind those holy influences on which a spirit of obedience depends. But his presence in the conscience is not withdrawn. He is still seated there, uttering his mandates, through the medium of our moral constitution, with the authority of his eternal throne, and he will continue thus seated, through eternity, in hell as well as in heaven.

We are now prepared to consider this faculty as susceptible of education. It is not pretended that the consciences of all men are equally capable of improvement. The moral influences brought to bear on two individuals, otherwise equal, might develop their moral powers very unequally. We say of some, even of children, that they are naturally conscientious. This is looked upon as a kind of constitutional virtue. Some are quick to distinguish between right and wrong; others are slow. In some, the impulses that attend this moral perception are vigorous and urgent; in others, they are feeble, and thus are easily overcome by the demands of appetite, or by sudden gusts of passion. Degrees in the original susceptibility of the consciences of different individuals is analogous to other parts of the mental constitution. No one presumes that memory, imagination, or taste, is in all men equally capable of improvement, though all may be improved by proper training. The same is true of the conscience. No faculty is more susceptible of culture. By culture of the conscience, we mean that it can be educated on principles as scientific as those which govern instructers, in forming a system of liberal educa-

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tion designed to give the greatest power to the understanding.

Much of the improvement of the conscience is, it must be admitted, a spontaneous growth. This is the case with the intellectual powers. Some of these are often successfully developed by the circumstances under which a man is placed as a social being, when neither the individual himself, nor his teachers have any correct idea of the analysis of the human mind, or of the scientific principles on which the result is realized. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the memory of the Karens. They appear to be one of the broken fragments of the original inhabitants of Eastern Asia,—chiefly dwellers upon the mountains. They have, doubtless, been a distinct race, from a period antecedent to Moses, if not to Abraham. They and the Jews are two parallel streams, flowing from a common fountain. They have brought down from remote time some portions of the early history of our race, which the Jews have transmitted by means of the sacred record. Though their traditions do not appear to be, any of them, of an earlier date than the historical records of Genesis, and these are greatly corrupted, yet, between them and this portion of the Bible there is often a verbal agreement. Never having had a written language, the memory has been made the sole channel of transmission from parent to child, for a hundred and fifty generations. That the faculty of memory in that people has a national development, is evident from the fact that its power is not witnessed merely in retaining and transmitting these ancient historical events. The native converts, especially the preachers, frequently commit to memory the Karen translations of the Bible, as fast as the separate portions of it are published by the missionaries. So tenacious is the memory of the native preachers that they are often capable of repeating to their congregations, with an almost incredible accuracy, the expositions of large portions of Scriptures as given orally by the missionaries, on whose instructions they attend. In reasoning and in general knowledge, they are mere children; but the development of their memories is not probably equalled by any other people in the world. And all this is without education. It is purely spontaneous. The absence of a written language, and the importance they

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attach to their religious history, has been the occasion of this singular mental development. It was doubtless owing to the same unequal exercise of memory, that the Greeks were enabled, without a written language, to transmit to succeeding generations, with such entire accuracy, the poems of Homer. There is often a spontaneous growth of some one or more of the mental powers, quickened and brought forward through the influence of circumstances, under which the providences of God place men. In this way the world is a school, of which society in general is the teacher; and though blind as to those philosophical principles on which a systematic education is conducted, yet powerful in its action on the mind. The wild fruit tree is sometimes seen richly laden. Nature, though never to be relied on, often in her spontaneous productions, outdoes the most scientific cultivator.

Another instance of this spontaneous mental development, may be seen in those sections of society in which the code of honor is observed. In such a community, there is not only a nice distinction in the principles inculcated by the school, if we may so call it, for the government of social intercourse, but a keenness and strength of feeling which it is difficult for men, differently educated, to appreciate. A sense of wounded honor overcomes the natural fear of death, enabling men to expose themselves to it, under circumstances requiring unspeakably more courage than the hottest battle field. Society itself becomes a school, in which the great mass exhibit a special mental development,—immoral we admit, more so than we have words to describe,—yet showing the capability of the mind to receive a peculiar spontaneous growth. It is on this principle, rather than on seats of learning, that the characters of different nations are so dissimilar. It is the influence of causes abroad in society, over which no one seems to have any control, and for the origin of which it is often difficult to account, giving an unequal growth to one or more of the natural endowments of the inner man.

In Christian countries, where the influence of religious principles pervades society, like an invisible atmosphere, the development of the conscience is likewise chiefly spontaneous. The object proposed by religious teachers is virtuous practice and the promotion of a virtuous char-

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acter. These teachers agree in the end proposed. But we put the question to every parent and to every teacher, whether there is that specific regard to the conscience in their moral and religious training, to which the supremacy of that faculty in the moral constitution entitles it. Socrates and Plato, without any very definite ideas of the analysis of the moral powers, and without a tithe of the moral truth at their command, with which to influence the minds of others, which we possess, were, nevertheless, enabled to throw around virtue such an attraction as to win many an otherwise wayward youth to its practice. Much of the virtue, however, of which those moral teachers were the occasion, was the result of a virtuous taste, which they were successful in cultivating in their pupils; and not the dictates of an enlightened and commanding conscience. There is vastly more of this kind of virtue at the present day, than we are ordinarily aware of. There is often a perception of the beauty of virtue, without a deep-seated, solemn conviction of the obligation to be virtuous. The heart is attracted to it, and not commanded by it. This moral taste no one should undervalue. It can never be too carefully cultivated. The culture of it should begin with the first budding of character. It should increase in degree and delicacy with ripening age. A mere moral taste, however, is a feeble barrier to those strong temptations to which all are liable. It can never be the soul's anchor in the day of trial. No man is safe in this life, with his path beset with allurements to vice, until the authority of his conscience is supreme over every thing else. The loveliness of virtue may please the soul amid days of calm contemplation, far removed from the storms of life; but it will require a louder voice to be heard, and a stronger arm to save him, amid the confusion of the boisterous elements.

It requires no unusual observation to be satisfied that in our moral and religious education, sufficient regard is not had to the peculiar offices of conscience, and more especially to its perceptive and authoritative functions. In the education of the memory, its different functions are separately considered. A skilful teacher discovers, perhaps, that the retentiveness of his pupil's memory is feeble, or that the power of recollection is imperfect; the result of some imperfection lying still farther back, in the

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facility with which he associates his ideas of objects and not of principles, or of principles and not of objects. These defects are pointed out to the pupil, and his whole course of study adjusted, if necessary, with special reference to the correction of the evil. But we are not aware that the memory, lucid and beautiful as is its analysis, is any more easily cultivated in its distinct parts than the conscience. And certainly its full and harmonious development is infinitely less important.

Rules for educating the conscience, like all rules of education, would be, at best, a dry detail, destitute of interest to most of our readers. Of those moral and religious teachers who are not versed in the science of ethics, or who have not studied the analysis of the moral faculties, little can be expected, either in self moral culture or in the training of others, except that in the motives urged, greater regard be paid to that of duty; the simplest and most sublime motive of human conduct. Such other motives as the word of God authorizes should not be omitted. The combined influence of every virtuous motive should be employed. Every thing should be done that can be, to form in men, especially in youth and children, the habit of being governed by duty. There is needed, for the aid of parents and Sabbath school teachers, an elementary text-book, in which there is given a simple analysis of conscience, and in which the states of the mind, during the action of this faculty, are illustrated by examples fitted to impress the heart.

The abridged edition of the Elements of Moral Science, by President Wayland, is exceedingly valuable for pupils of twelve or fifteen years of age. Though but a portion of it has direct reference to the conscience, its general tendency is to cultivate that faculty. The Child's Book on the Soul, by Dr. Gallaudet, though an exceedingly valuable help to this department of juvenile education, has but little more than an allusion to the conscience as a faculty. No child in reading it sees precisely where the helm of the ship is. Professional teachers, who make education an art, conducted on scientific principles, do not need to be told that the study of a few chapters in ethics, near the close of a liberal education, will not train the conscience. The knowledge thus acquired is exceedingly important to the pupil, and will greatly assist in his

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future efforts at self moral culture. But a moral influence must distil on the soul of the pupil throughout the whole of his academic course. He may not be aware of what he is the subject. But his teacher must be. The connection between these moral influences and the moral faculties must not only be studied by the teacher, but, as far as possible, should be pointed out to the pupil. From it the eye of neither should ever be diverted. The teacher should be disappointed and grieved, if the transition—the growth of the soul in conscientiousness—be not as perceptible as that of the understanding.

We close this article by a few considerations designed to show the importance of the education of the conscience.

1. Conscience is always the advocate of what is right. We do not mean to advance the idea that man never mistakes his duty; or that the impulses of conscience are not frequently overcome by other and evil influences. But the conscience can never be bribed to approve of what it perceives to be wrong; or the contrary. Whatever other derangements there may be in the moral faculty, this quality of its action is unchanged and unchangeable. Every other sentiment and desire, even those which are ordinarily exercised virtuously, such as pity and general benevolence, may urge a man to do what justice forbids;—passion, appetite and self-love are perpetually doing this;—but conscience never does. A man's pity is not extinguished or diminished, because justice forbids the relief of pain inflicted as a punishment for crime. He still pities the sufferer, though he is restrained from interposing with the exercise of justice. But that peculiar urging power which attends the action of conscience is extinguished, the instant that it is seen to conflict with justice, or duty of any kind. And it rises, either coöperating with other motives, or as a sole motive, the instant any act is perceived to be a duty. Conscience, as an impulsive power, invariably sets in the direction of supposed virtue, and away from supposed vice. There are various methods by which a man may be so deceived as to think he is doing God service, while in the commission of sin; but no sooner is the moral judgment corrected, than the authority of conscience utters, with more or less imperativeness and force, its remonstrance. The man may not desist; but if he do not, conscience is not to

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blame. The feelings of conscience never play false. They may become enfeebled by habitual neglect; but whatever amount of strength remains, is on the side of God and of virtue. Whatever view we take of this fact, in the office of conscience, it is full of interest. It is the moral lever, by means of which the character of man is, by the grace of God, to be raised from that abyss into which it has fallen through sin. Every parent, every teacher of youth, especially every preacher of the gospel, should accurately study the analysis and functions of this faculty, and never cease to ply it with all means favorable to its development.

2. The action of conscience is universal. To have a faculty of the soul constitutionally virtuous, and invariably so, though its action were infrequent, would be highly important. But the conscience stands inseparably connected with all the voluntary powers, in every one of their exercises. This is true of no other faculty. Duty is the only motive which necessarily constitutes an element of every desire, volition and action. The presence of conscience is, therefore, never an intrusion; its authority is never an assumption. As it acts directly on the dispositions of the heart and the will, and of itself furnishes a motive, nothing can so interpose as to displace it. It may be overwhelmed by superior strength, but cannot be dislodged from its position.

No one, to our knowledge, has so distinctly explained this fact as Sir James McIntosh, in his General View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy; a work which, as an ethical commentary, seems not to have received in this country the attention it merits. In commenting on the writings of Bishop Butler, in regard to this faculty, he says, "Nothing stands between the moral sentiments and their object. They are, as it were, in contact with the will. Being the only desires, aversions, sentiments, or emotions, which regard dispositions and actions, they necessarily extend to the whole character and conduct. They may and do stand between any other practical principle and its object; while it is absolutely impossible that any other shall intercept their connection with the will. Conscience may forbid the will to contribute to the gratification of a desire. No desire ever forbids the will to obey the conscience."

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This gives to conscience, as all must perceive, the position of universal command over the entire man; and, had it strength equal to the service assigned it in our constitution, it would exert a universal and illimitable control. This is a wonderful fact in our natural history. In wisdom and goodness, God has made us. Be the will pressed upon by any other motive,—by appetite or passion; by self-love, or fear, or hope; by ambition or patriotism; by pity or revenge; by envy or benevolence,—conscience is ever present at its post, closely connected with the will; giving its sanction or its remonstrance. To it the darkness and the light are the same. It is as vigilant and as faithful in the minutest private or domestic duty, as in the most comprehensive and solemn offices of public life. It is a living spring of holy influence in the child and the parent, in the humblest peasant and the most august monarch, ever laboring to secure the perfect fulfilment of every duty both to God and man. On its supremacy, therefore, depends alike the peace of the soul of each individual, the bliss of every domestic circle, the prosperity of nations, and the dominion of God on earth. We do not look to the influence of conscience exclusively for the reformation of man. There are other virtuous impulses which must coöperate with this. But those pious sentiments which are excited in the heart by the renewing grace of the gospel do not take the place of the conscience, and thus render this faculty useless. That divine love which is shed abroad in the heart at regeneration only redeems the conscience from its thraldom. It mortifies the sinful propensities, gives birth to such as are holy, and quickens the faculty itself. It is through the conscience that the law does its work, in bringing men to Christ. And after the sinner has become a new creature in Christ Jesus, an enlightened conscience is the directing power of his soul. And as no motive can come between its dictates and the will, its destiny is to perfect the man.

3. Again, conscience may be rendered very powerful. It ought to be the ruling faculty of the soul. Such was its design. It doubtless is so in heaven. How vigorous it can be rendered in our sinful race, generally, by mere culture, it is presumed no one is prepared to say. To its healthy growth, under any degree of culture, the depravity of the heart is a sad obstacle. But it is safe to

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say that the amount of conscientiousness there is in any community depends on the degree of attention paid to its cultivation; and, if what we have before said be correct, the more scientific the principles are, on which its culture is sought, the greater will be the success. There are instances in which the power of conscience defies every other power,—ambition, avarice, lust, anger, yea, the love of life itself. In the martyr, the authority of conscience may not be the only impulse — the hope of heavenly rewards, the love of truth and of Christ, are coöperating motives. These may be the most palpable to the soul's consciousness. But the basis of all is a deep and solemn conviction of duty. Remove this, and the foundation of every other motive is sapped. The awful remorse of the guilty shows to what a pitch of energy conscience can be raised. But as a silent law of the soul, it may be amid the ever varying scenes of human life, like the universal, dominant principle of gravitation, which holds the orbs in their courses, and gives to the universe its precision, order and glory.

It was no part of our present design to illustrate these principles by reference to the practical duties of life. A single reflection, however, is too obvious and too important to be omitted. The continued enjoyment by this country of its institutions, which have hitherto been so productive of practical freedom and of general prosperity, depends, in an eminent degree, on a more general education of the conscience. There is wanting, to a fearful extent, a national conscience. We are often told that the general intelligence of the people is the salt of the earth; assigning to the want of this, the dissolution of other republics. Others, less confident of the saving power of the general intelligence of the people, would still confide in profound intellectual attainments. Bacon says, "A little knowledge makes men irreligious; but profound thought brings them back to devotion." Though a beautiful apothegm, few are so false; a sad proof of which is seen in the foul blot that must eternally rest upon the name of that illustrious philosopher and statesman. Mr. Alison, the author of the history of Europe during its recent eventful periods, acknowledges the utter moral impotency of knowledge, whether superficial or profound. "Science," he says, "had never attained a more commanding

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station than in France at the close of the eighteenth century. Astronomy, investigated in its farthest recesses by the aid of mathematical calculations, had—first of all the exact sciences—been brought to perfection; the profound researches of her geometricians had rivalled all but Newton's glory; while the talents of her chemists, and the genius of her naturalists, had explored the hidden processes of nature, and made the remnants of animated life unfold the pristine order of creation." To the inquiry, what was wanting to fit the people for rational liberty, and qualify them for the exercise of the rights of freemen, he replies, "a sense of religion, the habits of sober thought, and moderation of general opinion. And the want of these rendered the others of no avail." This writer adds, in another paragraph, "They had yet to learn that no reliance is to be placed on the affections of mankind, when their interests are at stake." Though there is nothing false in the statement of this admirable writer, when first reading the passage we could but think that he had not felt out, with sufficient care, the foundations—the elementary principles—of all public virtue. "There was wanting," he says, "a sense of religion." As it is in all Catholic countries, so, with the exception of the libertines—a bare sprinkling of the nation—the mass of the French people were penetrated with a sense of religion. But there was no conscience in it. There was a wide gulf between morality and their religion. To be holy, to obey law, to be swayed by a solemn sense of duty, is not the end of the Catholic religion, nor was it of that of France. There was, however, no want of a "sense of religion." On the evening preceding the opening of the States General, on the fifth of March, 1789—which was in fact the opening of the bloody scenes of the Revolution—the king, his family, his ministers, and the deputies of the three orders, walked in solemn procession from the church of Notre Dame to that of Saint Louis, to hear mass! "First marched the clergy, in proud costume, with violet robes," next succeeded the noblesse, and last, the mighty congregation of the people. Surely France was a religious nation!

By "habits of sober thought and moderation of general opinion," the author must mean, we presume, that freedom from rashness which ordinarily results from the

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experience of frequent failures, whereby the expectations of men are moderated. But this chastening effect of experience must always come too late. Their defect was simple and obvious. The authority of right was not acknowledged. The national conscience had been but feebly developed. There was no anchor to the soul, to hold in check an inexperienced people, violently urged forward by a lust of power, by a fanatical zeal for freedom, and burning, often with a spirit of revenge, for wrongs, inflicted in the name of government, and under the solemn sanctions of the altar. There was nothing to withstand that overwhelming tide of interest and passion, which, in its violence, swept from society the accumulated wealth, and beauty, and glory of centuries.

If this country do not experience a fate analogous to this, at a day too near at hand for the peace of us and of our children, it must be saved by awakening in the people a more practical regard to duty. To this point must be directed the energies of the pulpit, and of the press. Deeper fountains of morality must be opened in our seats of learning, while every common school should be a well-spring of moral life. On the educated men of this nation generally devolves the duty of saving this nation, in its present downward tendencies, by quickening into action a public conscience, causing the voice of God in the hearts of the people to speak clearly and universally.

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ARTICLE IV.

HEBREW POETRY MADE INTELLIGIBLE TO READERS OF OUR COMMON BIBLE.

Nourse's Edition of the Bible.

The Common English Translation of the Scriptures, arranged in Paragraphs and Poetic Parallelisms. By James Nourse. New York. American and Foreign Bible Society. 1847.

The laudable endeavor now making to introduce into general use the English version of the Scriptures, so arranged as to preserve the convenience of the common notation of chapters and verses, and yet not mar the sense, by making each verse a paragraph by itself, as our Bibles now do, should meet the cordial approval of all the intelligent students of the sacred writings. This edition, for neatness, cheapness, and, so far as we have been able to examine, for the general judiciousness with which it is prepared, will compare favorably with any former attempts of this kind; indeed, in most respects, it seems preferable to any we have seen,—unless the smallness of the type used in a portion of the text, should demand an exception to this general commendation.

But we are now chiefly moved to call the public attention to this book, on account of the other feature in its arrangement named in the title, viz. the Poetical Parallelisms so extensively exhibited throughout many of the books of the Old Testament. If we do not misjudge, a very important practical question is involved in their introduction before the eye, and hence to the mind of the general reader of the Bible. Not a few will ask with serious earnestness, is it wise thus to introduce them? Some of the more easily alarmed, may think this is tampering with things sacred, and others may doubt whether any practical good result is likely to follow, adequate to compensate for the innovation. It seems to us the wisdom and desirableness of the measure deserves to be

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placed in a fair light before those who have not, perhaps, given to it any adequate consideration.

It may serve to give more of completeness and intelligibleness to the view which is now proposed, if we prefix to it a slight sketch of the labors of some of our wisest and ablest Biblical scholars to make the nature of Hebrew poetry better understood, and to present some of its most interesting features to the eye of those who depend on the mere English translation for their acquaintance with the sacred writings.

Relying on the authority of Josephus, Origen and Jerome, some writers, a little later than the middle of the last century, undertook to defend the metrical character of the poetical books of Scripture; some imagining that rhyme, even, was discoverable to such an extent as to warrant the assumption, that it formed in part the peculiarity of Hebrew poetry. It is not difficult, indeed, in the thousands of instances in terminations of proximate lines, to find some accidental rhymes; but this has never been insisted on by the more sober and judicious. Bishop Hare of England, and Dr. Edwards, as his defender, each contend, however, for the exact measure or rhythm of the lines in Hebrew poetry. Dr. Robert Lowth, afterwards bishop of London, has, in his Latin lectures on the Poetry of the Hebrews, pretty effectually controverted this assumption. He has shown, at least, how far from conclusive is the evidence on which reliance had been placed for establishing the exact measure of Hebrew verse. In other parts of his writings, however, and especially in the dissertation prefixed to his new translation of Isaiah, he has expressed himself as still doubtful on this point, and perhaps more inclined to yield to, than controvert the theory of a regular measure as once existing, but now hopelessly lost.

It was reserved, therefore, for another prelate of the British established church, the late bishop Jebb, to prove almost to demonstration, that nothing of this kind really existed in Hebrew poetry. His admirable work, entitled "Sacred Literature," embraces a review of the principles of poetic composition, as laid down by Dr. Lowth, and carries out, by a great variety of examples and illustrations, the assimilations to this poetic Hebrew style of composition, found in many parts of the New Testa-

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ment. Among the Germans, Rosenmüller, and Herder may be named, as having given to this feature of sacred literature their assiduous and successful attention. Still, for the purpose we now have more particularly in view, it is not requisite that any one should look beyond the writings of Lowth and Jebb. They furnish the storehouse, whence many, and indeed most, subsequent writers have drawn all their materials. Nor should we do justice to our own convictions, were we to fail earnestly to recommend the perusal of their writings on this subject, to all English students of the Bible, who desire to understand the peerless beauties of the sacred poetry of the Scriptures.

But it may reasonably be asked, if this Hebrew poetry is not distinguished from prose by rhyme nor by measure, what is its great line of demarcation,—what the prominent and obvious distinction? We answer, in a word, by a system of parallelisms. Or, in the language of Dr. Lowth, the "verse is distinguished from prose, not only by the style, the figures, the diction, by a loftiness of thought and richness of imagery, but by being divided into lines, and sometimes into systems of lines; which lines, having an apparent equality, similitude, or proportion one to another, were in some sort measured by the ear, and regulated according to some general laws of harmony or cadence. That the verses had something regular in their form and composition, seems probable from their apparent parity and uniformity, and the relation which they manifestly bear to the distribution of the sentence into its members. But as to the harmony and cadence,—the metre or rhythm, as contended for—of what sort they were, and by what laws regulated, there are no sufficient principles on which to build any theory or to form any hypothesis." Hence Bishop Jebb insists that there is no evidence of the existence of such rhythm, no reason for it, and one strong reason to which we will by and by revert, why it should not have had place, in poetry designed for universal transmission into all languages. Such are, very briefly the results to which the indefatigable efforts of scholars in this department have led; and this therefore may be regarded as just about all that we know, or can know of the peculiarity of the poetical portion of the Bible. The extent to which it exists

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may be definitely ascertained. Besides brief instances which are found interspersed in the historical books, even in some parts of Genesis—nearly the whole book of Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song—and the larger part of the prophecies, are of this poetic character.

Two interesting questions here arise. 1. Is it desirable to attempt making mere English readers acquainted with the principles and the general structure of Hebrew verse? 2. Is it practicable, within any reasonable limits of requisition, to do so?

We cannot but think both these inquiries may be answered affirmatively, and shall proceed in the briefest space practicable to assign such reasons as to us seem conclusive.

In the first place, the advantages of such an acquisition seem to be both numerous and important. As an indispensable aid to the correct interpretation of Scripture, a full and familiar acquaintance with these several laws of parallelism seems incontrovertible. They have been denominated parallel lines gradational or synonymous; parallel lines antithetic; parallel lines synthetic or constructive, and parallel lines introverted.* How much aid a clear conception of the idea, the plan on which such passages are constructed, must give, by throwing a flood of light on their interpretation. Indeed so obvious will this become to any one who has spent a few hours only in the examination of such specimens, or illustrative examples, as may be laid before him, for the development

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* A few illustrations of the parallelisms, in each of the above forms, may conduce to a fuller understanding of the subject. In Gen. iv, 24, the earliest specimen of poetry in the Bible, we have an instance of the synonymous, or *gradational.*

Adah and Zillah hear my voice.
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech.
For I have slain a man to my wounding,
And a young man to my hurt:
If Cain shall be avenged seven fold,
Truly Lamech seventy and seven fold.

See also Psalm i, verse 1; Isaiah lv, verses 6, 7, and Joel ii, 7.

The antithetic parallelism occurs most abundantly in the writings, especially the Proverbs, of Solomon. See Prov. x, 1.

A wise son maketh a glad father.
But a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.

x, 7, 1st Samuel ii, 4—7, and Isaiah liv, 10.

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of these various kinds of Hebrew verse, that all argument will be rendered unnecessary.

Again, as an exercise of taste, it must be very desirable for the intelligent English reader to understand, constantly, whether he is reading prose or poetry. Suppose that any fine poem, with which he was familiar, were to be broken up into the style of exhibition in which the ordinary copies of the English Bible exhibit the rapt effusions of David and Isaiah, would not his whole nature recoil at it, as a most revolting barbarism? But is it less an offence and a sin, because of the greater dignity and sacredness involved in it, when such perversion is practised in the best of all books, the very fountain and refectory of man's whole nature, his taste not excepted?

It is indeed a striking proof of the transcendent power and excellence of the inspired poets, that they cannot be altogether divested of their inherent majesty and beauty, even in a translation far from the most perfect, with the superadded disadvantages of having the poetic structure almost entirely veiled from notice. But why should not the best efforts of the noblest minds be employed to remove this intercepting veil, and let the full light and beauty, which God has here displayed, shine upon our understanding with its instructive and cheering effulgence?

Nor is it altogether unworthy of notice, in this connection, that by making ourselves more familiar with the true poetic character of large portions of the sacred writings, we shall be incomparably better prepared to appreciate those works, which are most assimilated to their

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The *synthetic* or constructive parallels, consisting in the similar form of construction. See Job xii, 13—16, Psalm xix, 7—11, and Isaiah xiv, 9.

> Hell from beneath is moved for thee, to meet thee at thy coming,
> It stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth.
> It hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations.

The *introverted* parallels are stanzas so constructed that whatever be the number of lines, the first shall be parallel with the last, and the second with the last but one. See Isaiah xxvii, 12, 13; also Psalm cxxxv, 15—18.

> The idols of the heathen are silver and gold,
> The work of men's hands.
> They have mouths, but they speak not;
> They have eyes, but they see not;
> They have ears, but they hear not;
> Neither is there any breath in their mouths.
> They that make them are like unto them.
> So is every one that trusteth in them.

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imagery. Who would not relish Milton and Cowper with enhanced pleasure, after having tasted the richness of the fountain from which they so freely drank?

Moreover, a clear perception of the poetic character and relations of such parts of the Scripture as have this impress stamped on them, will furnish a ready and interesting key to very much that pertains to the Archæology of Jewish literature and customs. The mould into which the sacred writers were led to cast their thoughts has certainly very much to do with the appropriate spirit in which they are to be investigated. The antiphonal or responsive method in which many of their sacred odes, and perhaps other poetic portions of the inspired writings, were chanted, or even read in unison in the temple service, while it accounts for much in the structure of some of these compositions, enables us the better to enter into their spirit and appreciate their various excellences, according to the original design. Bishop Jebb justly remarks, "It is my firm persuasion, that one great object of this prevalent duality of members, accompanied by a distinction and commonly either by a progress or antithesis in the sense of terms, clauses and periods, is to make inexhaustible provision for marking, with the nicest philosophical precision, the moral differences and relations of things. The antithetic parallelism seems to mark the broad and palpable distinction, between truth and falsehood, between good and evil; the cognate parallelism discharges the more difficult and more critical function of discriminating between different degrees and shades of truth and good on the one hand, of falsehood and of evil on the other." Now if this be the design of the great author, can we intelligently advance it without a knowledge, a conviction of this wise design?

Once more, if the poetic style of the Hebrew penmen of a large part of the Old Testament, has indeed, as Bishop Jebb contends, to an extent so much greater than is usually supposed, imbued the minds, and shaped the forms of expression in the writers of the New Testament, how immeasurably important does it become, not only to the interpreter of the sacred Scriptures, but to all those who would enter into their spirit, and with full relish appreciate their unequalled beauties, to master the principles of this poetic style.

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Very frequently the quotations of poetry from the Old Testament, by the writers of the New, makes the right interpretation of their sense in a great degree dependent on the just appreciation of the peculiar principles involved in that kind of writing. Or even where there is no direct quotation of Hebrew verse, fragments are combined from different parts of the poetical Scriptures, and wrought up into one connected whole. Or such fragments, either in form or spirit, are mingled with the original truths communicated by the writer; and in either case, the principles involved should be understood, in order to the clear interpretation of the passage. Nor can it be thought strange that in some of the simple and beautiful teachings of Him who spake as never man spake, there should be found the distinct exhibition of the sententious parallelism, so inwrought in Hebrew poetry. The last four verses of our Saviour's sermon on the mount, if arranged and read in this manner, will seem invested with new force and felicity of enunciation. The same feature, in a degree, is seen also in Paul's writings. See 1 Cor. ii, 11, and 2 Cor. ii, 15, 16.

Our second principal inquiry,—Is this attainment practicable, for any considerable proportion of English readers; or, if practicable, is it worth the time and pains and persevering study which it will cost?—is susceptible of an affirmative response, on the most satisfactory and lucid considerations.

For we insist, in the very outset, that this attainment is by no means so difficult as is generally supposed. Let any intelligent reader of our common version prepare the way, if he will, by the perusal of the first forty pages of Bishop Lowth's Preliminary Dissertation, prefixed to his Translation of Isaiah, or some twenty pages of Mr. Barnes's Introduction to his Notes on Job, and then, with a Bible arranged like this of Mr. Nourse, he will with pleasure and facility relish and discriminate the poetical character of these sacred writings.

We speak what we know, and testify what our personal experience has verified, in assuring all our readers that the effort to master this new branch of knowledge, as they may regard it, is neither tedious nor difficult. Long before we were proficients in Hebrew learning, the good providence of God threw in our way Lowth's Lec-

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tures on Hebrew Poetry, and subsequently, his Isaiah. The interesting and instructive perusal of these volumes, worth more than their cost for other things than the single point here contemplated, has given us an appreciation of the nature of sacred verse, which, every month and year since, has brought its abundant reward.

In these days of enlarged and general interest in Biblical investigations, why should not some portions of time, and some degree of attention, be turned to this subject? The larger, proportion of our ministers, especially the younger and more privileged, have already enjoyed advantages for becoming proficients in this branch of sacred science. Why should they not diffuse around them these advantages? and, by becoming reflectors, and raying out as widely as possible the light which has cheered and blessed them, why should they not, to an enlarged circle, become, in a new way and form, benefactors of their race? In three or four lectures, of half an hour each, they might make the more intelligent of their hearers,—the teachers of their Sabbath schools, and the members of their Bible classes, familiar with the principle, and adepts in the solution, of the problems of Hebrew verse. Then, with what enhanced satisfaction might they ever afterward rely on this intelligence, which their efforts had planted and fostered. In how many ways would it prove an indirect assistance to them in their weekly ministrations; enabling them, without seeming pedantry, or any affectation of superior learning, to allude to, and rely on, their people's understanding, and appreciating those well known principles of similarity or contrast, which the parallelism so often develops.

Perhaps we cannot more appropriately conclude this article, than by indicating, in somewhat fuller detail, the scope and method of such a course of lectures. The first might be merely introductory, and embrace the history of the sacred books; their authors, their respective dates, their transmission, the order of their arrangement, the principles on which the sacred canon has been definitely settled, and such concluding remarks of a pious and practical character as would be adapted to leave a happy impression on the mind.

The second might properly take up the twofold division of the sacred writings; the former regarding their

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form, as either prose or poetry, marking the distinction, and of course giving in full the definition of Hebrew poetry, showing in what its peculiarity consists, how it differs from that poetry which depends on rhyme and measure, and how, without either of these adjuncts, it is still easily distinguishable from plain prose. Here, too, the advantage of possessing such editions of the Scriptures as readily mark, even to the eye, this distinction, might easily be illustrated. Those who desired to profit as largely as possible by the lectures, might be encouraged to procure such a copy for themselves, and their own daily and profitable use, since it is just as good as any other Bible for common reading, and has these advantages, of paragraph and poetic parallel arrangement, besides; or, at the very least, a Testament with the Psalms thus arranged, which may be purchased for a few cents, being published in a pocket form by the American and Foreign Bible Society. With such helps, all the attendants on the lectures might be led to see how largely their own interests would be promoted.

When the lines of demarcation, which mark the poetry of the sacred books, are clearly fixed, the lecturer might properly introduce the subdivision of this class of writings, having reference to their object, as pastoral, didactic, elegiac, strictly devotional, amatory or prophetic, furnishing, of course, copious examples for illustration, under each head.

The third lecture might take up the division of Hebrew poetry with regard to its different forms of the parallelism, including the acrostic, or initial letter of some of these compositions; might make all and each kind sufficiently familiar, by so exhibiting and explaining the several kinds, as should give an intelligible idea of them all, fix them in the memory, and stimulate each one to go on for himself, in carrying out such a classification of the various dual, or tri-verse, or poly-verse stanzas, so that in a short time it would require no more time or effort to resolve the compositions as they are read into their appropriate forms and designed arrangements, than it requires of a good ear, accustomed to English verse, to mark the ever recurring cæsural and final pauses in each line, or to note the appropriate structure of the sonnet, or the Spenserian stanza.

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These two last lectures might easily be subdivided, if likely to prove too long; and special care should be taken to recapitulate, and review the several points, till they are clearly understood.

The whole might be appropriately closed by pious and grateful contemplations of the affluence of that divine wisdom and goodness, which has so amply provided the requisite aliment for each and all the elements of our mental constitution; that will not overlook even the gratification of a taste for the beautiful, the harmonious, and by ever-recurring comparisons heightens our admiration, or sharpens the discriminating powers of our moral perceptions. How striking to mark that structure of the sacred poetry of the Bible, which, by rejecting such common adjuncts as rhymes and fixed measure, has admirably adapted this book of God to be translated with literal fidelity and exactness into all languages, without losing aught of the original features of poetic beauty and instructiveness, which divine inspiration impressed on it.

R. B.

New Bedford, June, 1847.

ARTICLE V.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND EFFECTS OF ORIGINAL THINKING.

Duty and Rewards of Original Thinking. An Address by Prof. G. W. Eaton, of Madison University, N. Y.

Original thinking has ever been the theme of eulogy. The mass of men are more inclined, however, to praise it than to think for themselves. Still every man desires to be regarded as having a mind, and as exercising it in forming his opinions. Vague and conflicting, however, are the notions of many respecting the essential attributes of original thinking. To arrive at definite views, the reader's attention is called to its characteristics and effects.

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I. Original thinking has been justly defined, "the exercise of our intellectual faculties." Intense thought is its most prominent and fundamental characteristic. Without this, talent or attainment, however great, will be of no avail. If unemployed, they can never supply any defect in it, nor be substituted for it.

Many wish to be original thinkers, but fall short of their object. Some appear to imagine that originality can only be seen in selecting strange subjects, and astounding the world with wonders. They substitute a display of the marvellous for deep, energetic thought. Efforts to produce such results, however, are generally a burlesque upon it. They exhibit either stupidity or vanity.

The affectation of singularity, borrowing the airs and assuming the style of celebrated authors, are the cloaks of ignorance, indolence and imbecility. An original thinker will be himself, and not the shadow of some one else. Copyists and imitators, of all grades, are content to look through the eyes of others. They do not employ them to aid their own vision. Their authors are their oracles. Like the vine, leaning upon the oak, with them they stand or fall. "In this age of books, they may throw themselves into the thoroughfares of knowledge, and be borne to any point of the intellectual horizon," and dispense by wholesale the productions of others; but they think only by proxy.

To oppose or reject acknowledged truths is no sure test of originality. A blind zealot may do this with resolute obstinacy, as the only way to acquire distinction, as thousands have done. But to act thus fanatically is not to think.

Myriads may swarm around great authors, like bees around flowers. They may display skill in extracting their sweets, and exhibiting their beauties and sublimity; but they do not deserve the name of original thinkers, because they have not taxed their own abilities to create objects of equal or greater beauty and grandeur.

There is a mental sluggishness, which is the great reason why so few ever attempt to think; and why so many, who make the attempt, take the shadow for the substance. To call forth the energies of the mind in their full vigor, it must be brought into collision with great subjects. It must be taxed; and, the more severely, the

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better. In digesting a subject, whatever aid a man may receive from others, he must exercise his own powers. "It must undergo such a thorough excogitation in his own mind as to become a part of his intellectual furniture, or become incorporated with his mental framework." To give himself full scope, he must select subjects worthy of his strongest efforts, and then grapple with them with all his ability, till he has thoroughly explored, and perfectly arranged and embellished them. In a word, "let drive his mind through them like a burning ploughshare," and he will leave traces of originality, broad and deep, so that none will mistake them. Such intellectual exercise may justly be dignified with the name of thought.

II. Individuality is another characteristic of original thinking. The minds of men are as different as their countenances. As new coins fall from the mint, so do the intellectual productions of men, from the mind that melts, moulds and burnishes them. They bear the peculiarities of their respective moulds; and the vividness of the outline is in proportion to the intensity of the mental heat required to fuse, form and polish them. These peculiarities constitute the individuality of an author. It is by these, that we discover the source of intellectual productions.

One peculiarity or distinctive feature of a writer's individuality is his selection of subjects.

Every person has his taste for particular kinds of truth, as he has for particular articles of food. Some departments of truth may be relished in common by all; but there are others, which feast some while they disgust others. Each one delights to dwell on those subjects which are most congenial with his taste. Some departments of truth, on account of their congeniality, may promise success to those who cultivate them. Thus Bacon might have become a Newton in mathematics, and Newton a Bacon in metaphysics. But it is very doubtful whether Shakespeare could ever have become a Newton in mathematics, or Newton a Shakespeare in poetry.

To reach some subjects requires the efforts of great minds. Few, for instance, would ever have dreamed of those vast projects, which Bonaparte originated and accomplished with such celerity as to astonish the world.

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Again, the thought of that grand alliance, which wrested the destinies of Europe from his grasp, and which has since been the great political regulator of nearly two thirds of the earth, first found a lodging place in the mind of Pitt. Some are noted for the boldness of their subjects; others for their depth or abstruseness; others for their simplicity or their show. Minds of a mathematical, metaphysical, or philological cast glory in their respective departments of labor. Minds of a poetic stamp have their home in the regions of ideality. They delight in the delicate and tender, they are charmed with the beautiful and grand, they glow with the terrific and awful. They can make virtue more lovely, and vice more ugly, and transform the one into Satan, and the other into an angel of light. They are in ecstacy, when they can melt, charm or overwhelm the world by their power. The kind of truth in which any mind luxuriates, shows this feature of its individuality.

Another feature will be seen in the conception of subjects. No two persons, acting independently of each other, will treat the same subject in precisely the same way. This is owing to the different ways in which they conceive it. Did they conceive it alike, they would treat it alike. This peculiarity will be more or less apparent in all the productions of any sterling thinker, and its prominence will be proportioned to the force of thought which gave them birth.

The clear conception of any subject embraces its object, outlines and arrangement. In vast and abstruse subjects, this requires the highest exercise of the human intellect. The skeletons of sermons, the plans of treatises, and the framework of productions of genius, cost their respective authors far greater mental effort than the productions themselves. What vast effort must the clear conception of the plan of Paradise Lost have cost its author! Thus it is also with other works, in proportion as they approach to this in magnitude and importance.

Some are distinguished by logical arrangement; others by an illogical arrangement, joined with many strong points. Some are noted for their confusion; others for their discrimination. Some bring their subjects to their method; others bring their method to their subjects. In

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these and other points, pertaining to the conception of their subjects, are seen the peculiarities of different minds.

A person's style will exhibit another feature of his individuality. The would-be thinker is, at best, an unskilful dauber. To experienced eyes, the strokes by which he designs to conceal his defects only heighten them. His efforts remind one of the fable of the ass in the lion's skin. He need only open his mouth to show his true character, and excite the pity, the indignation, or the contempt due to his hypocrisy.

The peculiarities of the style of an original thinker are seen in his use of single words, in his delicate or striking forms of expression, in his simple stately sentences, in his plainness, or ornament, and the like.

Some inundate you with a sea of words; others show such power of condensation that their solid thoughts, like shot from a cannon's mouth, either shiver or sweep down every thing they strike.

Some aim at embellishment. They gem and jewel every thing. Their drapery may fascinate; still they may possess little thought. Others regard their matter, more than their manner. They lay strong hold of truth's deepest foundations, and overwhelm their readers or hearers with their power. "They are lumbering wagons, freighted with gold."

The peculiarities of the original thinker are more or less striking, in proportion as his strength has been taxed in quarrying his productions from the mine of truth, and his taste put to the highest test in their embellishment. His thought befits his expression, and his expression his thought. Both have life, reality and power.

Another feature is seen in the object and manner of employing the aid of others.

Some make crutches of others, and do not exert their own abilities. This is one extreme. Others attempt to dispense with all foreign aid. This is the other extreme. These resemble the man, who, to show his independence, should travel on foot a rugged route along some great thoroughfare, rather than enter the rail-car or steamboat, and despatch his journey with ease and delight, saving his time and strength for more worthy objects. Some seem to suppose that an original thinker must create the materials of thought. This is a great mistake. "The

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great mass of truth, in science, morals and religion, is the common property of all men. Every man has a perfect right to take as much or as little as he pleases." The skill shown in illustrating and enforcing simple truths, in making abstruse ones plain, in freeing others from misapprehension and perversion, in separating, combining and arranging others, exhibits more or less originality. An architect shows his skill, not in hewing timber, sawing boards, making brick, burning lime, etc., but in the construction and finish of his edifices. Again, the events of the life of Henry V. were on the historic page for men to read, but it required the genius of Shakespeare to breathe into them their original life. Similar events on a much grander scale are now recorded in almost every tongue; but where is the mind to awe the earth, by raising from the grave the great actors in them in their ambition, power and glory? This requires genius of the highest order. Original thinking does not depend upon employing or not employing the aid of others, but upon the object for which, and the manner in which, it is employed.

Another feature of the original thinker is that he is a discoverer of new truth. The existence of truth does not depend upon its being known. The truths of physical science have existed since the creation of the material universe. Moral and religious truth, so far as it respects man, had its birth with his own existence. Political truth has had being since the organization of human society. Exhaustless mines of truth have been locked from human sight for ages. What mines are still concealed, no one can tell. Their discovery, therefore, does not create, nor originate them. It only makes them accessible. Some, like mines of gold, have been discovered by accident; but by far the greater part have been brought to light by the efforts of the greatest minds. All men had seen bodies fall to the earth for ages; yet it was reserved for Newton, from the fall of an apple, to discover those simple laws which hold in harmonious action the diversified operations of the universe. Myriads had witnessed the hues displayed on soap bubbles, floating in the sunbeams, and the brilliancy of the prismatic spectrum; but from these phenomena he also developed his theory and laws of light. The facts upon which the system of induc-

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tive philosophy is based, have been observed in every age; but it remained for Bacon to deduce from them those simple principles, which have revolutionized the philosophical world. None will doubt the originality of such minds.

Again. The employment of the aid of others in exploring new fields of thought, may exhibit originality of great power. To illustrate this point, we borrow the substance of a historical fact, employed by an elegant writer for a kindred purpose. "Bonaparte in his Egyptian expedition, on crossing an arm of the Red Sea with his staff, came near sharing the fate of Pharaoh. He instantly commanded his officers to separate to the right and left. Some sank on either side of him, but these assisted him, as well as those directly upon the true fording place, in ascertaining its direction and width, and reaching the shore in safety." A person's originating power, in his search after any great truth, will be proportioned to his ability to make others do for him what Bonaparte's officers did for him on this occasion. He may be on its track, and make the success and failure of others aid him in determining its limits and direction, and thus lead him to a right conclusion.

In different persons there is as much difference of mental, as there is of physical, strength. Little minds may delight in trifles; but great minds glory in great achievements. A man's strength is stamped upon his productions. A glance at them will determine whether he be an infant or a giant. His talents are exhibited in the nature of his subjects, their arrangement, discussion, etc.; and his genius, in the power of invention which he thus displays. Here we see the difference between talent and genius. A man may possess talent, and not genius, because he is without invention; but he cannot possess genius and not talent, because invention is one species of talent.

There is an intimate connection between a man's talents and his attainments. Other things being equal, those who rely most upon the former, manifest the most originality; and those who depend most upon the latter, manifest the most learning. This is seen in comparing Homer and Virgil; Shakespeare and Milton; Ezekiel and Isaiah.

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Again. Minds of equal strength may possess different degrees of activity. Some leap from premises to distant conclusions, which others must reach by attending more carefully to the intermediate steps. Some bound at once from earth to heaven, and career through the universe "in fine phrenzy rolling;" while others reach equal, or greater heights, but at a slower rate. But talents or genius above the ordinary laws of the human mind, exist only in imagination. Those who expect that splendid conceptions and burning thoughts will be showered down upon them, without the exertion of their faculties, only dream. In imagination they may entrance multitudes, astonish nations, and convulse the earth; but, like the inebriate, they glory on the broad road to oblivion. In a word, such reveries are to the mind what revels are to the whole man. They enfeeble, beggar, ruin. Intemperance has not been more direful in its wholesale desolation among men, than this species of mental inebriation has been to the minds of those who have indulged in it.

"Some attempt to make the impression that their productions cost them little or no labor—were the growth of a night"—the offspring of a single afflatus of their genius. This is foolish in the extreme; and as false as it is vain. The productions of labor, whether intellectual or physical, declare that labor has been performed. As well might we think that the most magnificent structures sprang into existence without hands, as to suppose that the Iliad, the Æneid, or the Paradise Lost came into being without protracted toil. Genius, however great, is not omniscient, nor omnipotent, and cannot dispense with labor. It shows what can be done with it.

An intense thinker will be an original thinker. All will recognize his individuality, and respect him. If unable to rank with the highest orders of talent and genius, he will at least be on the road to the upper walks of human thought.

Among the effects of original thinking we note the following.

III. It strengthens the mind. It is a law of our physical, intellectual and moral constitution, that the exercise of any particular part increases its strength. See the swarthy arm of the blacksmith; its size and power are in a great measure dependent upon its action. Thus it

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is with our intellectual faculties. A man may become a living concordance, or a walking library, and still be a very weak man. But an energetic thinker will increase the strength of his intellect. The former may have knowledge, but the latter will have power. The one may secure attention, the other will command it. The one may be respected for what he has, the other will be for what he is. The one is a cistern, which must be filled from some external source, and may be drained, however vast; "the other is a perennial fountain, from whose exhaustless bosom gush ever living streams, which refresh and fertilize all surrounding nature." The one can do nothing without books; the other, though shut up in a dungeon, can create those that will live while time endures. The mental powers of the one will remain stationary, while those of the other increase in strength from infancy up to manhood.

2. It creates true intellectual independence. This the man without thought knows not. The past can only show him his imbecility. Any pretension on his part to grapple with profound subjects, is presumption. Generally, however, a consciousness of his own weakness will lead him to avoid such attempts altogether. The original thinker can trust his own powers. From what he has already achieved, he knows, to some extent at least, what he can accomplish. He knows how to use, and when to acknowledge, the aid of others. He loathes borrowed plumes, and is equally disgusted at the vanity which rejects all such aid. The genuineness of his intellectual independence will depend upon the depth, power and comprehensiveness of his thought. True moral independence is based upon a conscience void of offence towards God and man. The proper union of both kinds creates the most exalted independence, which a dependent sinful being can possibly possess. The possessor of such a character will think and let think, and act and let act.

3. It brings its own reward. Wealth acquired by a person's industry and economy, or fame secured by his own genius, afford him peculiar pleasure, because he enjoys the fruits of his own labor. Mental wealth, quarried from the mines of truth, by one's own hand, confers on its possessor higher, purer and more enduring felicity.

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"He lays up treasures vastly more precious than gems and gold, with the seal of his exclusive proprietorship indelibly impressed upon them." He contributes his quota to the intellectual riches of the world, for which the whole race ought to show an amount of gratitude commensurate with the greatness, truthfulness and importance of his productions.

Again. The mere acquisition of knowledge is attended with pleasure. But profound and glowing thought confers a happiness peculiarly its own. "Its joy ranks next to those of pardoned sin, and a clear conscience." Excepting these, it is the highest and purest that the mind can enjoy on earth.

Again. The desire of power is an element of human nature. Its strength is seen in the infant's tenacious grasp of its toys, in the petty contests among men for victory, and in the seas of blood, shed by men aspiring to rule the earth. Its gratification, of course, produces happiness. But the amount and kind of happiness depends entirely upon the amount and kind of power exercised in producing it. That which springs from the exercise of intellectual power, is as far above that produced by the exercise of physical power, as the intellect of man is above his body; and, that which springs from the exercise of moral power, is as far above that originated by the exercise of mere intellectual power, as man's moral is above his intellectual. The physical power of man is nearly allied to the force of brutes; his intellectual and moral power is of a near kin to the energy of angels. Civil and military power is more or less physical. This must accordingly affect the character of the happiness which the exercise of them produces. He who causes millions to bend at his nod, may have their curses, and be overthrown; but he who sways the minds of millions, will have their praises, and be immortalized. Independently of these consequences, the rapture of him whose arm plucks up kingdoms, cleaves empires, sweeps nations from existence, and bows the whole earth to his will, is not to be compared with his, whose intellect lays in ruins the strong holds of vice, crushes systems of delusion, obliterates the dominions of error, and holds the race by the gentle reins of truth. The one makes the earth bleed at every pore, that he may play with straws;

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the other feels himself as far above thrones and empires as mind is above matter. The exercise of man's physical power, subjected to his intellectual, and of both to his moral power, resembles the government of God over the universe of mind. The exercise of these kinds of power, thus subordinate to eaoh other, gives birth to a happiness in kind and degree, like that enjoyed by God himself in governing his intelligent creation, in proportion to the perfection of their subordination. The earth, alas, knows but little of such happiness.

4. It gives great power over our fellow men. There is a perpetual warfare between truth and error, virtue and vice. Intellectual power may aid either, and thus become the cause of weal or wo. Such consequences, however, are connected with each, that where an equal amount of talent and skill is employed on both sides, the former will invariably achieve the victory. Intellectual power has freed nations from the yoke of despotism, and it has forged chains, under which men have groaned for ages. It needs a regulator. However great, it can never harmonize the earth. This is the sole prerogative of moral power. When supreme, it is to the human race what the attraction of gravitation is to the material universe. It neutralizes, counteracts, and balances the antagonist forces among men, forms them into every lawful combination, and holds every society, community and nation in their respective orbits.

The power of thought over mankind may be seen in the sway which single minds have had over the human race. Homer's Iliad has done more towards creating heroes, and moulding the destinies of succeeding ages, than Alexander and his sweeping victories. The whole energy of the one has been felt in every age; the glory of the other has departed with the lapse of time. The orations of Demosthenes and Cicero have done more towards governing the world than the power of tyrants. The works of the former have been the text-books of legislators in every succeeding age; while the examples of the latter are held up to execration. Time will yet show that Carey, with his Bible, did more towards subjugating the world, than Bonaparte with marshalled Europe at his side.

A sterling thinker need not concern himself about being

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overlooked or neglected. Like pure gold, his weight and worth will eventually be seen, felt and acknowledged. The Paradise Lost fell, still-born, from the hand of its author. It has since enrolled his name in the annals of immortality. The reward of men will, in the end, be according to their merits.

No one can give his intellect its full development without energetic thought. It requires severe and protracted mental toil. Were such thinking universal, thinking by proxy would cease. Instead of the mass of mankind never passing beyond their childhood in mental power, every person of ripe age would stand forth in full-grown intellectual manhood, and be known to the world by the commanding features of his own individuality.

Of all men on earth, ministers of the gospel should, in this respect, be the most thoroughly disciplined. Almost every department of literature, science and morals, furnishes us specimens of the highest exertions of the human mind. The themes of the minister throw all others into the shade. They are grand, glorious, awful. He should never content himself because he is within the pale of orthodoxy and sustained by a mass of great authors. Each should see for himself the grounds of his faith, and be able to give the reason of his hope. Misapprehension, mistake, or perversion may be fraught with consequences sufficiently tremendous to veil the heavens in sackcloth, and make the earth weep tears of blood. His responsibility is inconceivably awful. Study, thought and prayer should form his native element. In it he should live, grow and glory. In justice to ourselves and to man, and for the honor of God, let us strive to be energetic and prayerful thinkers.

After having sketched the outlines and written the substance of the present article, the production of Prof. G. W. Eaton, of Madison University, on "The Duty and Rewards of Original Thinking," fell into our hands. The careful reading of it made a deep impression upon us. How much of it has been incorporated into the preceding pages is left for the reader to decide. We intended to mark every passage taken from it; yet the similarity of some strains of thought in both articles has made it difficult to decide at all times how much we have been indebted to that excellent production.

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ARTICLE VI.

MIRACLES.

Art. VII, in the June No. of the Christian Review.

Question Book on the Miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ. By Rev. LEMUEL PORTER.

IS THE PERFORMANCE OF A MIRACLE PROOF OF A DIVINE COMMISSION TO REVEAL TRUTH?

WITH this question a writer in the last number of the Christian Review commences a criticism upon the book named at the head of this article. We propose to examine the same question by way of reply. Its solution depends, according to our reviewer, upon the following, *Can any other being than God perform a miracle?* It seems to us, however, that there is still a third question to be asked, the answer to which will decide both the former, viz., *What is a miracle?* It is very evident that this word may be so defined that the first question can be answered only in the affirmative, and the second only in the negative. Or, it may be so defined as completely to reverse the answers. Every thing then depends upon the definition of the word "miracle." It is to be regretted that our reviewer has not stated the meaning which he affixes to it. "We ought always," says Ernesti, "to inquire in respect to any word, whether we have a distinct perception of the thing or idea, which it is meant to designate." Scientific and critical writers should be precise, to prevent embarrassment to those who may read their works, and to those who may reply to them. Let us briefly notice some of the significations of this important word as given by authors of established reputation. Dr. Emmons says that "a miracle is an effect wrought by God himself." If this means that God, by a distinct effort of divine power, works miracles, then no other being can perform them. But did not Moses and Paul work miracles? Are they God? If not, then a miracle

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may be performed by an indirect effort of divine power. If now asked whether any other being than God can perform a miracle, we cannot give a categorical answer. To reply no, or yes, would not be safe. You would be obliged to reply either, no, not directly, or yes, indirectly. Other writers use the word in a much wider sense than Dr. Emmons. We find it applied to the acts of angels, good and bad; to the results of skilful legerdemain; to the triumphs of genius, and to the mysterious operations of nature. An inspired writer uses this expression, "They are the spirits of devils, working miracles." A medical instrument is thus praised: "Galen doth affirm cupping glasses to work as miraculously as if their operation had depended upon enchantment."

President Everett alludes to a watch in the following terms. "What a miracle of art, that a man can teach a few brass wheels and a little piece of elastic steel to outcalculate himself; to give him a rational answer to one of the most important questions, which a being travelling toward eternity can ask! What a miracle, that a man can put within this little machine a spirit, that measures the flight of time with greater accuracy than the unassisted intellect of the profoundest philosopher; which watches and moves when sleep palsies alike the hand of the maker and the mind of the contriver, nay when the last sleep has come over them both."

The poet Young also applies this word to effects produced by the intellect of man,—

> "Gazing on miracles by mortals wrought,
> Arches triumphal, theatres immense,
> On nodding gardens pendent in mid air!
> Or temples proud to meet their gods half way!"

A still more ancient poet says,—

> "Omnia transformant sese in miracula rerum."

These quotations are sufficient to show with what latitude this word is used. Lest therefore there should be any doubt as to our own meaning, we shall define it, bearing in mind the remark of Professor Stuart, that "The meaning of a word must always be a simple matter of fact, and of course it is always to be established by appropriate and adequate testimony."

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We are not disposed to avail ourselves of any figurative or poetical definitions. Our inquiry is, what is the true, theological meaning of the word? What did Jesus mean, when he appealed to his magnificent miracles? What did the sacred writers mean, when they used this word in recording his wonderful works?

We shall assume that the definition in the introduction to the Question Book is correct. "A miracle is such a deviation from the known laws of nature as can be effected only by a power superior to that of man." It will be perceived that this definition contains two assertions. First, that a miracle is a deviation from the known laws of nature. Second, it is such an one as can be effected only by a power superior to that of man. To each of these assertions we shall now give our attention.

A miracle is a "deviation from the known laws of nature." This position we understand our reviewer to deny. We affirm it, and shall endeavor to justify the affirmation by "appropriate and adequate testimony." Our first appeal naturally is to the lexicographers. Among them our own Webster holds the highest rank. He defines a miracle to be "an event or effect contrary to the established constitution and course of things; or, a deviation from the known laws of nature." The philosopher Locke says, "A miracle, I take to be a sensible operation, which, being above the comprehension of the spectator, and, in his opinion, contrary to the established course of nature, is taken by men to be divine. It i argued that, as a miracle must be that which surpasses the force of nature, in the established, steady laws of causes and effects, nothing can be taken to be a miracle but what is judged to exceed those laws." Bishop Butler, "whose thoughts, according to Dr. Barnes, are condensed into as narrow a compass as the nature of language will admit," says, "a miracle in its very notion, is relative to a course of nature; and implies somewhat different from it, considered as being so."

It seems then, that lexicographers, philosophers and theologians, of the highest order, sustain this part of our definition, and, we may add, that after a somewhat extended examination, we find no good writers who oppose it.

The question now fairly arises, what are the laws of

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nature? We mean by them, the uniformity of the arrangements of divine providence. We mean that, whenever a certain state of matter or of mind is found to be preceded or followed by a certain other state of matter or of mind, it will always, under similar circumstances, be found to be thus preceded or followed. We mean that, *cæteris paribus*, antecedents will always be followed by similar consequents, and that consequents will always be preceded by similar precedents. As in a chain, any link always has the same one before it and the same one after it, so in the known laws of nature, events are uniformly related to and connected with each other. The former event we call a cause, and the latter an effect; not that we mean one event to be the efficient cause of another, but simply its uniform antecedent. We mean that God, in infinite wisdom, has established these regular sequences, without which we could understand neither his character nor our duty. We agree with Dr. Wayland, that if God "had seen fit, he could as well have arranged entirely different antecedents and consequents, or, could have produced every change by itself, without having established any regular order of succession." Yet we do not see how he could have taken any other course but this, in nature, with the same benefit to man. It is by faith in the uniformity of these laws, that the farmer sows his "precious seed"; that the bold seaman trusts himself to the vast deep; that physicians give and patients take medicines; that the ambassador of Christ preaches salvation to guilty men, and that all the business of life goes forward. Let this uniformity be interrupted, even within the limits of a single law, and who can calculate its unhappy influence upon our race?

The object of a miracle is to excite astonishment, and thus to secure attention. It is to impress the spectator with the idea of superhuman power, and to prepare the mind for some divine communication. It is the knocking of Jehovah's hand against the doors of this world, summoning our race to come forth and hear his message; at the same time it is the impress of the great seal of the universe, in proof of the credibility of the messenger. But surely this cannot be done by exhibiting any of the well known antecedents and consequents of nature. The uniform order of natural events must be, or must

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seem to be, strikingly deviated from, to arrest attention, or to ensure respect. It was not a burning bush, that prepared Moses to hear God's voice on Horeb, but a bush that burned continually without being consumed. The laws of nature are deviated from by miracles in only two ways; when they are suspended, and when they are counteracted. "A miracle," says Bishop Wilson, "is a visible suspension of those laws of nature, on the general constancy of which the order and preservation of the whole universe rest."

The definition of Dr. Dwight is, "a suspension or counteraction of what are called the laws of nature. By the laws of nature," he adds, "I intend those regular courses of divine agency, which we discern in the world around us." The laws of nature are suspended, whenever an antecedent, in similar circumstances, is not followed by its regular consequent; as, for example, if a person should drink some deadly thing, which, under precisely the same circumstances, has killed others, but which does not harm him. They are counteracted, whenever a consequent exists, without being preceded by its uniform antecedent; as if rain should fall copiously without the presence of clouds. Upon a careful examination of every recorded miracle of Christ, we believe that they, and all other miracles, may be classed under three divisions: those in which the laws of nature are suspended; those in which they are counteracted; and those in which they are both suspended and counteracted, which may be called double miracles. The miracles of the Old Testament were on a more colossal scale than those of the New; but through the whole series of both Testaments, where can one be found that resists this classification? As a specimen of the first class, we mention our Saviour's walking on the sea of Galilee.

"But what vision is yonder! A human like form,
By the wind unimpeded, unblenched by the storm,
On the waves moving onward is seen;
The surges supply him a footing, the air
Waves the folds of his garments and streams in his hair,
But disturbs not his motion serene.

As the storm nourished petrels, the sons of the deep,
Float at ease on its surface and fearlessly sleep,

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So the surges that passenger bore:
No more to his feet doth the water flood yield
Than if planted they were on some grass mantled field
Or the water was crystalized o'er."*

Here we say was a suspension of the laws of nature. It is a law of hydrostatics that any body, of greater specific gravity than water, must sink in it when placed unsupported on its surface; but the body of our Saviour was specifically heavier than the waves of Galilee, on which he walked without any natural support, yet he did not sink. Here an antecedent, (a human body,) existed under the very circumstances, (placed without support on the surface of deep water,) in which a certain consequent, (sinking,) uniformly follows, without being followed by that consequent. Here was a cause without its effect. Here was a miracle. The preternatural darkness in Egypt is of the same kind.

As a specimen of the second class, we mention the change of water into wine. Here was a counteraction of the laws of nature. Wine, as a consequent, is uniformly preceded by a vegetable substance, in its second stage of fermentation, as its antecedent. But wine, preceded by any other antecedent, is a deviation from nature's regular processes, especially when pure water is the antecedent; which is neither a vegetable substance, nor is capable of fermentation. The widow's oil and meal is similar.

As an example of the third class, or of double miracles, we mention the resurrection of the body of Lazarus. It is a law of nature that animal and vegetable bodies after death shall be decomposed. Chemical and mechanical changes take place in their particles of matter, which assume new arrangements and relations, until the original form and structure disappear. The body of Lazarus had been undergoing this process for four days, when the Saviour came to his grave. It is also a law of nature that when an animal body is partly decomposed, and the process is arrested at a given point, by placing it under new circumstances, its particles of matter shall remain in the same state they were in when decomposition ceased. Arresting decay does not restore the body to its original

* Bishop Mant.

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weight and structure. Various antiseptics may deprive tainted meat, for example, of its offensiveness to the senses, but they cannot recall any of the escaped gases, or rearrange any particles of matter that have entered into new combinations. The body of Lazarus was far advanced in decomposition. Now, in raising him to life, (we say nothing here of the life imparted to his body, but only of its preparation for life,) first, the process of decomposition was arrested without any change of circumstances. Here the law of decomposition was suspended. And, in the second place, every particle of that body, whether it had soared into the air, sunk into the earth, been devoured by reptiles or been chemically changed, was brought back and rearranged, until the body was entire as to weight, color and form. Here was a direct reversal of the law of decomposition.

We believe, then, that every genuine miracle is a deviation from the known laws of nature in one of the ways mentioned, and that every such deviation is a real miracle.

But against this sentiment our reviewer protests in the following words: "To say that such miracles are a violation or a suspension of the laws of nature is a very unsatisfactory account of them. As long as we live in the flesh, we constantly suspend some of the laws of matter. What are experiments in chemistry and natural philosophy but successful resistance to, or violations of, nature's laws? But are these things miracles? What should we think of such definitions as the following: Embalming is a suspension of the law of decay; climbing a tree or a precipice is an infraction of the law of gravitation; the ascent of sap is a violation of hydrodynamics? To say then that a miracle is a suspension or an infraction of the law of nature, does not distinguish it from other events, which we constantly witness. The raising of the dead, recorded in the Bible, is no more a violation of law, than the bursting of a chrysalis or the sprouting of a decayed vegetable." With this paragraph, as a whole, and in all its parts, we are obliged totally to disagree.

"We constantly," says our reviewer, "suspend some of the laws of matter." We ask what laws? We know of none. We can imagine none. We cannot conceive of a single instance in which it has been done, except

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when a miracle has been performed. But we are referred to experiments in chemistry and in natural philosophy, as specimens of successful violations of nature's laws. We regret that our reviewer has not named some of these experiments; for we know of no examples. On the contrary, all that occur to our mind confirm us in the opposite opinion. We will examine one or two experiments of each kind mentioned.

The particles of a homogeneous body are united and held together by what is called the attraction of cohesion. Now, if without changing the circumstances, you can disunite those particles, you suspend the law of cohesion; but if you disunite those particles by changing the circumstances, you have merely taken the body out of the control of the law of cohesion and placed it under the influence of some other law of nature. Suppose that you strike a piece of granite with a hammer until you crumble it to powder, have you violated the law of cohesion? Not at all. What is the law of cohesion? It is a single department of that general law of physics, by which all bodies attract each other in proportion to the particles of matter they contain and to the distances by which they are separated. The particles of granite adhere with a certain degree of force. The blows you inflict exert a superior force. The particles are thrown beyond the sphere of each other's attraction. Cohesion no longer applies to them; but they come under the law of gravitation, which brings them to the earth, and of inertia, which prevents their changing places.

A pure acid, by itself, is united by cohesion. So is a pure alkali. But, when placed together, each separates into particles, which unite with the particles of the other body, forming a neutral salt. This salt is held together, not by cohesion but by chemical attraction. Cohesion is not suspended or violated; for the acid and alkali, being placed under different circumstances, are no longer subject to cohesion, but to chemical attraction. The neutral salt, now subject to the law of chemical attraction, may be made, by a change of circumstances, to renounce that law and to become obedient to another. Let a third substance be added, for which either the acid or the alkali has a greater affinity, and one of them, being set free, returns to the law of cohesion, while the other uniting with

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the third comes under the law of elective affinity. The rule then seems to be, that every substance, with a change of circumstances, becomes a new antecedent, and is uniformly followed by a new consequent. Laws never suspend or violate each other. Each acts independently to a certain point, where another distinct law waits to carry on the process of nature. Nor can human beings suspend any natural law. It is according to a uniform law that any body, of greater specific gravity than a fluid or liquid, when placed unsupported upon it, will descend towards the earth. Now, if a person should, at any time, leap from the roof of his house, and, without any natural support, float around in the air, we will admit that he has suspended a powerful law; or, if he will rise up from the same place through the atmosphere, and soar among the clouds, we will confess that he has counteracted a law of nature. But, if he sustains himself by a rope in the air and thus remains stationary, we do not see that he suspends any thing but himself. Gravitation is in full force upon him, with a power of fifteen pounds to the square inch,—to prove which, you have only to cut the rope and to see the result. When smoke and vapor rise in the air, they do not violate the law of gravitation, but fulfil it. The air, being a denser body than smoke and vapor, is attracted with greater power, and thus presses the lighter bodies upward. Let the air be removed, and the smoke, vapor and gas will fall downward like lead. Thus, with a change of circumstances, former laws cease to operate and new ones take their place. This is true of man in his relations to society. It is a statute law of our country that minors are subject to their fathers. Now does a young man, on becoming of age, suspend or counteract the law of minors? Or rather, has not a change of circumstances placed him beyond its limits? The law of minors is not violated, when he is twenty-one years old. The apostle Paul understood this principle. "The wife," he says, "is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to marry whom she will."

Embalming is not a suspension of the law of decay; for the law of decay is, that certain antecedents must precede decay as their consequent. Embalming removes those antecedents and substitutes others, to which belong

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other consequents. For decay to take place under these new antecedents would be a miracle. Climbing a tree does not suspend gravitation. It still attracts, with the weight of fifteen pounds to the square inch. The ascent is by the same law by which birds fly and vapors ascend. Whoever throws off a weight from his body of fifteen pounds to the square inch, and adds but an ounce of upward force, must rise, and all do that by muscular contraction, who climb trees or scale precipices.

Sap ascends trees by capillary attraction, and by the alternate expansion and contraction of the minute tubes in the wood. Thus while gravitation exerts a downward force upon the sap, the other influences exert an upward force superior to it. It is a law of nature that, when two antagonist forces meet, the inferior yields to the superior. The inferior force, however, is not suspended or counteracted; for it continues to exert just the same energy when yielding, as though it was itself overcoming an inferior. Thus if two opposite forces, consisting of powers equal to ten and fifteen, meet, the ten on each side neutralize each other, and the five, having no resistance, by a law of mechanics moves the whole mass.

We have not agreed with our reviewer thus far; but still less do we agree with him in the remainder of the paragraph. Is it true that the raising of our Lord Jesus Christ's dead body is no more a violation, that is suspension or counteraction, of natural laws than the sprouting of a decayed vegetable? Let us examine. A decayed vegetable is partly decomposed; our Lord's body "saw no corruption." The law of nature was in full force in one case, but was suspended in the other. A decayed vegetable contains the germ of life, or it would not sprout. Our Lord's body and soul were entirely separated, or he was not dead, and the cross and resurrection are impostures. The sprouting of a decayed vegetable is the regular consequent of a natural antecedent; but the resurrection of all dead bodies has no antecedent, except the immediate will of God. The sprout was not the old vegetable, but another like it. "That which thou sowest," says an apostle, "thou sowest not the body that shall be." But the body in which Christ rose up from amidst his weeping disciples at Bethany, was the very one that was pierced for our transgressions.

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"For thou didst die for me, O Son of God!
By thee the throbbing flesh of man was worn;
Thy naked feet the thorns of sorrow trod;
And tempests beat thy houseless head forlorn.
Thou that wert wont to stand
Alone on God's right hand
Before the ages were, the eternal, eldest born."*

It seems clear to us that there is no analogy, scarcely a faint similitude, between the two cases—the corpse of Christ and a decayed vegetable! We believe that our readers will generally agree with us, that "a miracle is a deviation from the known laws of nature." Says Mosheim, "All wise men are now agreed that no event is to be accounted a miracle, if it can be adequately accounted for on natural principles, or in the common and ordinary course of divine providence."

We admit that divine power as really causes the regular course of nature as deviations of it. The word power, as applied to matter, means nothing more than invariable antecedence. The will of God is the efficient cause, (in miracles the immediate, and in the general movements of nature, the remote,) of every change that occurs. To a reflecting man there is as much proof of the existence of God amid his ordinary works, in the changing seasons, in day and night, in vegetation, and in his own structure, as there would be in thronging miracles.

"To common sense great Nature's course proclaims
A Deity. When mankind falls asleep,
A miracle is sent as an alarm,
To wake the world and prove him o'er again,
By recent argument, but not more strong."†

But in the one case, God acts by a series of established antecedents; in the other, his will is the immediate antecedent. In the former case, he guards the regular movements of nature with great care, for his own glory and for the good of his creatures. In the latter, he suddenly and publicly breaks into that course. And the intense wonder that such an interruption excites, proves the perfect regularity of nature's usual arrangements.

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* Milman. † Young.

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The remaining part of our definition of the word "miracle" is easily settled. This deviation from the known laws of nature "can be effected only by a power superior to that of man."

Unless the laws of nature were uniform around the globe, we do not see how our race could long exist; but admitting that they did, it seems impossible to us that they could make any advance in knowledge, or pursue, to any desirable results, the present business of life. If thistles might be the product of wheat; if water, on a declivity, might remain at rest, or on a level rush in angry tides; if the magnetic needle might point to-day north and to-morrow south; if bread might become poison; or the air a solid body; if memory might cease; if conscience approve to-day what it condemned yesterday; if what is true now shall be false next month,—there could be no certainty, no reasoning from cause to effect, no dependence upon the past or faith in the future. Men would be worse than savages in their intellects; worse than heathen in their hearts; worse than cripples in their limbs. There could be no government, no literature, no arts, no religion, no life. In short, it seems to us impossible for a world to exist, unless its laws are uniform. He then, who can change this uniformity, can destroy the race of man; yea, can blot all beings from existence, and reduce the wide universe to utter ruin. This power God certainly has, and will use it in the general conflagration. But would he endow any of his creatures with it, except for a limited time and for a specific purpose? It is a miracle that man works miracles. We believe that neither Gabriel, nor Satan, much less puny man, can suspend or counteract a single law of nature by their own unaided power. God alone can directly do it. The only antecedent is his will. That is a miracle of which the immediate antecedent is the will of God. The sublimest passage in any writing is the celebrated one in Genesis, "And God said, let light be; and light was." God, the antecedent, and light, the consequent, are in immediate contact. Nothing interposes between his will and its effect. The time may be, when effects, which are now separated from God by an almost endless train of intermediate causes, shall appear consequents, of which his will is the immediate antecedent. It will be seen, then,

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that his will rolls this huge earth upon its axis, covers its surface with joy and gladness, and gives to every event his impress. Sceptics have exulted to think that, in the rush of mind along the track of grand discoveries, our race will reach so high a point of intelligence that all the secrets of nature will be known, and the proudest miracle of Christ be explained and imitated. When the mental potassium was discovered by galvanism, infidels believed that the world would soon penetrate nature's "holy of holies," and discover some recondite law by which dead bodies could be raised to life, water changed to wine, and a loaf of bread be indefinitely increased, with ease. And so with animal magnetism. The truth, however, is that as no antecedents to miracles exist in nature, they belong to no natural law. They are *sui generis*; deviations from law, hence beyond discovery or imitation.

After this decided expression of opinion, it may surprise some persons to be told that the author of the Question Book on Christian Miracles teaches that "the devil may work and actually has worked miracles"! Yet such is the unqualified statement of our reviewer. What reason has he for making this assertion? Are we referred to the introduction to the Question Book? Let us examine. We find there the following sentence. "There is a class of evil beings, superior to men, who are supposed to be able to work miracles." Who will deny that false miracles have been performed, both by angelic and human agency? Who will deny that various men have supposed each of these to be real? Those wrought by the influence of evil spirits, our author calls "Satanic"; and those wrought by human influence, he calls "pretended;" and points out means by which each can be distinguished from the true. Is this asserting that the "devil can work and has worked real miracles," by his own power? Is it even asserting that the devil has worked real miracles by divine power entrusted to him, for a season, by Jehovah? We think not.

We shall now direct our attention to two points, and endeavor to prove, first, that evil spirits, and of course Satan, have been supposed to work real miracles; and, secondly, that persons could undeceive themselves, if they chose, by examining the messages of his emissaries. We have omitted to place at the head of our article, the name

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of a volume which our reviewer has associated with the Question Book, in his criticisms, inasmuch as we fail to perceive any necessity for it. Nor do we feel called upon to defend that admirable work. Yet we may say, in passing, that we can discover there, no decided opinion to justify the reviewer's statement. The author, a pious and learned English clergyman, records several dialogues, which actually occurred between himself and various sceptics of his parish, whom he sought to win to Christ. He gives his reader one dialogue which he held with a talented and captious infidel, who, in prospect of a speedy grave, had become somewhat interested in religious things. The conversation turned at length upon miracles, as it always must, when the claims of Christianity are intelligently attacked and defended. The infidel asked whether his pastor believed that real miracles could be wrought by any other than a divine power. His reply was, "That is a question which I cannot settle. But, to argue safely, we must allow it. A miracle is something out of the common course of things, and beyond the power of man; and what beings there may be between God and man capable of performing miracles, it is impossible for us to conjecture. We know, however, from Scripture, of a whole class of beings superior in power to man and hostile to man, who probably can perform miracles. Scripture itself seems to insinuate that they can; and moreover, that we may be deceived by their miracles, whether true or false." What this clergyman's precise idea of a miracle was, we know not. His answer seems to us to be rather cautious than decided; yet, he may have seen its wisdom under existing circumstances. It is difficult to obtain an author's precise meaning upon important subjects to which he barely alludes. Even when an author is controverting an opinion, he may make statements which seem to confirm rather than to overthrow it. For example, our reviewer is attempting to prove that evil spirits cannot work miracles; but what are we to think of such statements as the following? "We are not disposed to deny that ungodly men may have performed miracles." "We freely admit that, if there are any beings, as we have reason to believe there are, endowed with faculties vastly superior to our own, it follows as a necessary consequence that they

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can do things which would appear very amazing to us." "It is true, we know not with what extraordinary powers creatures above us in the scale of being are endowed. We cannot therefore say with certainty what they can or cannot do." "Miracles may be divided into two classes. First, those which apparently might be performed by an invisible being, endowed with powers similar in kind to ours, but exceeding them in degree." "The killing of the first-born in Egypt, for instance, might have been achieved by a created being, such as we can easily conceive to exist." "We feel no disposition to deny that Satan may have some part, which we cannot define, in the miracles here predicted, 2 Thess. 2 : 9, 10."

From such admissions, a reader might infer that, after all, the writer was not quite sure but evil spirits and evil men could work miracles.

We now return to the author of the Question Book, and shall endeavor to prove, first, that evil spirits have been supposed able to work real miracles. We shall rely upon the known character of Satan, and upon the testimony of historians. The history of Satan is woven into all parts of the Bible. You find it in Genesis. You find it in the Revelation. Every where his character is the same, supernaturally intelligent, and utterly hostile to God and man. His plans of evil are adroitly laid and executed. Clothed with official omnipresence, he is every where. He sees with a million eyes. He feels with a million hearts. He acts with a million hands. Invisibly he works out his dreadful purposes. His treatment of Job indicates his ferocity, his intellect and his activity. God does not appear disposed to cripple his free agency. Having anchored him in hell, Jehovah lets him swing, without opposition, at the whole length of his cable. Thus situated, he can transform himself into an angel of light. The Bible warns the human race against him. "Be sober, be vigilant, for your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." Heaven is called upon to rejoice at his expulsion, and Earth to mourn at his advent, who was "to deceive the whole world." Although engaged in the worst of all causes, he is still little less

"Than an archangel ruined."

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When Christ appeared among men, Satan's power was almost unlimited and undisputed. Never did he appear so truly "the God of this world." The only throne Jehovah possessed on earth was in the temple at Jerusalem; and that, beleaguered by the hosts of perdition, seemed every moment liable to surrender. "Wherever Satan looked," says Dr. Harris, "the expanse was his own; the teeming population were his subjects; the invisible rulers were his selected agents. Temptation in his hands had become a science, and sin was taught by rule. The world was one store-house of temptation; an armory, in which every object and event ranked as a weapon, and all classed and kept ready for service. Every human heart was a fortified place. Every demon power was at its post. He beheld the complicated machinery of evil which his mighty malignity had constructed, in full and efficient operation; no heart unoccupied, no spot unvisited, no agency unemployed, and the whole resulting in a vast, organized and consolidated empire."

Such was the being whom Christ encountered on entering this world. And when the Saviour produced his credentials; when he wrought miracle after miracle in proof that he was divinely authorized to communicate messages from God to man, would Satan stand tamely by and yield his sceptre without one effort to retain it? Would he quail at once before the almightiness of Christ? Was he, who quoted Scripture well, so ignorant of ancient predictions as not to know, centuries before, that Messiah was to come into this world, armed with miracles, for the very purpose of "destroying the works of the devil"? And, with this knowledge, would he not attempt to imitate some miracles and to originate others? Had he not talent enough to be a successful counterfeiter of miracles; or, is the idea of forgery too obscure to enter a mind like his? The idea long ago occurred to men, and has been acted on for ages, back to the time of "the world's gray fathers." With our reviewer, we would ask, "is not the old Serpent as cunning as his human children"?

By forged miracles Satan seems to have deceived multitudes in two ways. First, by making them believe that his emissaries came from God to instruct men, and secondly, by causing them to believe that Christ wrought

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miracles by Satanic aid. By the first method, he could corrupt the doctrines of Christ, create heresies and divisions in his church, and set up new religions, where old ones had become antiquated and inefficient. By the second method, he could dilute or destroy the Saviour's authority. He was willing that his own name should be a watch-word of infamy, if he could only fix it upon Christ, and thus obscure the splendors of the Saviour's character. How well he succeeded in both these attempts, history tells us. The Saviour was aware of all this, and often exposed "the wiles of Satan." In some places "he did not many mighty works, because of their unbelief." The only reply to his stupendous miracles was, "he casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils." After his resurrection, he showed himself only to his friends. "To his enemies," says Mosheim, "he would not appear visibly; among other reasons one was that he knew those unprincipled men, who had before accused him of sorcery, would impudently affirm that only a spectre appeared, bearing his likeness and produced by the power of the devil."

Whenever a report of our Saviour's miracles spread among the heathen, they were accounted for by magic. Hierocles, Celsus,* Julian, Porphyry and Eunomius admit his miracles as facts, but account for them by sorcery. So prevalent was this, both among Jews and Gentiles, that the Christian fathers, in their apologies, preferred the argument from prophecy to that from miracles. Justin, Irenæus, Lactantius, and other writers, confess that the authority of miracles was greatly weakened by the general scepticism in regard to the power by which they were wrought. Was not Satan supposed to be able to work miracles? Have not multitudes been deceived

* Says Celsus, "Supposing those things to be true that are written concerning healing and the resurrection, or concerning a few loaves feeding multitudes, of which many fragments were left, or as many other things as the disciples speaking marvellously, have narrated; supposing these things to be wrought by them, they are of the same nature with the works of enchanters, and with the things performed by them that have learned from the Egyptians, showing for a little money, in the midst of markets, the grand things they have learned; such as expelling demons from men, and blowing off diseases and calling up the souls of heroes, yea, showing sumptuous suppers and tables, and meats differently dressed, and animals moving, not truly animals, but to the fancy appearing such. Because they do such things, are we therefore to believe them to be Sons of God? Or should it not rather be said that these are the acts of wicked and deceitful men?"—*Origen contra Celsum.*

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by him? Were not the Pharaohs and their magicians? Was not Saul?* And, in our own times, to say nothing of whole continents and islands full of pagans, what was the Salem witchcraft but a wide spread delusion of the devil?

"As we are sure that a man of piety and prayer enlists good angels on his side, and engages them to perform towards him the ministrations of kindness, we know not why there cannot be such a thing as a man, whose wickedness has caused his being abandoned by the Spirit of God, and who, in this his desertion, has thrown open to evil angels the chambers of his soul, and made himself so completely their instrument that they may use him in the uttering or working of strange things, which shall have all the air of prophecy or miracle."—*Sermons of Henry Melville, B. D.*

If, then, men supposed Satan to work real miracles, he did practically work them. He did what answered his purpose. The true coin and the counterfeit alike passed current.

If this is so, then, we ask, had the people no means of distinguishing between the ambassadors of heaven and hell, both of whom they had received as prophets of the Lord? Our reviewer replies in the negative. We are obliged to reply in the affirmative. What was the object of our Saviour's miracles? It was to convince men that he came from God. But why wish to convince men of this fact? It was that they might receive his teachings, as truth from heaven. And what was the object of Satan's counterfeit miracles? We have already seen, either to make men believe that Christ's instructions were not true, or that his were equally so. The mighty apparatus of miracles, then, true and false, had reference solely to the messages delivered. Now was there nothing in the very messages, by which men could decide, if they chose, upon the real character and origin of the messengers?

* Our reviewer devotes about one-quarter of his whole article to prove that the Egyptian magicians wrought, not real miracles, but skilful tricks, and that the raising of Samuel was a mere deception produced by necromancy. We need not dispute either of these positions. Our purpose is answered, if the Egyptians supposed the magic acts they witnessed real miracles, and if Saul supposed that Samuel actually was raised and prophesied to him. That such was the case, who will deny? Hence these cases fall quietly into our current of proof that Satan has been supposed able to work miracles.

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We fully believe there was. The messages consisted of two parts, doctrines or facts to be believed, and duties, or moral precepts, to be practised. Religious doctrines are facts, of which reason cannot judge except by evidence. Moral precepts appeal at once to man's moral nature. The judge sits enthroned within his own bosom. He intuitively decides upon their truth or falsehood. If then his moral nature rejects a precept as wrong, his intellect must reject the doctrine, out of which it seems to grow, as wrong also. The message being rejected, so is the messenger. The reverse also is true. We believe in conscience, in the moral nature of man, whose decisions are uniform, the globe around. We believe also that right and wrong are immutable; that they exist in certain actions every where, alike unchanged and unchangeable. We believe that the human conscience instinctively recognizes this right and wrong, or the moral qualities of actions, as soon as they are presented to it: hence, that the decisions of unseared consciences are uniform throughout the whole world. Says Dr. Abercrombie, "there are certain actions, which are immutably right, and which we are bound in duty to perform; and certain actions, which are immutably wrong, apart from any other consideration whatever; and an absolute conviction of this is fixed upon us in the moral principle or conscience, independently of knowledge derived from any other source respecting the will or the laws of the Almighty." "We can hardly entertain a doubt," says Professor Upham, "that the decisions of conscience may justly be regarded as being, at the bottom, uniform throughout the world. It is not true, as some seem to suppose, that nature has established one code of morals for civilized, and another for savage, nations; one law of rectitude on the banks of the Thames, and another on the banks of the Ganges; but in all parts of the world, in every nation and in every clime, on the borders of every river and on the declivities of every mountain, she utters the same voice, announces the same distinctions, and proclaims the unchangeableness of her requisitions.

For example, let the parental and filial relation be understood, and where is the man, in all Adam's family, whose conscience would not affirm that it was right for children to intend the happiness of their parents, and

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wrong not to intend it? Who would not say that every child ought so to act towards his parent as to fulfil that intention, and ought to refrain from actions opposed to it? There would be similar uniformity in regard to all actions possessing moral qualities. No sooner is a relation perceived by the intellect, than certain duties appear involved in it; and conscience, like the lightning's flash, approves or disapproves; urges to do or not to do. This testimony and impulse of our moral natures, is that of an essential and independent faculty of the human mind. It is as sure as instinct, and as universal as man. The question is not whether heathens will discover moral truth or not, or whether they will obey it when known; but whether, when a moral precept is actually presented to their minds, in all its important relations, they can distinguish the true from the false.

Does our reviewer ask, "where can the performer of miracles obtain competent judges to examine his moral precepts and to pronounce a righteous judgment in regard to them?" We answer, any where, every where. Not only Plato, Socrates, and other heathen sages, who, our reviewer admits, "stumbled on some grand but most obvious moral truths"; not only these ancient sovereigns of moral science, but the meanest helot, the wildest North American Indian, and the most degraded Laplander, (excepting only infants, idiots and maniacs,) could be a competent judge. We admit that the human heart is depraved; we believe all that St. Paul tells us, in his epistle to the Romans, of the blinding sins of Jew and Gentile; but we also believe with him, that "conscience accused or excused" the most abandoned of all whom he describes. Heathens every where will agree with you as to the right and the wrong of actions, and as to moral obligation, though they may utterly refuse to do their duty. They may

> "Know the right, and yet the wrong pursue."

A mission to teach heathens that some actions are right and some wrong; that the right ought to be done and the wrong ought not to be done, would result in nothing but failure. The only way, as the experience of the Moravians in Greenland proves, is to preach at once Jesus

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Christ and him crucified. Fundamental moral truths, however important, are either already known to all men, or are so easily understood, when communicated, and fall in so entirely with the instincts of their moral natures, as to make no great impression.

"The half naked animal," says Dr. Brown in his Philosophy, "that has no hut in which to shelter himself, no provision beyond the precarious chase of the day, whose language of numeration does not extend beyond three or four, and who knows God only as something that produces thunder and the whirlwind,—even this miserable creature, at least as ignorant as he is helpless, would turn away from his civilized instructors with contempt, as if he had not heard any thing of which he was not equally aware before. The vessel which carried out these simple primary essential truths of morals, might return as it went. It could not make a single convert, because there would not have been one who had any doubts to be removed."

Our opinion then is, that the worker of miracles would find in every man's conscience a competent judge of his moral precepts.

Let two men appear among the Jews, at Jerusalem, each claiming to be a prophet of the Lord, and each prepared to deliver messages from heaven. Each works what is believed to be a real miracle, and each, (though one is an emissary of Satan,) is received without suspicion. The false prophet must communicate truth or error. If truth, he unites with the true prophet in subverting Satan's kingdom. If error, he delivers a message unlike that of his rival. Thus two opposite systems are promulgated by men who claim to come from the same infinitely wise and holy God. Would not this discrepancy awaken suspicion, and direct attention anew to the miracles? But, it may be said that Satan would not at once teach error. He would for some time keep his cloven foot out of sight. Very well. As long as he taught truth, to escape detection, he would serve God to his own overthrow. Truth does not become error, though spoken by the father of lies. "Every thing," says Bishop Butler, "is what it is, and not another thing." Satan could not teach truth long; and as soon as he taught error, his message could be contrasted not only with that

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of his fellow prophet, but also with his own former instructions.*

But let Satan's emissary go to the dark parts of the earth, where no prophet of God ever was, and, by forged miracles, cause the heathen to believe him a messenger from above. He rings what is supposed to be the great bell of the universe, and nations crowd to hear the sermon. If that sermon contains moral truth, he destroys his master; if moral error, every conscience before him can detect it; and thus if any obey him through the influence of corrupt motives, they do violence to conscience and add to their guilt. We believe that the correct decisions and impulses of conscience may be resisted, and admit, with Paley, that if men choose to bear the pain of its violation to gratify some appetite or passion, they can violate it. And we admit that every act of treason against the monarch of the human breast weakens his authority, until, at length, he sits silent upon his throne. We also understand that conscience can give no correct decisions upon moral questions, whose relations are not comprehended; and that, when relations are differently comprehended, consciences will give different answers. But we mean that whenever relations are fully and correctly understood, by child, by sage or by savage, the decision of their moral natures is prompt, correct and similar without an exception. When Moses, in the name and by the authority of the God of Israel, commanded the king of Egypt to let the children of Israel go free, what response would Pharaoh's conscience make? It would depend altogether upon the relation which he supposed to exist between his throne and the Israelites. If they were slaves by conquest, or by purchase, or were the children of such persons, he would have believed that his right to them was perfect, and his moral nature would have ap-

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"The Scriptures make mention, not only of a holy, heavenly power, as the cause of miracles, but also of an evil power. Two series of miracles run through the sacred history. As the works of the Egyptian magicians stood over against those of Moses, so in the New Testament do the miracles of anti-Christ stand contrasted with those of the Redeemer. But although these representatives of the kingdom of lies may mingle much which is true in word and in work, and endeavor to appear as the messengers of the kingdom of light, still the whole spirit of their agency betrays itself to a pure mind, capable of perceiving truth, as unholy; and no miracles which can be supposed, could induce such a mind to yield itself to their influence."—*Olshausen Biblischer Commentar.*

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proved his treating them as slaves. In all good conscience, he would have held on to his rights, and have resisted Moses to the last with self-approbation. But if, calling to mind the history of their coming into Egypt, and the foul outrage by which their ancestors had been enslaved, he believed that he had no just right to control their inclinations, then he could not detain them a single hour, without violating conscience; without resisting an inward impulse to let them go. The road to conscience is through the intellect. If you wish to awaken conscience, you must show men their true relations. Fifty years ago the people of New England had false ideas of alcohol; hence false ideas of their relations to it. If then an apostle of temperance had broken suddenly in among them, and his first words had been, "it is a grievous sin to distil, vend or drink ardent spirits," though he wrought a miracle, he could not have drawn a single response from man's moral nature upon his side. But let him expose the character of alcohol, let him convince men of their true relations to it, and so accurate would be the decisions of conscience, that, though he warned no one to avoid making, selling, or drinking it, all would be convinced that to do so was wrong and ought to be abandoned. Those in whom conscience was superior to avarice and appetite, would immediately change their course; and those who did not thus change, would act on against their convictions of duty. It was in precisely this way that the temperance reformation was effected, and that all moral revolutions will be effected. That men do violence to their consciences every day, is admitted; and it is this very act which constitutes their guilt. We believe, finally, that moral error cannot pass itself off upon the world for moral truth; hence, that teachers of iniquity can be distinguished from teachers of righteousness.

We have now established, we think, the following principles.

1. A miracle is neither more nor less than a deviation from the laws of nature.

2. No being but God can directly work a miracle.

3. Satan can so far imitate real miracles, as to have caused multitudes to suppose him able to work real miracles.

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4. That, as many persons have been deceived by him, a miracle is not in itself an absolute proof of a divine commission.

5. That in the messages delivered by each, there exists the means to distinguish an emissary of Satan from a prophet of the Lord.

We believe, of course, that there are intrinsic differences between real miracles and their counterfeits, by examining which, they may be distinguished. But as our purpose is merely to notice what has been criticised by our reviewer; and, as we begin to fear that we shall soon strike our wings against the wires of our readers' patience, we omit an examination.

In concluding this part of our subject, we may as well say that, in our opinion, the question of Satan's miraculous powers is of but little practical value at the present time. Infidels do not now ascribe the miracles of Christ to magic, sorcery or to evil spirits. The fashion for years has been to deny that they were ever performed, after the manner of Hume; to affirm that they were skilful tricks, after the manner of Paine; to account for them on natural principles, after the manner of Gibbon; or, striking at the very root, to deny that Christ ever existed, after the manner of Volney. There is a growing disbelief in such a being as the devil. This Sadducean spirit gains ground. The human mind, which, like the pendulum of a clock, always tends to extremes, in swinging clear from superstition entangles itself in infidelity. Yet the miracles of Christ, these great credentials from heaven, will always be minutely scrutinized; and the fiercest conflicts of the church with her enemies will be around them. No religion, but the Jewish and Christian, ever presented miracles and prophecies, at the outset, as proofs of divine origin. All others stand or fall without their aid. But Christianity boldly claims to be tried by them, and her very existence depends upon their integrity. Christians should understand the whole subject, and our youth should be especially guarded, in this age of scepticism, against unbelief, by being well informed upon the history of the origin of our religion.

The real, spiritual Christian, indeed, needs no proof from miracles to convince himself of the divine character of Christ. There appears to him in the Saviour's life

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and teachings such purity, exaltation, unparalleled benevolence; such originality, such adaptation to the spiritual wants of man, and such ineffable holiness, that his whole soul is irradiated by faith in him. Christ is the light by which he sees; the air he breathes; the food that nourishes his soul. He would as soon ask miracles in proof that God created the world, as in proof that God so loved it as to give his only begotten Son for man's redemption. He has experienced the power of truth over his whole being, changing him into the moral image of God; and, from this experience, is as sure of Christ's divine character as though he should hear a voice proclaim it from heaven. A true Christian has the evidence within himself; an evidence so pure, so high, so holy, that it is a stoop in him to gather proof from any thing external. Like the Samaritan, he can say, "I have seen him myself, and know and believe that he is the Son of God." Miracles are, then, an inferior source of evidence, especially adapted to unregenerate men.

ARE THE PROPHECIES OF CHRIST, IN ANY CORRECT SENSE OF THE WORD, MIRACLES?

Our reviewer denies that they are, and asserts, "that a more unfortunate definition could hardly have been given." Our author, in calling prophecy "a kind of miracle," he informs the reader, "unavoidably creates a suspicion that he did not understand the nature of those things, which he professes to explain."

We regret to be obliged to dissent from our worthy reviewer so often; but are compelled to do so once more. Although we must "unavoidably create a suspicion" to their disadvantage, certain distinguished authors will pardon us for quoting their opinions on this question.

"Miracles, (under which we include prophecy,) are the only direct evidence which can be given of divine inspiration."*

"There is just as much probability that miracles will exist, (for prophecy may be considered one kind of miracle,) as that a revelation will be given."†

"Predictions, now in progress of fulfilment, are mira-

* Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. † Alexander's Evidences.

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cles, which centuries can only render more certain and impressive."*

"It is a standing miracle."†

"You have the greatest and most striking of miracles in the series of Scripture prophecies accomplished. What stronger miracle, therefore, can you require for your conviction?"‡

This we consider "appropriate and adequate testimony."

We infer also that fulfilled prophecy is, in some correct sense of the word, a miracle, from the meaning of a miracle. It seems to us to include prophecy within its natural limits. We ask our reviewer what definition of the word "miracle," he can produce from standard authors, which excludes fulfilled predictions? If our author's definition of prophecy as "a kind of miracle," is "unfortunate," it must be so either in the sentiment or in the language. The sentiment, we have seen, is sustained by some of our highest theological authorities.

Is it unfortunate in the phrase "a kind of miracle"? That very phrase is used by good writers in scientific works. Dr. Comstock, in his Botany, describing the Chinese Pitcher Plant, says that "its cup is furnished with a kind of lid." President Hitchcock, in his Geology, says that "Trass is a kind of mud, poured out of some volcanic craters." The phrase is common where great fulness of description is not required.

Suppose we should write a book of Zoölogy, and, being disposed to describe Madrepores, Millepores and Corallines, which some naturalists suppose to be both animal and vegetable, should mention in the introduction, as a brief reason for including them, that they were "a kind of animal,"—we ask whether this definition would not be correct as far as it went? And whether it would not go far enough for our immediate purpose? And suppose that when we came to Madrepores, etc., we should state that some considered them entirely vegetable, but that in our opinion they were both; a connecting link between the animal and vegetable tribes, and should give other reasons for introducing them into Zoölogy, should we "unavoidably create a suspicion that we did

* Bishop M'Ilvaine. † Bishop Wilson. ‡ Bishop Newton.

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not understand the nature of the things which we professed to explain"?

But a similar course was taken by our author. In his introduction to the Question Book he maintains, not by way of full definition, but as a brief reason for presenting some of our Saviour's predictions, with his miracles, that "prophecy was a kind of miracle." And, at the appropriate place, he appended the following note, which could hardly have escaped a critic's eyes.

"I am well aware that prophecies are usually considered as distinct from miracles. In some respects they certainly are distinct; yet not so much so as to be excluded from the general head of miracles. It seems desirable that, in a work like this, the young should be permitted to examine the proof of our Saviour's divine authority, which fulfilled predictions so abundantly furnish. For the sake of convenience and uniformity, I have arranged several of our Lord's most prominent prophecies into a class, and have added them to his other wonderful works, which are generally, though not exclusively, denominated miracles."

Our author's unfortunate definition of a prophecy, naturally reminded our reviewer of Mitchell's definition of a railroad. Now a prophecy and a railroad may be somewhat alike, inasmuch as the one carries you along through time, and the other through space; but we suppose it was not by this resemblance that one suggested the other. It was because both were unfortunate, as the sight of one cripple brings another to mind. We have sufficiently examined the original definition; let us now look at the suggested one. What is Mitchell's definition of a railroad? Our reviewer says that it is "a kind of an improved road." We are obliged to say that this is not quite the fact. Mitchell says, it is "an improved kind of road," not "a kind of an improved road."

It should also be remarked that our reviewer gives us but part of the definition. He does not even take a whole sentence, but breaks off at a comma. Mitchell's definition, we allow, is "unfortunate," to be first mutilated, and then inaccurately stated. We think his definition of a railroad, as he gives it, very full and clear; for there is not only a written explanation of the word, but also a beautiful picture of the road with its iron rails, on which is a train of cars at full speed. Let one child read the whole definition of a railroad, in our reviewer's favorite

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dictionary, and let another examine Mitchell's, and which will have the most accurate idea of a rail road? Which, then, is the best definition?

Our task is done. We have reviewed the reviewer, in self-defence, and have sought to sustain the following principles: viz.—

1. That, as real miracles have, in some cases, been successfully counterfeited, the performance of a supposed real miracle is not certain proof of a divine commission to reveal truth.

2. That as "right and wrong" immutably exist in all moral actions and precepts; as the human conscience is a sufficient and instinctive judge of this "right and wrong," and as all religious instructions must contain moral precepts, so all intelligent persons in the world can distinguish, if they choose, between a teacher of truth and a teacher of falsehood, between moral purity and moral impurity.

3. That the prophecies of Christ, from the testimony of our best authors, and from the fact that they are included in the definition of a miracle, are, in a certain sense of the word, one kind of miracle.

ARTICLE VII.

HUMAN AUTHORITY IN MATTERS OF FAITH.

By human authority in matters of religion, is sometimes meant the right of any man or body of men to compel assent to a particular creed. But human authority likewise signifies "respectable opinion," and this is the sense in which we purpose to use the expression.

The proposition which we intend to bring some considerations in support of, is that human authority in matters of faith ought never to be regarded as conclusive. It may appear unnecessary at the present day, when we think religious light is beaming all around us, to take a position so little contested. But as there are those in all sects who, though they admit the truth of the proposition

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in the abstract, receive more or less of their faith upon trust, since we seldom or never find them inquiring or examining for themselves, the question has a practical bearing, and is therefore worthy of an attentive consideration. Human authority is fallible. The fact that man is a fallible being shows it. His faculties are progressive. To the eye of the mind, objects at a distance, at first dimly seen as in the twilight, now, from the greater strength and perfection of the vision, appear as in the light of noon-day. Truth is often at first obscurely apprehended, and subsequent light proves opinions previously formed to have been incorrect. If it be true that we are doomed to error, it is equally true that our mistakes are often our best instructors. A few slips along the path of life teach us more impressive lessons than the precepts of sages. Owing, therefore, to the unfolding of the intellect, the authority of the same man this year may be entirely different from his authority twenty years hence, when his faculties shall have become more vigorous, and experience shall have made him wiser. Besides, since the opinions of no two men are precisely alike, it must either be that one man is without error, and, consequently, that those who differ from him are in some error, or that all are in some error; and the latter conclusion is probably the correct one. If, then, mere human authority be received, whatever truth we may gain is likely to be accompanied with an alloy of error. But whose authority shall we abide by? That of Calvin, or of Priestly? of Pius IX, or of queen Victoria? Neither can we come much nearer the truth by yielding to the authority of great bodies of men,—for instance, the eighty-eight hundred clergymen of England, who changed their views on the accession of Elizabeth. And when we reflect upon the littleness of man's knowledge, and the great diversity and contrariety of opinions even among men of learning and genius, we seek, but we seek in vain, for a rule to guide us in the selection of authority. We know not whom to trust. And we doubt not that the intelligent who do acknowledge authority, think that they trust not blindly, but that they have based their faith, in the last analysis, upon reason. They imagine that reason has legitimated authority. Since, then, human authority is fallible, its influence may be pernicious.

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Again, acquiescence in human authority fosters dogmatism. It is easier to be imperative than to reason,—that is, to reason correctly. The more dogmatic, other things being equal, the more sure of gaining assent; for how could we expect that the credulous even would have much confidence in the opinions of a man who does not seem to have much confidence in those opinions himself? Such a temptation to be dogmatic most men would not withstand, and this over-confidence in assertion on the part of the teachers would beget over-confidence in opinion on the part of the people. Dogmatism may arise from clear-sightedness. A mathematician may be very positive, because he knows his deductions are true. And a theologian may be equally positive on some points. For instance, he knows that there is adaptation in nature. But dogmatism may also spring from prejudice or passion. A man of strong feeling may look at a question only in that point of view which harmonizes with his inclination. He sees a subject through the medium of passion, and concludes that side to be true which pleases him most; while he neglects to look at other sides, or looks at them cursorily, since the love of truth is not so strong in him as some other love, which a one-sided view agrees with. Now the dogmatism of the followers of authority is not the result of what they know, but of what they think they know.

Though it is flattering to the teacher to have his simple *ipse dixit* taken upon trust, and though it be a great saving of labor not to be called upon to bring forward the credentials of his authority, yet the habit of dealing in assertions without proof, seriously impedes his improvement. Too little realizing his need of improvement, the reasoning faculty lies dormant, and a habit of loose and desultory thinking is indulged in. But the evils of dogmatism are not confined to the teacher. It fosters a spirit of intolerance among his followers. As he is, so are they. As they catch his spirit, they naturally cherish a blind prejudice against those who entertain different views, and who adopt a different mode of worship;—a prejudice, whose noxious fruit is sectarian bitterness. But dogmatism, the one extreme in theology, drives the thinking portion of the community to scepticism, the other extreme. Perceiving

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the incorrectness of some of the statements, they doubt when truth is really advanced.

Again, reliance upon human authority is a bar to free inquiry. Most men will not task their own powers to investigate, as long as they think they can find some one else to supply them with the truth. True, man loves knowledge, but he does not love to labor hard for it, when he can get it on easy terms. How hostile then to inquiry is the persuasion that it is unnecessary for him to investigate! And how much more so, when he is persuaded that he has no business to investigate! What follows? The noblest powers are not exercised on the noblest subject. He may survey any science, but the queen of sciences. He may gaze upon the heavens, and investigate the laws of revolving worlds, till his soul is filled with the grandeur and sublimity of the universe; but he must not kindle with wonder and delight in the study of him who sits upon its throne. If it be true that great thoughts make great minds, and if man is dignified by the exercise of abstraction, concentration, observation, and reason, in studying the soul and the external world, how much nobler must that spirit become when it gives itself to the loftiest theme!—to Him, of whose glory all created things are but the gleam!—to Him, in studying whom, genius both acute and comprehensive glows with the highest admiration!

Stay free inquiry, and the cause of popular education would languish. There would be no theorizing, and consequently no research necessary to establish theories. All the education which would receive encouragement, would be only such as would be of assistance to the people in their respective vocations. The consequence would be a small amount of mental activity, and little or no exercise of invention; just as we find to be the case in nations where authority flourishes.

Again, the reception of human authority is unfriendly to religious liberty. Those who bow to the opinions of another, must think him superior to themselves. This imagined superiority gives him power. The more dependant one man is upon another, the more that man is under his sway. Now power, as history abundantly testifies, is liable to be abused. Though at first, those who arrogate to themselves the right of authority may be una-

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ble to abridge the liberty of men of other sentiments, yet let them but succeed in rallying around them the majority of the people, and obtain the power of persecuting, and what, were submission refused, would withhold them from enforcing, or aiming to enforce, what they claim as their rightful prerogative? Or, if the people, though denying the right of authority, are virtually swayed by it, is there not danger lest those whose opinions are implicitly received, should seize the reins of power, which they did not ask for, but which they find within their grasp? Where then would be the right of private judgment, and the rights of conscience? Let any religious body get power enough out of the world to rule the world, and, judging from the past, they will rule it with a rod of iron.

But though mere human authority ought in no case to be regarded as conclusive, we are far from meaning that it should go for nothing. It ought to incite us to a more careful examination, but not to determine our conclusion. What all are agreed upon, is more likely to be true than what none are agreed upon; yet even all may be wrong.

But it may be objected, that the bulk of the community, not having the ability nor the time properly to investigate, must assent to authority. To this we say, what greater folly than for men to espouse a cause, of the truth of which they know nothing? Besides, the community possess common sense, which must play an important part in all sober investigation; and it would often suffice, if they would only exercise as much diligence, patience, and ingenuity, in ascertaining the truth of some points in religion, as they do in some of their researches on secular subjects. Then, again, they have one day at least in every seven, which they might so improve as not to be biased by what this man believes, or that man believes, but that what they believe may be the result of their own independent examination.

It may also be urged, that were every one to think for himself, there would be no uniformity in religion, and as Luther says, there would be as many religions as there are heads. Such might be the case at first; but in the course of time some doctrines would be almost universally agreed upon; for the tendency of candid inquiry is towards truth, and truth is one. We admit that reason is

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liable to mistake; but we must still remember that it is such a ray as the Father of Lights has seen best to bestow. Nothing more ennobles reason than its exercise on its author. Yet it is said that speculation on religious matters is fruitless. We answer, reason sees truly, just so far as it sees distinctly; and the distance at which objects cease to be well defined to all men, has not yet been determined. Absurder views have not been held in religion, than have been held in astronomy, metaphysics, and other sciences. The law of progress is written on all subjects of human inquiry. What a man in one age has advanced, another in a subsequent age has proved. All things in religion, we suppose, are regulated by fixed laws. These laws it is our province to discover, apply, and obey.

Let human authority prevail, and what would be the effect upon our country? A paralysis of the moral and intellectual energies of the people. Truth would wander forlorn, with but here and there a votary to do her homage, and that perhaps in remote recesses to escape the ire of the arrogant and the deluded. The streams of science and literature would be checked in their flowing. Destroy free inquiry, and our prospects would be blighted. Better come war, for there is hope of victory. Better come famine and pestilence, for there is hope that the recuperative energies of the country may restore her. But forbid the people to think for themselves on religion, and her glory is departed.

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ARTICLE VIII.

CAN WAR, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, BE JUSTIFIED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION?

War has ever been the scourge of the human race. The history of the past is little else than a chronicle of deadly feuds, irreconcilable hate, and exterminating warfare. The extension of empire, the love of glory, and thirst for fame, have been more fatal to men than famine or pestilence, or the fiercest elements of nature. The trappings and tinsel of war, martial prowess, and military heroism, have, in all ages, been venerated and lauded to the skies.

And what is more sad and painful, many of the wars whose desolating surges have deluged the earth, have been carried on in the name and under the sanction of those who profess the name of Christ. Obedient to the mandate of the Catholic Church, the millions of Europe rise and arm themselves for the conquest of the Holy Land. Emboldened by the emblem of the cross, streaming from a thousand banners, that ferocious multitude, thirsting for revenge, waged against the Infidel a cruel, unrelenting, and exterminating warfare. "Friends, let us follow the cross," was the battle-cry of Cortez, to rouse the flagging courage of his desperate followers in the conquest of Mexico. It has not been till recently, that the disciples of Christ have been conscious of the enormous wickedness of war as it usually exists. And even now there are many who do not frown upon it with that disapprobation and abhorrence, which an evil of such magnitude as an unjust war deserves.

Regarded in this light, the inquiry at the head of this article demands our serious thought; it is a question of deep interest and vital importance. It demands an impartial, dispassionate, and candid investigation. What is the truth? we sincerely and devoutly ask. It is with the earnest desire of maintaining and establishing the truth,

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on a great moral question, that we proceed to the inquiry before us: "Can war, under any circumstances, be justified on the principles of the Christian religion?"

Wars of every kind may be included under two classes —offensive and defensive. Concerning the former we shall say nothing. We need not delay a moment to discuss a question so directly at variance with the dictates of conscience, and the principles of revealed religion.

The inquiry is then reduced to this,—Can DEFENSIVE war, under any circumstances, be justified on the principles of the Christian religion? What are we to understand by war? It is a contest between two parties, wherein one or both attempt to disarm, overpower, or destroy the other. These parties may be two distinct nations, or they may be both of one nation, the one arrayed against the other. The former is an international war; the latter, a civil war. Can either of these or both, when strictly defensive, be justified on the principles of the revealed will of God?

And here we must define what is truly a defensive war. It is said by a biographer of Napoleon, that he frequently asserted that he never waged any other war than defensive. Such a declaration is an outrage on reason and common sense. It is very easy to point out the characteristics of a defensive war. For instance, a rupture with France, because she neglected or refused to pay the five millions which she justly owed us, would not have been a war of self-defence; nor could an appeal to arms for the purpose of establishing a claim to a disputed territory, be considered a defensive war. Such a question was at issue in the late treaty with Great Britain concerning Oregon. Had we taken up arms to settle that dispute, the God of heaven would have frowned upon us. The same principle is involved in our unhappy contest with our sister Republic of Mexico. Much is said about a nation's glory and honor; but an appeal to arms to vindicate these would not be a war of self-defence. These are won by other deeds than martial exploits on the field of battle. But under what circumstances is war truly defensive? We reply, when its object is to repel an invasion; when there is no alternative but to submit to bondage and death, or to resist. Were a hostile army landed on our shores, to burn our cities and desolate our homes, to overthrow

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our institutions and doom us to bondage and death, a war to repel such an outrage would be defensive. And so also when society arms itself to suppress a domestic insurrection, or put down a lawless mob, it then contends in self-defence. The inquiry now is, can war under any circumstances, in defence of life, be justified on the principles of the Christian religion?

But it may be said that no such wars can ever happen. We reply, that in every age of the world there have been such, and we know of nothing to prevent such from occurring again. If like causes produce like effects, and human nature remains unchanged, then war in defence of life must happen. While the world is filled with men whose passions and rage no love or moral restraint can check; while there are multitudes, whose lusts and desire of gain are ever breaking forth in deeds of wrong and violence, occasions for taking arms in defence of life will arise. So long as there are military heroes, whose insatiable ambition aspires to universal conquest, tramples on all that is dear and sacred, and scorns every principle of justice and humanity, so long there is every reason to believe that wars in self-defence will occur.

Our views of truth and convictions of duty compel us to maintain that war, in the sense in which we have defined it, can, under some circumstances, be justified on the principles of the Christian religion. There may, however, be wars in self-defence, unjust and wrong. Such, for instance, when every means have not been tried to secure peace by negotiation or arbitration; or when one party violates the rights of another and refuses to make restitution. It will then be remembered, that in this discussion we maintain the right of self-defence with this limitation.

I. The right of self-defence, if man can claim that right, is first given by our Creator to the individual. Society has no rights which have not been delegated to it, directly or indirectly, by those who compose that compact. Let us first consider those facts which seem to show that the individual has the right of self-defence.

1. This seems to us an original suggestion of the mind. That is, constituted as we are, we cannot help believing that we have the right of self-defence. In the declaration of our national independence there is this memorable sen-

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tence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This sentiment finds a response in the bosom of every man. It is not till every noble aspiration of the soul has long been crushed, and its high destiny forgotten, that this feeling is stifled and paralyzed. But is not the feeling that I have the right to preserve my life as deep, as strong and as universal, as the feeling that I have a right to live? No one denies the latter; why deny the former?

Besides, it is almost universally admitted by those who deny the right to take life, that we may, when attacked, inflict injury in self-defence. But whence comes this feeling that we may inflict any harm in self-preservation? Why, it is a law of our nature; we feel that this is a right given us by our Creator. But if we are so constituted as to feel that we may use any force to preserve our lives, is it not equally clear that we are so constituted as to feel that we may use all in our power, even to taking the life of the assailant? It seems impossible to make any distinction between the two; if one is a law of nature, so is the other. And hence, if we deny one, we must the other.

2. The right of self-defence is confirmed by a higher and more imperative law of my being. God has given me my life; it is the most sacred and by far the most precious gift which he has ever entrusted to my care. It is worth inconceivably more to me, than all the wealth of this globe. Still further, I am the father of a family; a bosom companion confides in my protection; innocent and helpless children are entrusted to my paternal care. Here is an individual who has been so long under the dominion of malignant passions, that his heart is steeled and conscience seared. To gratify his depraved desires and fiendish hate, he attempts to burn my dwelling, murder my family, and destroy my life. Now may I not justly resist that murderous attack; and, if there were no alternative, kill the assassin, to preserve my life and the lives of those innocent and helpless ones who look to me for protection? Does not that inward consciousness of right which the Creator has implanted in the bosom of every man, tell me that I not only may, but ought to repel this

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aggression? Who would not be guilty of the violation of a trust most weighty and most sacred, if, in such an emergency, he did not use all the means in his power to disarm the villain, and shield his life and the lives of his family from his vindictive rage? If, in the use of that power, at a single blow I lay him senseless at my feet, and he dies from its effects, I am conscious that, in defending my life and my family, I have done just what I ought to have done. Let the consequences be to him injury even to death, I have done what my moral sense tells me was right. Now can it be denied that an impulse so deep, so imperative, and so universal, is not a law of our nature, implanted in the heart by the Creator? If we reject this, we know not that we can put confidence in any suggestion of the mind. If this principle be admitted, then self-defence is countenanced by our Creator, and consequently justified by the principles of the Christian religion. We need only remark that this argument has as much weight when applied to society, as to the individual. Whatever right the individual has, he may, if he please, vest in a civil compact. But still we are aware that the decisions of the natural conscience are not always a sure indication of the will of God; we may feel that an action is right, and that we may, and ought to do it, and still labor under great mistakes.

II. We proceed, therefore, to show that the right of self-defence is confirmed by a view of the consequences which would result, if the principle were or were not carried into practice. In this way we may often learn the will of God as plainly as if he had made a direct revelation. The moral philosopher directs us to ask, in order to determine whether an action is right or wrong, "what the consequences would be, if this or that action were universally practised among men?"

For the purpose of obtaining a concise, distinct and complete view of this subject, we will suppose a civil compact formed, composed of any number of individuals. The persons who have entered into this compact, have delegated to it certain specified rights, among which are those of self-defence and redress of grievances. That God wills the existence of society is evident from the fact that man could make no progress in civilization, or in moral and intellectual improvement, without its protection.

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Not only this, but his very existence depends on this compact. Now let us inquire if the objects necessary to the happiness, progress and existence of society, can be accomplished, unless it has the right of self-defence.

1. To deny this right would be virtually denying the right to inflict capital punishment. The criminal who in cold blood has murdered his fellow-man, is doomed by society to suffer the penalty of death, for the purpose of preserving its own existence; that is, to maintain the peace and social order which are essential to its preservation. Society has the same object in view when it repels an invader, or suppresses a domestic insurrection. Besides, there is greater reason for society to take arms in self-defence, than to inflict capital punishment. It can imprison the criminal, and thus prevent him from doing further injury; but it has not this alternative, when assailed by a large body of armed men.

2. Again, society, if it had not the right to take life, could have no power to enforce obedience to its laws, and maintain social order. Its officers of justice would be insulted and despised; its mandates would be nothing but a mere name, an outward show, a powerless abstraction. This is confirmed by universal experience and observation. Our own country, which certainly has not been wanting in mild and lenient treatment towards offenders, has learned some sad and painful lessons on this subject. More than one of our beautiful cities have been scenes of riot, conflagration and murder, where all the evil passions of man's nature were fanned into a flame of ungovernable fury, and which could be checked only by the use of violent means. How could we preserve social order, where would be the peace and safety of society, if at such times it had no right to enforce obedience at the expense of life? Anarchy and discord would rage uncontrolled, and the whole social fabric tremble to its base.

3. It is also the universal testimony of history, that when one nation servilely submits to be plundered, invaded and enslaved by another, it dooms itself to the lowest degradation and misery. The influence of such a servile act of submission is most disastrous to the physical, intellectual and moral cultivation of those who thus tamely submit to bear the yoke. It inevitably entails on society a curse, whose blighting influence will crush every

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hope, repress every noble aspiration, and paralyze every exertion. If any one doubts this, let him look at the influence of slavery on the individual; and let him remember that a nation cannot so easily withstand its debasing influence as the individual. And although the servitude of the former is not so absolute as of the latter; yet when a nation's freedom is taken away, and it is subjected to oppressive taxes and despotic laws, its spirit is crushed and broken. In accordance with these views the eloquent Hall remarks: "Retrace the annals of all times and nations, and you will find in the triumph of despotism, the triumph of wickedness." If such are the lamentable consequences which society inflicts on itself when it does not resist aggression and wrong, have we not a plain intimation of the will of God concerning the right of self-defence?

On the other hand, no prophetic voice can tell the magnitude of those blessings, which a nation secures for itself and for future ages, when it manfully and justly resists aggression and wrong. No one can tell how much the patriots of our own revolution owed to the spirit of disinterested, upright and inflexible resistance of wrong and oppression, exhibited by their fathers in the English revolution of 1688. And may we not say with truth, that the civil and religious liberty which we enjoy, and our national institutions,—the pride and glory of every American citizen, were planted in the storm of battle, nurtured and brought to maturity by the fearless spirit and paternal care of men, who in their defence periled their lives, and freely poured out their blood?

Such is the view of Lieber in his work on Political Ethics. "No human mind," says he, "is vast enough to comprehend in one glance, nor is human life long enough to follow out consecutively all the immeasurable blessings and unspeakable good, which have resulted to mankind from the ever-memorable victories of little Greece, over the rolling masses of servile Asia, which were nigh sweeping over Europe, like the high tides of a swollen sea, carrying its choking sands over all the germs of civilization, liberty and taste, and nearly all that is good and noble." Now these results, it seems to us, are plain indications that God has given to society the right to defend itself, and if necessary at the expense of life.

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4. Again, we think that if society were denied the right to take arms in self-defence, it could not exist. We know the assertion is often made, that if nations would rely on their integrity and the justice of their measures, and firmly refuse to fight, they would never be attacked. It might with equal truth be said, that if society would rely on its just and equal laws, and resolve never to inflict punishment, no one would break the enactments of its civil code. Every one sees that this is preposterous. The assertion is made on the ground that all men are guided solely by moral principles; and until it can be shown that they are so, the assertion itself cannot be sustained.

But we say there are occasions when society has no alternative except either to defend itself by the force of arms, or fall a prey to the violence and passions of wicked men. This is a question of fact; can it be sustained by facts? The government of William Penn is always cited to prove that this is a false position. But one or two examples are not enough to establish a question of so much importance; especially when we have so many examples proving the contrary. Did not that little company of Grecian patriots sue for peace and make every concession in their power, when Xerxes led his myriads of mercenaries upon their soil? Where would have been the liberties, yea, the very existence of Greece, had not that little Spartan band in the pass of Thermopylæ nobly resolved to die, or repel the invader from their shores? And in a still later period, did not a certain Roman patrician, when he addressed the Senate, close with the brutal and ferocious expression, "*Delenda est Carthago?*" And while ill-fated Carthage was trusting with generous confidence to the magnanimity of her rival foe, while she was imploring that the exterminating sword might be sheathed, even then the storm of conquest burst upon her, and left her fair city a heap of ruins, and doomed her patriotic sons to servitude and death. Although they were not able to repel the aggressors, yet it is a confirmation of our position. History is full of examples on this subject. Would any pacific intentions, any love of justice, any renunciation of self-defence, have satiated Napoleon's ambition, when the invasion of Egypt dazzled his imagination with visions of glory? Was any outrage too great

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for him to perpetrate, to consummate his scheme of universal conquest? We are informed by Allison, that he determined to overthrow the Ottoman empire, for no other purpose than to increase the brilliancy of his fame, and prepare the way for a more easy descent on the British dominions, and annihilate their power in the East. It was his determined purpose to subjugate and enslave every kingdom and empire of the globe; and it is well known that he would have done it, if the allied powers of Europe had not met and subdued him on the field of Waterloo. Now if we assert that they had no right to oppose by force of arms Napoleon's career of blood and conquest, we ask if a more dire calamity could have visited our globe, than he had the power and will to inflict? Empires would have been rent asunder, kingdoms annihilated, aye, and our own Republic, trodden under the heel of the oppressor, would have perished. To avert such frighful evils, and to save itself from utter extermination, we believe that God has given to society the power of life and death.

III. We now proceed to inquire what the doctrine of revelation is on this subject. If it is a violation of the law of God and the precepts of Christ, for society to protect itself by force of arms, we will and ought to abandon our position, let the consequences be as disastrous as they may.

It is often said that defensive war cannot be justified on the principles of the Christian religion, because it is always attended by all the evils which are connected with offensive war. We do not doubt that there are evils incidentally attending a war in self-defence. But this by no means proves a defensive war to be wrong. What good is there, what blessings have we in this life, what good has ever been accomplished on earth which have not been attended by evils? "It is no objection to a rule, that it is capable of abuse," is the language of the moral philosopher. "In the present imperfect condition of human nature, it is frequently sufficient that a rule prevents a greater evil than it inflicts."

In all cases where war has ever existed, the principles of the gospel have been violated by one or both parties. Such must always be the case in every war. Hence it must follow that if the gospel were fully obeyed, all war

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must cease. But it does not follow from this that war to repel an invasion or suppress a domestic tumult is wrong. When the spirit of the religion of Christ universally prevails, the penalties of civil law will cease to be inflicted, because there will be no offenders. But no one supposes that the punishment of the criminal is wrong, because the tendency of the gospel is to infuse into society such a spirit that wicked men can no where be found.

War is no where forbidden by the express command of God; but he has revealed principles which forbid the spirit of war. These principles are explained and enforced in the precepts of the New Testament. They are, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Again, "Resist not evil; love your enemies; do good to them that hate you." "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." These are sufficient to illustrate the doctrine of the Scriptures on this subject. The question now before us is, can defensive war, as we have defined it, under any circumstances exist, without violating the spirit of these commands?

Before we consider this inquiry, it may be necessary to make a remark concerning the spirit that should guide us in ascertaining the import of the Scriptures. And first, we ought always to give them such an interpretation as will harmonize with their general spirit and teaching. By selecting passages of Scripture here and there, the most absurd theories and pernicious doctrines have been taught and believed. It is a manifest violation of the first principles of interpretation, to quote that passage to prove the wickedness of all war, where Christ commanded Peter to "put up his sword," telling him "that all who took the sword should perish by it." With equal justice we might refer to that passage where he commands one of his disciples who had no sword, "to sell his garment and buy one," to prove that all war is right. Again, the precepts of the gospel are often of such a nature that it is impossible to obey them to the letter. For instance, "if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out." "No man can be my disciple unless he hate father and mother and his own life also." The truth which Christ wished to impress on his hearers in these passages was, that no one could be his disciple, unless he were willing for his sake to leave all earthly

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friends, yea, and sacrifice his own life. That is, Christ required of his followers their supreme affection. By comparing these passages with others, and interpreting them according to the general spirit of the whole, we ascertain their true import.

1. Bearing these principles in mind, let us inquire into the meaning of the precepts already cited. The command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," contains the great law of reciprocity, universally binding on individuals, communities, and nations. Its meaning is that we should cherish as tender a respect towards all the means of happiness which God has given to our neighbor, as we would wish him to cherish towards the means of happiness which God has given to us. This is as true when applied to society, as when applied to individuals. Of the same import is the other command, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Now the question arises, is the spirit of these precepts violated, when society takes arms in self-defence? For instance, if, for the purpose of gratifying revenge, or cupidity, or love of power, one nation should attempt to pillage and destroy another,—would the latter transgress the spirit of these precepts, if it should compel the former to desist? Certainly not. For God does not give to nations the right to seek their happiness in this way. Hence it must follow that the spirit of those precepts is not violated, when one nation compels another to desist in its career of conquest and bloodshed.

2. But it may be said that if, in this case, the law of reciprocity is not violated, the law of benevolence is. For this law enjoins on us to do good to those who injure us, not because they have a right to demand such treatment, but because it is the will of God. We fully admit this; but may we never adopt any other mode of treatment? While we are required to do good to the wicked, and by kindness endeavor to reclaim them, still there are occasions when, if we would not sanction their guilt, their wrong doing should be met with firm and inflexible opposition, and suppressed, if need be, by force. It is in pursuance of this principle that society inflicts the penalties of the civil law. All this may be done, and at the same time we may pity the unhappy condition of the wicked, and seek to reclaim them. To present this subject in the

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plainest light possible, let us suppose an instance where we believe that it would be the will of God, that the wicked should be punished, and aggression repelled by force. It is well known that the sea has ever been infested with piratical vessels, freighted with fiends incarnate. The sole object of their trade is to shoot and stab as many men, and plunder and burn as many ships, as by violence they can get into their possession. One of these floating engines of death intercepts the peaceful course of a merchantman, and demands her surrender. Her crew and passengers know full well that the motto of these desperate men is, that "dead men tell no tales." If they resist, there is a prospect of saving the vessel and many innocent lives. If they quietly submit, the vessel is doomed to be plundered and burned, and its occupants to be plunged by remorseless hands into the sea. They know further that this unresisting conduct, carried out by themselves and all others who traverse the sea, would be giving direct assent to this nefarious business, and that soon every water would be filled with these desperate outlaws. Now it cannot be that benevolence requires the crew of this vessel to submit to that outrage. It undoubtedly requires that men so hardened and wicked should be pitied, and, if possible, reclaimed. But when this does not prevent them from persevering in their career of crime, then other measures must be adopted. And does not this example clearly define the duty of society, when menaced in like manner—it may not be by pirates, but by a foreign invader or a domestic insurrection? The law of kindness and love may require society to suffer many injuries, and quietly submit to many wrongs. But when by so doing it perils its own existence, and encourages individuals or nations in their guilt and wrong doing, then other treatment is required. The conclusion then is that society is bound to obey the law of benevolence, while at the same time it has a further duty—to meet, with determined opposition, aggression and violence, whether perpetrated by individuals or nations. Thus, if ten foreigners should come to our shores to pillage and murder, society ought to pity and show them kindness, so far as possible; but it would be under no less obligation to compel them to desist. So if ten thousand

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should come hither for the same purpose, its duty would remain the same.

3. The object of those precepts of the gospel which enjoin upon us not to resist evil, but to overcome evil with good, is to prohibit in the most impressive manner the exercise of all feelings of hatred or retaliation. But in a war strictly defensive, there is no more necessity for the existence of these malevolent feelings, than in the execution of criminal law. Society may rise and repel an aggression, or suppress a lawless mob with the same feelings as those with which the judge pronounces the sentence of death on the murderer. The language of Mr. Webster on this subject is full of truth, and is worthy of serious attention. "The criminal law," he says, "is not founded on the principles of vengeance. It does not punish, that it may inflict suffering. The humanity of the law feels and regrets every pain it causes, every hour of restraint it imposes, and more deeply still, every life it forfeits. It punishes, not to satisfy any desire to inflict pain, but simply to prevent the repetition of crimes." With such feelings society may arm itself to repel a foreign invasion, or suppress a domestic tumult. There need be no more hatred and revenge in the one case than in the other.

4. These views, we think, harmonize with the spirit and instruction of the whole Scriptures. Let us first glance at the precepts and examples of the Old Testament. We need not refer to the command of God to Noah,—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," to prove the right of society to take life; for whatever may be the import of the passage, we have other proof, against which no reasonable objection can be urged. Nor shall we cite the example of the Hebrews, when, by the express command of Jehovah, they waged against the Canaanites a war of utter extermination. That fearful example would be no authority in the case before us; for they acted under the express injunction of the Almighty. But let us consider the example of Abraham. When his kinsman Lot, and his family were seized and carried away by a band of plunderers, he did not wait for an express command from God to attack them and rescue his relations; but he armed his servants and pursued these marauders, and compelled them to give up

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their prey. Here is an act of self-defence; and we infer that it was right from the fact that, "Melchisedec, a priest of the Most-High," came out and pronounced a public benediction on Abraham when he returned. The example of David, when his possessions were invaded by his enemies, is another illustration of the same truth. In the fourth chapter of Nehemiah, we have still further confirmation of the right of self-defence. The Jews for their disobedience had been carried away captives into Assyria. Their native land was abandoned to the ravages of their enemies. Jerusalem was forsaken, plundered, and burnt, and its walls demolished. When the seventy years of exile were completed, according to the promise of God they returned again to the land of their fathers, and to their desolate and ruined city. But no sooner did they commence to rebuild its prostrate walls, than they were menaced on every side by hordes of jealous and blood-thirsty enemies. In this emergency, did they take no means of self-defence? Did they say, as some do at the present day, that God would protect them without any effort on their part? Did not Nehemiah rather command them, "to remember the Lord who is great and terrible, and fight for their brethren, their sons, and their daughters, their wives and their homes"? Now we think these examples establish the right of self-defence; for if we take this as a general principle and carry it into practice, we find that it has always produced the happiest results to our race.

Let us now inquire what the teachings of the New Testament are on this subject. We have already examined the precepts of Christ which refer indirectly to this point, and we think have shown that, when correctly interpreted, they do not conflict with the right of self-defence. There are several passages where the profession of arms and the use of the sword are incidentally spoken of by Christ and the apostles; but we do not think that they furnish any decisive proof of the right of society to take arms in self-defence. But still a subject of such importance is not left in doubt. The apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, has fully defined the nature, power, and object of government or society. He says that the magistrate "is the minister of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he," that is,

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the magistrate who is the agent of society, "beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger," that is, one who executes punishment, "on him that doeth evil." Here it seems that the sword, an instrument used for no other purpose than to take life, is given by him who has the right "to kill or make alive," into the hand of the civil magistrate; and consequently we suppose that he, or which is the same thing, society, has the power of life and death. The apostle acknowledges the right of society to take life, when, despairing of obtaining justice from his own kindred, and appealing to the tribunal of Cæsar, he says, "If I am an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die." The right of society to take life is also taught in the second chapter of Peter's first epistle. Now it seems to us, when we take these passages in connection with each other, there can be no doubt concerning the import of the first. It is simply this. God has given to society the right to use the sword for two purposes. First, to deter men from doing wrong. "If thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he"—that is, the magistrate, "beareth not the sword in vain." And secondly, to punish evil doers; "For he is the minister of God, a revenger, to punish him that doeth evil." Here then is conferred upon the magistrate, who is the agent of society, the power to inflict death on those who have committed any thing "worthy of death." We suppose that it will be admitted by all, if any crime is worthy of death, it is that which endangers, and which if allowed would destroy, the social fabric. Hence society, when assailed by foreign invasion, or menaced by an infuriated and lawless mob, has the right, by the express permission of Jehovah, to gird on the sword, to overawe and suppress those who seek its destruction; or in other words, war, under some circumstances, can be justified on the principles of the Christian religion.

We cannot close this discussion without expressing our earnest conviction of the importance of taking a true position on a question which agitates so deeply the public mind, at the present day. The progress of peace must be retarded, and its universal triumph long delayed, if its friends contend for those principles which do not commend themselves to the reason and consciences of men;

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and which have not for their support the eternal basis of truth. To assert that every possible case of war in self-defence is wrong, seems to us opposed to the plainest dictates of conscience, and contrary to God's revealed will; and every measure to promote the cause of peace on such a basis, is not only erroneous, but must in the end be futile. "Let not," says Channing, "the cause of peace be injured, by the assertion of extreme and indefensible principles. The doctrine of the absolute unlawfulness of all war is thought by its advocates to be necessary to a successful opposition to this barbarous custom. But were we employed to restore peace to a contentious neighborhood, we should not consider ourselves as obliged to teach that self-defence, in every possible case, is wrong; and equally useless is this principle in our labors for the pacification of the world. Without taking this uncertain and dangerous ground, we may and ought to assail war, by assailing the principles and passions which gave it birth."

VERITATIS AMANS.

ARTICLE IX.

GLEANINGS FROM RECENT GERMAN PERIODICALS.

[Most of these Notices were prepared for the June number of the Review, but were unavoidably postponed.]

Of works relating to Biblical philology and exegesis, we have an account of the following:—

A new edition of Gesenius's *Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Vet. Testamenti Libros*, by A. Th. Hoffman, Professor at Jena. It is to be not a mere reprint, but an improved edition. One volume (pp. 432) left the press several months ago. The work cannot fail to receive important additions in passing through the hands of so able an orientalist. He is the author of the copious Syriac Grammar which is so well known.

Novum Testamentum Coptice edidit Dr. M. G. Schwartze. Pars I. Evangelia Mathaei et Marci continens. The text is printed chiefly

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according to MSS. in the library at Berlin, and is accompanied with a copious selection of various readings, and with critical and grammatical notes.

Theoretisch-practisches Elementarbuch der Hebräischen Sprache, by E. Bondi, teacher at the Beth-Hamidrasch in Kollin. *Handbuch der Arabischen Volkssprache*, Manual of the Arabic popular language, with explanations in German and Italian, and directions for the pronunciation of every Arabic word, by J. Hofstetter and Geo. Hudai. *Hebräisches Lesebuch*, etc., by M. A. Levy. The only peculiarity in the plan of the book seems to be its Appendix of unpointed text, with Rabbinic scholia and explanations.

A new commentary on the book of Jonah, *Das Buch Jonas historisch-kritisch untersucht*, etc., has been published by August W. Krahmer, Privatdocent in Marburg. We have seen only a very general notice of the book; but the terms of this seem to imply that the views of the author are such as afford reason for believing that he has done something for the advancement of a correct Biblical exegesis. At Zürich has appeared a *Commentar über den Brief Pauli an den Philemon*, by Dr. Aug. Koch. It professes to be a full, exhaustive exposition of this important epistle. Dr. Cäsar von Lengerke, Prof. at Königsberg, has published two new volumes on the Psalms, *Funf Bücher der Psalmen*, containing both a commentary and translation. He is the same author who wrote upon Daniel, a decided rationalist, but eminent for his linguistic tact and attainments. It would not surprise us to find that the work had been put forth as a sort of rationalistic counterpoise to Dr. Hengstenberg's recent commentary on the Psalms. It will be recollected that this was the relation in which his work on Daniel stood to Hävernick's work on that book.—Since the above sentence was penned, we have seen a somewhat extended notice of Lengerke's work in the April No. of Tholuck's *Anzeiger*. The rationalistic tendency of the performance is described as sufficiently *intense;* but what is not a little astonishing, when we consider the theological antagonism of the men, it is represented at the same time as dependent on Hengstenberg's commentary for its philology to an extent almost incompatible with any just pretension to original authorship.—A fourth edition of Hug's *Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T.*, Introduction to the Writings of the New Testament, has been published since the author's death. The translation of Mr. Fosdick was made from the third edition. The progress which has been made in this field of biblical study since that publication, has left room for additions and alterations which the new edition now put forth claims to have supplied.

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The indefatigable de Wette, after a brief respite, has again put his hand to his commentary on the New Testament. Part first of volume third, has just appeared, containing the epistles of Peter, James and Jude. He has issued also new editions of the portion of the work on Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, Titus, Timothy and Hebrews.—The first volume of the third edition of Winer's *Biblisches Realwörterbuch* has been completed. The second and remaining one is promised within the present year.

Among the recent publications in classical philology, we notice the following; which may not be without interest:—

G. Ch. Crusius, whose special lexicons of several of the Greek authors have been received so favorably, has appeared with a *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Werken des P. Virgilius Maro*, with particular reference to the explanation of the mythological, historical and geographical proper names.—Henschel's new edition of Ducange's *Glossarium mediae et infimæ Latinitatis* has been brought as far as Fasc. XXVII et XXVIII. Tomi VI, pp. 393—768.—Klotz's very popular edition of *Cornelii Nepotis vitæ*, etc., has been re-printed for the seventh time. It is accompanied by Billerbeck's vocabulary of this author, revised and improved by G. Chr. Crusius, mentioned above.—*Plutarchi vitæ parallelæ ed. C. Sintenis.* Vol. IV. This volume completes the series. This edition presents the most perfect text of the Lives hitherto published, but is destitute of the apparatus in other respects which a student needs in reading an ancient author.—The well known and admired *Vita Davidis Ruhnkenii*, by Wyttenbach, has been edited anew by Car. Henr. Frotscher. He has added to it critical and grammatical remarks, together with a copious index of the things and words contained in it. Wyttenbach was considered in his day as a great master of the Latin language; but it is here shown that his Latinity was still such as will not stand the test of rigid scrutiny, that notwithstanding his purism, many expressions escaped from him which are either absolutely unclassic, or without authority in the style of the model writers of antiquity.—A discussion of great interest has been going forward since 1844 between Professors Hermann, of Göttingen, and Zumpt, of Berlin, respecting the genuineness of the letters between Cicero and Brutus—the former in defence of them, the latter against them. The combatants are able; and the dispute gives occasion for the exhibition of great acuteness and learning. A writer in the *Neue Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* for December last has a valuable article on the subject, in which he recounts the past fortunes of these letters, which so many critics have rejected, and subjoins a sketch of the arguments

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employed in this renewed discussion of the question. It is clear, from his account, that one point at least has now been settled; and that is, that if the correspondence be not genuine, the evidence of this must be sought out of the letters themselves, not in them. Hermann appears to have shown conclusively that Cicero's essential characteristics as a writer appear here as decidedly as in any production ascribed to him; and that the assertions to the contrary by Tunstall, Markland, and others, have been made without due examination. The principal writings on his side of the dispute are *Zur Rechtfertigung der Echtheit des erhaltenen Briefwechsels zwischen Cicero u. M. Brutus, erste Abtheilung*, and subsequently under the same title, a second Part.—A second volume of Klotz's *Handbuch der lateinischen Literaturgeschichte*, Manual of the History of Latin literature, appears on the list of newly published works. The first volume (pp. 381) treats almost exclusively of the origin and cultivation of the Latin language, and is for that subject a work of unequalled value. The fulness with which it exhibits the *Quellen und Hülfsmittel*, the sources of information and the literary helps pertaining to the whole circle of inquiry, is a feature which must render it specially welcome to the classical scholar.—Prof. Bernhardy, of Halle, has published a work under the title *de Horatii Epistola ad Pisones*. Of its particular design and character we have seen no account.

Krüger, of Berlin, has published the first Heft of the second volume of his Thucydides. It has the highest reputation; for school-purposes it is without a superior. The same scholar has just issued a little book, which he entitles Critical Letters on Buttman's Greek Grammar —*Ein Philolog. Vade mecum für Viele.*—Kühner has put forth a third edition of his *Ciceronis Tusculanæ Quæstiones*. It contains, as compared with the preceding edition, an enlargement of more than one hundred pages.—The new edition of the works of Tacitus, by J. G. Orelli, meets with a somewhat singular reception at the hands of the critics. The first volume containing the Annals, was published last year; and a second, containing the History and smaller treatises of Tacitus, will soon follow. Prof. Zumpt, of Berlin, in a review of it in a late number of the Berlin *Jahrbücher*, accords to it uncommon merit, particularly as regards the text, which he pronounces the most perfect which the extant means for revising it admit of being attained. Prof. Baiter, who is associated with Orelli in this labor, has visited Italy repeatedly for the examination of manuscripts, and the authorities thus consulted are represented as having been used by the editors with fidelity and judgment. The January number of the *Zeitschrift für die*

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Alterthumswissenschaft contains a review of this work by Prof. Halm, the general strain of which is also decidedly favorable. On the other hand, a somewhat extended critique of the same work in the Halle *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Jan. 1847, closes thus: "The only thing to be commended in the book is the new collation of the Florentine manuscripts. The labor of the editors fails entirely in every thing which would give it peculiar value; it is shallow, superficial and in the highest degree negligent." This severe judgment the reviewer pronounces after exhibiting what he considers as sufficient evidence to justify it.—*Epistola Critica ad Virum Doctissimum*, C. F. S. Alschefski, Part I, by J. Ingerslev, a Danish scholar. Its object is to consider the points in which Alschefski's edition differs from others which have preceded it. The great progress in general which the criticism of Livy has made in this edition is acknowledged, the principal qualification of this praise being that the preference is sometimes given to readings which the writer regards as of inferior authority.—Stallbaum is putting forth his edition of the works of Plato for the third time. The first volume is out, containing the Apology of Socrates and Crito.

Among the works of a miscellaneous character which we find advertised as already published or about to be published, we mention the following:—

Geschichte Rom's im Zeitalter der punischen Kriege, by Dr. K. Haltaus, commencing with the period where Niebuhr's history closes, and designed apparently as a continuation of it.—*Johannes Arndt, Ein Zeitbild, etc., in den ersten Jahren des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, by Dr. August Wildenhahn, author of a Life of Spener and other biographies which have been very popular with the religious public of Germany.—*Geschichte der Welt vor und nach Christus,—für das allgemeine Bildungsbedürfniss dargestelt*, by Dr. Heinr. Dittmar. This work is to be completed in four volumes, the first of which has appeared, containing 603 pages. Dr. Tholuck bestows on this first volume the highest praise. He describes it as recognizing the Bible, in its plain and obvious meaning, as an unimpeachable source of historical knowledge, and as written at the same time with a learning and ability equal fully to the demands of the understanding. He takes exceptions in his critique to a few points; but they do not affect the substantial character of the performance.—*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, by Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, a second improved edition.—The fourth volume of the second edition of Neander's *Allgemeine Geschichte*, etc., General History of the Christian Religion and Church, is advertised as published.—

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De Epistola ad Diognetum S. Justini Philosophi et Martyris nomen præ se ferente. Scripsit Dr. Jo. Car. Th. Otto, private teacher in the University at Jena. The student who wishes to see the strongest things that can be said in favor of the genuineness of this celebrated letter, will find them in this edition. Of the high antiquity of the letter there can be no dispute; and of its interest, as one of the most remarkable relics of the earliest Christian literature, there is but one opinion. For a translation of it into English, the reader is referred to this Review, No. 34, p. 280.—Krüger has published a second edition of his *Griech. Sprachlehre für Schulen.* In some qualities this Grammar is superior to any other in the German language.—Gräfenhan has finished the third volume of his History of Classical Philology, *Geschichte der class. Philologie.*

The first part of a work which promises to be one of interest, has recently appeared from Prof. F. H. Fleck, of the University at Leipsic, entitled *Philosophische und christliche Theologie nach ihrem Widerspruche und höherem Einklange.* This work is designed to exhibit the different philosophical schools, at present existing or which have existed in modern times, in their relations to Christianity. An attempt is here made to define the precise attitude which these schools have held in reference to the religion of the Bible, from the time of Des Cartes to that of the new Hegelians, who are now contending for the ascendency. The various systems of speculation which fall within the limits of the period surveyed, are brought into comparison with the teachings of Christianity, and have judgment pronounced upon them according to the author's view of their agreement with them or opposition to them. Sketches are given of the founders or principal representatives of the different systems, intended to illustrate their character more fully, and supplying at the same time a species of very important incidental information. The second volume is to follow soon, containing the portions of the work which are more strictly theological.

A new philological Journal has been founded at Berlin, under the editorship of A. Hoefer, entitled *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache.* Judging from the contents of the first, second and third numbers, it is to adhere much more closely to the province which it professes to occupy, than is true in the case of many of the German periodicals. In the first number, every article is strictly linguistic in its character. We notice that our countryman, Rev. Eli Smith, missionary of the American Board in the east, has honorable mention made of his zeal in oriental studies. Prof. Pott, of Halle, communicates an interesting paper on the language of the Gipsies in Syria, consisting

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chiefly of materials for which he is indebted to Mr. Smith, who forwarded them to him through the hands of Dr. Schultz in Jerusalem. Prof. Pott, it may be mentioned in this connection, has completed his learned work on the origin, history and language of the Gipsies. The second volume treats more particularly of the last topic, describes and illustrates the language in question, giving an outline of a Grammar, exercises for reading, and a vocabulary. Mr. Borrow may run now some hazard of losing his reputation of being almost the only man in the world, not a Gipsey, who understands the "seven jargons."

The library of the University at Göttingen maintains still its rank among the first libraries of Germany. At the death of Heyne in 1812, it contained only 200,000 volumes; but according to a catalogue recently published, it numbers now 350,000. The average increase for the last thirty years has been about 5000 a year. In addition to a standing appropriation which the government makes for this object, special grants have been made from time to time, which have added very considerably to the revenues of the Library. It should be said to the praise of the present king of Hanover, in whose behalf so little that is praiseworthy can otherwise be said, that he has shown a noble liberality in giving money to build up the Göttingen library.

The University at Erlangen has conferred on Alexander von Humboldt the title of Doctor of Philosophy. This is the nineteenth doctor's diploma which he has received. The numbers of his orders or knighthoods is still greater. The king of Prussia has lately bestowed one of those dignities upon him which brings him as near to the royal family in rank as it is possible for a subject to come. All this is the reward of his eminent learning, his literary and scientific accomplishments. Baron von Humboldt is now in advanced life; but, as his latest productions show, retains still the unimpaired vigor of his powerful intellect.

It is rumored that Dr. Nitzsch, of Bonn, is to be transferred to the University at Berlin, as the successor of the late Prof. Marheineke. Dr. Dorner, of Königsberg, so favorably known as the author of the History of the Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ, has followed a call as ordinary Professor of Theology in the University at Bonn. Prof. Fleck, of Leipsic, whose labors as an editor of the sacred text are well known, has been transferred to a similar post at Giessen. Dr. Harless, of Erlangen, author of an excellent commentary on Ephesians and other works, and eminent for his oratorical powers, has been appointed preacher in one of the churches at Leipsic.

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An important publication has recently appeared in Paris—*Description Géographique, Historique et Archéologique de la Palestine*, by M. Munk. The work consists of five books, of which the first is devoted to the physical and topographical condition of Palestine; the second, to an account of the different heathen nations that inhabited the land before the conquest of it by Joshua; the third, to the history of the Hebrews from Abraham to the time of the Babylonian captivity; the fourth describes the moral, social and literary state of the Hebrews down to the present time; and the fifth, the history of Palestine from the Babylonian captivity till the destruction of the temple by Titus. An appendix presents to us a general outline of the events which have taken place in that country from the destruction of Jerusalem down to our own time. The author is represented as possessing uncommon qualifications for his task. With a knowledge of the Hebrew and other oriental languages, he unites a knowledge of the principal modern languages, and has also visited Palestine in person.

The great Dictionary of the German language, on which the Grimms, have been engaged for a series of years, has at length been put to press. The first part is out probably before this. When completed, the entire work will make, it is supposed, seven quarto volumes. Scholars in all parts of Germany have been employed for years in collecting materials for this stupendous undertaking.

We are sorry to have occasion to report the recent death of several men among the most distinguished in Germany in the several walks of literary and professional service to which they were devoted. One of them is the well known Dr. Hug, Professor of Theology in the University at Freiberg. His Introduction to the New Testament is the work which has given him most celebrity abroad, having been translated both in this country and England. He was born at Constance in 1765.—Another who has closed lately a distinguished career is Dr. Ludw. Fr. Franz *Theremin*, one of the Prussian court-preachers, and Prof. *Honorarius* in the University at Berlin. He was held in the highest estimation for worth of character, and in the view of no inconsiderable part of the German public had no superior as an eloquent, efficient preacher. His published writings are considered among the most classical in the German language. He was born in 1780. He was descended from one of the Protestant French families which took refuge in Prussia after the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

The University of Berlin has sustained a serious loss in the death of Prof. Puchta. He succeeded three years ago to the professorship

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of Roman law, vacated by the appointment of Savigny as one of the king's ministers. He was not quite forty-three years old.

On the 2d of November last died Chr. Fr. *Siegel*, Prof. of Theology at Leipzig, and one of the University preachers. He was born in 1781. He is well known in this country as the author of a valuable Manual on Church Antiquities—a somewhat extensive work in four volumes, 1835—38.—On the 6th of December last died at Giessen Dr. K. Fr. Aug. *Fritzsche*, in whose death Germany has occasion to deplore the loss of one of the ablest philological critics of this or any other age. In New Testament philology, Winer is the only man who would bear comparison with him. His principal exegetical productions were Commentaries on Matthew, on Luke, and the Epistle to the Romans, all written as well as most of his other works in Latin. In the first of these, he carried his love of refinement, of rigid linguistic deduction much too far, as he himself afterwards admitted, but in his later writings he has kept nearer to the true medium. His works constitute a rich fund of learning, which will be resorted to as long as the critical study of the New Testament shall continue to be pursued. He was born in 1801, and has closed his life just at the period when his greatest efforts as a scholar were still to be made. Some further particulars in his history were stated on a previous occasion; see this Review, No. 35, p. 469.

Among the men of science who have lately died, are Dr. *Ideler*, of Berlin, distinguished as a mathematician and chronologist, and F. W. *Bessel*, director of the Observatory at Königsberg, who was ranked among the first astronomers of the age.

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ARTICLE X.

LITERARY NOTICES.

I. Biblical Literature.

1. *Exercises in Hebrew Grammar and Selections from the Greek Scriptures to be translated into Hebrew, with Notes, Hebrew Phrases, and References to Approved Works in Greek and Hebrew Philology.* By H. B. Hackett, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. Andover. Allen, Morrill & Wardwell. 1847. pp. 116, 12mo.

The title of this work gives but an inadequate view of its character and value. It is a great addition to our materials for securing to the student a minute, thorough and independent acquaintance with the principles of the Hebrew tongue. It is divided into three parts. Part I. is entitled "Exercises in Punctuation." Under the indeclinable parts of speech, the verbs, regular and irregular, and the nouns, collections of unpointed Hebrew words are set down, with their significations, the former to be combined and pointed by the student, and the latter to be pointed according to their various forms and meanings. "In the course of the conjugation and inflection of the Hebrew verb, numerous forms occur which are precisely the same as regards the consonants of which they consist, but are distinguished by a different vocalization. The examples are to be pointed with the vowel-signs which they assume, in order to produce different forms of the verb." To the several combinations of consonants, figures are appended, indicating the number of different forms which those consonants will assume, when furnished with their proper vowels, in the different parts of the verb. These numbers often extend to eleven or twelve. To point readily and correctly these triliteral roots, so as to produce so many different forms of the verb, must secure to the student very great familiarity with grammatical elements. These exercises cover twenty-eight pages. Part II, containing sixty pages, is a series of extracts, first from the Greek New Testament, and then from the Greek version of the Old Testament, with copious Notes, calling the attention of the student perpetually to the forms, aiding him in his efforts, and directing him to grammatical principles. The utility of this exercise is well set forth by Dr. G. B. Winer, in a brief Appendix added by Prof. Hackett, and containing the views of Gesenius and Winer on the method of Hebrew study. He says, "That the practice of translating into a foreign language is an excellent help to a radical acquaintance with it, has been in recent times universally admitted in reference to the Greek; and I am constrained by my experience to believe that the neglect of such practice is the principal reason why so many theological students

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find their knowledge of the Hebrew so imperfect, and, in many instances, after a short time so easily escaping from them. Hence, along with the analytical study of the language, the student should keep up the constant habit of translating more or less into Hebrew." Part III, extending only to twelve pages, consists of selections from unpointed Hebrew passages, which the student is to furnish with their vowels. In these exercises he is chiefly placed beyond the reach of aid from his Hebrew Bible, even if he were disposed to consult it, most of the passages being taken from other sources. Both the plan and the execution of the work are worthy of all praise, and have received already the commendation of distinguished teachers. We take leave earnestly to recommend the work to clergymen, whose knowledge of the Hebrew is gradually escaping them. The diligent study of the language for half an hour every day, under the guidance of this manual, would restore all they have lost, and give them a new interest in the pursuits of Biblical learning. We also recommend the work to all teachers of Hebrew, as a volume calculated to secure to their pupils the great end of their earlier toils—real and rapid advancement in the elements of a language, a thorough acquaintance with which is so important to the interpreter of the word of God. We cannot but think that a manual on the same principle with this might be constructed, which would be of essential use in promoting thoroughness and accuracy of knowledge in the study of other languages besides the Hebrew; we speak, of course, not of exercises in punctuation, but in the production, identification and signification of the forms of similar words, and in translation.

II. Classical Literature.

2. *The Germania and Agricola of Caius Cornelius Tacitus, with Notes for Colleges.* By W. S. Tyler, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Amherst College. New York. Wiley & Putnam. 1847. pp. 181, 12mo.

At the commencement of our College terms, we take pleasure in calling attention to this fine edition of the Germania and Agricola of Tacitus. It seems to have been edited with ability, by the aid of the best helps, and by a scholar both accurate and enthusiastic in his work, and taking very correct views of the requisites to the completeness of such a volume. The Notes, which fill more than half the book, are brief, but judicious, and suited to give the student an accurate and thorough knowledge of his author, and pleasure in his perusal.

III. General Literature.

3. *The Genius of Scotland, or Sketches of Scottish Scenery, Literature and Religion.* By Robert Turnbull. Second Edition. New York. Robert Carter. 1847. pp. 379, 12mo.

We cannot well conceive of a work of this kind more judicious or interesting. Instead of pursuing the usual course of books of Travels, the author selects scenes, objects and persons of interest, and exhibits them in an attractive and spirited manner. In this way the reader is

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furnished with a view of every thing which he desires to know, without having also forced upon him those incidents of a personal and temporary character which are of no value except in the estimation of the author. In the course of the volume, we are made familiar with the most remarkable places of Scotland, and besides, we become acquainted with most of the distinguished personages of the country, living and dead. It will furnish an innocent and delightful employment for a student's hours of relaxation. It was our design to have enriched our pages by extended extracts from the work, with a review; but we must be contented to delay our purpose to a future opportunity.

4. *Boston Editions of the Standard English Poets, including Milton, Young, Cowper, Burns, and also Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress with Scott's Notes.* Phillips & Sampson. 1847. 12mo.

We look with pleasure upon efforts to call public attention to our standard English authors. In a period when the older writers are neglected, and literature is valued by many in proportion only as it is recent, we are the more gratified with efforts like the present to provide for the public taste volumes whose neat and beautiful forms, attractive appearance and sterling contents, while they profit and please, may be instrumental in displacing the flashy publications of the day. Of the character of these volumes we need not speak. They have long since taken their high places in the temple of fame. The collection named at the head of this notice is in four volumes, Milton and Young being embraced in one volume of nearly 600 pages; they are perfectly distinct from one another, each volume forming a complete work, and sold by itself. For intrinsic excellence, and pleasing exterior, we commend the volumes to those who esteem them for personal use, and to those who may seek them as valuable gift-books for their friends.

5. *The Church Member's Manual of Ecclesiastical Principles, Doctrine, and Discipline; presenting a Systematic View of the Structure, Polity, Doctrines and Practices of Christian Churches, as taught in the Scriptures.* By William Crowell. With an Introductory Essay, by Henry J. Ripley, Professor in the Newton Theological Institution. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1847. pp. 276, 12mo.

This very complete Manual of Church Polity is all that could be desired in this department. Every important point, within a wide range, is brought forward, and every point touched, is settled. The volume has been a work of time and perseverance, of thorough deliberation and zealous research. We believe it will not be found defective in any essential point; and in all it may be deemed good authority.

6. *Neander's History of the Christian Religion and Church.* Translated by Prof. Torrey. Boston. 1847. Crocker & Brewster. pp. 740, 8vo.

We have delayed a notice of the first volume of this translation of Neander, in the expectation of an early receipt of the remainder of the work, and with the purpose, on such receipt, to offer a more extended criticism. Many of the public journals have already expressed their

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opinion of the merits of the volume already issued. As to Neander, there is no question. He is the greatest living Church-historian, and his words, in this department, come with authority. The translator has in most respects discharged his office faithfully; perhaps his chief fault is, that it has been too faithfully. He has conformed so strictly to his German original, as to leave some of his terms and sentences unintelligible to the unlearned reader. A servile imitation is not necessary to a good translation. But if the volume have defects, (as what human production has not?) it is a valuable addition to the cause of theological science, and will be an important help to the scholar. An examination of those portions which relate to the Christian ordinance of baptism, convinces us that Neander places the practice of the early churches where we suppose that Christ and the apostles placed it. At another time, we hope to group together the testimonies of this great author on this point, as of essential value, not in forming but in establishing our argument; not in enlightening, but confirming us.

7. *Miscellaneous Essays and Discourses.* By MARK HOPKINS, D. D., President of Williams College. Boston. T. R. Marvin. 1847. pp. 514, 8vo.

This elegant volume—marked with the beauty and taste of all Mr. Marvin's publications,—contains four articles originally contributed to periodical works, nine addresses of a literary character, and nine occasional sermons. They extend over a wide range in literature and religion, and are among the choice gems of the American press. The volume is in all respects an honor to American talent, and worthy of an extensive circulation.

8. *The Bible not of Man, or the Argument for the Divine Origin of the Sacred Scriptures, drawn from the Scriptures themselves.* By GARDINER SPRING, D. D. New York. American Tract Society. 1847. pp. 319, 12mo.

We regard with pleasure all books whose object it is to illustrate the Bible, or to magnify its importance, its utility and its excellence. In the tide of publications which every week sends forth over the world, few are devoted to this great work. Most authors write upon time; few upon eternity. Human words and works are abundantly discussed, illustrated, praised; the divine, more seldom. It is, however, matter of gratulation, when a volume appear slike this, appealing to reason and common sense, to the understanding and the consciousness of men, and of intellectual men. The Bible is ready to be judged on its own merits. It does not shrink from the strictest scrutiny. On whatever grounds men are pleased to try it, it is prepared to submit to the examination, and fears not the severity of any ordeal. The plan of the work of Dr. Spring is eminently adapted to an age of skepticism. It invites the infidel to examine the claims of the Scriptures, and to convict them, if they are unworthy of public confidence. It is suited to confirm the faith of the Christian, by setting before him, in a clear light, the reason of the faith that is in him. The work contains a preliminary dissertation on "the fitness of the time selected by divine Providence for the introduction of the Christian dispensation,"—and

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ten chapters on the main topic of the volume. Chapter I is entitled, "The Bible above the invention of the human intellect." II. The spirit of the Bible a superhuman spirit. III. Its moral rectitude. IV. The divine origin of the Bible argued from its peculiar doctrines. V. From its religion. VI. The unity of the Scriptures. VII. Their adaptation to the wants and character of man. VIII. The testimony of Christian experience. IX. Accordance of the Bible with human reason. X. Concluding remarks.—We will only add that the plan, so well conceived, is well carried out, in a manner exhibiting the learning, research and skill of the author. We regard it as another bulwark erected to check the advance of infidelity.

9. *The Laboring Classes of England, especially those engaged in Agriculture and Manufactures; in a Series of Letters.* By an Englishman. Also, *A Voice from the Factories, a Poem in Serious Verse.* Boston. John Putnam. 1847. pp. 168, 12mo.

This little volume contains a large amount of historical and statistical information respecting the laboring classes and the industrial occupations of England. Chapters of personal history are interspersed, having all the interest of romance. No one can read the book without receiving valuable information, and at the same time awakening his sympathies for the sufferings of his fellow-men.

10. *The Works of Henry Ware, Jr., D. D.* Vol. III. and IV. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1847. pp. 444, 445, 12mo.

These additional volumes of the works of the late Dr. Ware, Jr., are composed partly of new matter, as sermons, and partly of matter already published. In Vol. III, containing thirty-two sermons, nine have appeared previously; the rest are from MS. In the fourth volume, containing the Essay on the Formation of Christian Character, Sermons on the Character and Offices of Christ, Historical and Ordination Sermons, very little is new. The selection and compilation, however, have been made with taste and judgment. The works are entitled to and will enjoy a place with our standard literature. Most of the articles are marked not only by purity, simplicity and neatness of style, but by a truly serious spirit. Notwithstanding the defectiveness of the author's creed, no one could have been acquainted with him, or can read his works, without feeling an admiration of his character, and a true love of his religious fervor and conscientiousness. Those parts of the volumes which maintain erroneous views of faith, of course we cannot commend;—especially the sermon on Atonement; this, we believe, is not only defective, in that it does not go far enough, but unscriptural in so far as it does go. Any person of a truly enlightened and well-balanced mind, however, may read the volumes with pleasure and profit; a critical judgment will detect and condemn the erroneous, the defective and the bad, and admire and adopt the good; and to any person of such qualifications we run no risk in commending the works.

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11. *Good for Evil, or Love to Enemies. Illustrated by Numerous Interesting Facts.* Boston. N. E. S. S. Union. 1847. pp. 236, 18mo.

The perusal of this little book has given us sincere pleasure. Its attractive style and its numerous interesting illustrations will win for it a place among "books which are books;" and wherever it is read, it will do good. Its principles are scriptural, and its facts, to the point.

12. *Chambers' Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge.* Edited by ROBERT CHAMBERS, Author of Cyclopædia of English Literature. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1847.

This little work is No. 1 of a series of thirty numbers, of which three are to constitute a volume. The numbers are to be issued at regular intervals, in paper covers, of about 160 pages each. The tables of contents give promise of a simple, pure and interesting series of pieces, adapted to yield instruction, entertainment and recreation. The work, we doubt not, will enjoy an extensive popularity.

13. *The History of Sunday Schools and of Religious Education, from the Earliest Times.* By LEWIS G. PRAY. Boston. Crosby & Nichols. 1847. pp. 262, 12mo.

This volume is written by a gentleman who has been for twenty years the superintendent of a Sabbath School connected with one of the Unitarian Societies in the city of Boston. Though not in any respect a controversial work, nor professedly sectarian, the superior fulness of the information relating to some of the Sabbath Schools and Sabbath-school efforts belonging to his own denomination, sufficiently indicate the direction from which it has come. The notes on the religious education of children, by parental or associated effort, extend back to the patriarchal age, bringing the history through the several periods and regions of the world, and the centuries of the Christian era. The accounts are necessarily very brief, though some portions are deeply interesting. A valuable amount of statistics on the subject of Sabbath Schools is brought together. As the author approaches our own times, his notes become more full, and exhibit much industry and research. We are interested in his manner of tracing the origin and progress of Sabbath Schools in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland and on the Continent. By consulting missionary journals, he might have gone further; embracing in his survey, after America, Asia and Africa, and the islands of the sea. He shows that the elementary idea of Sabbath Schools had existed in many minds before the time of Robert Raikes; like many inventions, of which the ground-thought had often flitted before the minds of men, like lightning at midnight, while the conception has not been fixed and made useful to the world till after the lapse of years. The author speaks of individual schools and of several societies, as the American Sunday School Union; but he has omitted all mention of the New England Sabbath School Union, notwithstanding its operations are so well established in this city, and have been so long and so well known. As a history, and the only work of its kind, we regard it as a valuable contribution to our means

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of knowledge on this subject. We could wish only for as great fulness in the description of some of the schools of our own and of other Christian denominations, as is here given to those of the Unitarians. As the author, however, knew best that with which he was himself connected, perhaps we have no occasion to find fault. What he has done, he has apparently done well. It only remains for another to fill up that in which he has been deficient. The work is beautifully printed on fine paper, and adorned with a likeness of Robert Raikes.

14. *Cheap Publications of the London Religious Tract Society.* Philadelphia. Am. S. S. Union. Boston. W. B. Tappan.

We ask leave to invite attention to this series of useful little publications, which urge their claims among the cheap literature of the day. By a mutual arrangement, the American Society reprint, we suppose from the English plates. They have a fair appearance, but are bound only in paper covers. Each volume contains nearly 200 pages 18mo.; they are often illustrated with wood-cuts, and sold at 12½ cents. The numbers we have seen are, The Life of Luther, The Solar System, The Sidereal Heavens, Learning to Think, Learning to Feel, and the Complete Poems of Cowper. They may not, perhaps, be suited to the wants of the learned; but for popular reading, they deserve high commendation.

15. *The Scriptural Law of Baptism, or the Design of Baptism presented and applied, leading to an Examination of its Form, its Subjects, its Authority, and its Relative Position.* By Edmund Turney, Granville, O. Hartford. Robins & Smith. 1847. pp. 201, 12mo.

This excellent treatise on Baptism is distinguished by strong, clear and philosophical views, and shows abundant proof that it originated from a thinking mind. It is one of the best and most satisfactory works on the subject which we have seen. It treads in a new and higher path than most books on the same topic, relying less upon the more obvious arguments, and appealing chiefly to those which result from a process of ratiocination grounded on scriptural premises. It is, however, calm, clear and convincing, and may be set down as a decided advancement in the literature of the baptismal controversy.

16. *Juvenile Anecdotes; or Authentic and Interesting Facts, designed for the Moral and Religious Instruction of Children and Youth. Compiled and Arranged with Appropriate Remarks.* Boston. New England Sabbath School Union. 1847. pp. 153, 18mo.

This little book contains a series of useful and practical remarks and striking anecdotes, arranged under the heads of Advantages of Parental Instruction, Anger, Meekness, Humility, Contentment, Honesty, Fortitude, Filial, Fraternal and Parental Affection, Prayer, Conversion, Remarkable Sayings, Usefulness. The connecting and explanatory remarks, interspersed with the Anecdotes, exhibit much taste and judgment in the Editor. The little volume is much above the ordinary collections of anecdotes, and a pleasing addition to our practical religious literature.

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17. *Two Discourses on the Character of Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D.* By DANIEL SHARP. Worcester. S. Chism. 1847. pp. 20, 8vo.

Sons of Thunder. A Tribute to the Memory of Alexander Vinet and Thomas Chalmers. By ROBERT TURNBULL. Hartford. Brockett & Fuller. 1847. pp. 22, 8vo.

These sermons were called forth by the recent demise of the distinguished men whose names appear in the titles. Dr. Sharp has selected the appropriate and striking text, Is. 3 : 1—4. "For behold, the Lord doth take away—the eloquent orator." His first discourse is entitled, "Eloquence an Instrument of Good;" the second, "Elements of Useful Eloquence." They are both excellent discourses, well worthy of the mature age and attainments of the author.

The sermon of Mr. Turnbull is founded on Mark 3 : 7. "And he surnamed them Boanerges, which is, The Sons of Thunder." It is strong and brilliant, attracting the attention and richly repaying it.

We embrace this opportunity to give a very brief chronological sketch of the two eminent men commemorated in the discourses. Dr. Chalmers was born at Anstruthers, near St. Andrews, in the year 1780. He showed in early life signs of great powers. He was sent to the University of St. Andrews by his parents, and distinguished himself in literature and the physical sciences. He was ordained A. D. 1803, at the age of 23. His first settlement was at Cavers, from which place he removed to Kilmany. In this place, in addition to his parochial duties, he gave instruction in mathematics in the University of St. Andrews. At his ordination, it is well known, he had had no experience of the transforming power of vital godliness. Having been appointed to write for Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopædia the article on the Evidences of Christianity, his preparatory investigations showed him how defective was his religion, and led him to seek with Christian humility and zeal the pearl of great price. Thenceforth he was a new man.

In 1815, Dr. Chalmers was translated to Glasgow. In 1823, he became professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, [Dr. Sharp says, Aberdeen] and three or four years afterwards, he obtained the chair of theology at Edinburgh University. He was among the founders of the Free Church of Scotland, for conscience' sake. With some three hundred other ministers, on the 23d of May, 1843, he withdrew from his place, that he might establish in Scotland "the crown-rights of Jesus Christ." With an energy undimmed by age or trial, he labored valiantly in the cause of his Master. On Sabbath, the 30th of May last, after having attended public worship through the day, he retired to rest at an early hour in the evening, having his writing materials by his bed that he might resume his studies at once on awaking. In the morning he had gone to his rest and his reward. He died, it is supposed, of a disease of the heart.

Alexander Vinet was born June 17, 1797, in Lausanne, and educated at the Academy in his native town. At the early age of 20, he was made professor of the French language in the University of Basel, and not long after he was ordained at Lausanne. In 1837, he was appointed Professor of Theology in his native town, at the Academy or College where he had been educated. In this office he remained

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till his death, which took place on the 4th of May last. He was a champion of evangelical orthodoxy, a brilliant preacher, and an ardent Christian. His discourses, translated by Mr. Turnbull, in which we scarcely know whether to praise most the brilliancy of the author or of the translator, were published in Boston a few months since, under the title of "Vital Christianity." We are happy to learn that the volume has been received with favor not only in America, but also in England and Scotland, and that in the latter countries it has gone through "no less than four separate editions."

18. *The Eloquence of the Colonial and Revolutionary Times. With Sketches of Early American Statesmen and Patriots.* Delivered before the New England Society of Cincinnati. By E. L. Magoon. Cincinnati. Derby & Co. 1847. pp. 91, 12mo.

Mr. Magoon holds a pen of rare and varied powers. Sometimes he writes with great force; his descriptive and dramatic passages are extremely vivid and impressive; in his terse and nervous style, he conveys much meaning in few words. The present little volume is a good specimen of his occasional addresses. It contains rapid and generally truthful sketches of several prominent personages who appeared as public speakers in the times of our revolution, with brief extracts, in some instances, from their works, in confirmation of his views. It is an excellent little book, containing much information, attractive in its appearance, and worthy of perusal.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

E. B. Bullard, Missionary to the Karens, Burmah, April 5, aged 34.
Abner Flanders, Buxton, Me., June, aged 70.
Jesse Jones, Steuben, N. Y., Aug. 6, aged 68.
J. H. Leftwich, Rocky Mount, Ten., June 13, aged 61.
Horatio N. Loring, Utica, N. Y., Aug. 14, aged 41.
David B. McGehee, Clover, Va., June 3, 1846.
Benjamin Ogle, Marion Co., Ill., April 6, aged 78.
Harrison C. Page, (licentiate), Newton Theological Institution, Mass., Aug. 9, aged 27.
Henry Palmer, Chatham, Col. Co., N. Y., July 16, aged 81.
Peter Robinson, Iowa.
Allen B. Rountree, Mexico.
C. C. Shires, (licentiate), Greene, Chen. Co., N. Y., April 16, aged 29.
James H. Stebbins, Vienna, Ont. Co., N. Y., May 24, aged 30.
Asa Todd, Chesterfield, Mass., July 16, aged 92.
L. L. Washburn, Texas, aged 27.
Asa Wilbur, Belgrade, Me., Aug. 8, aged 87.
Richard Wolsey, Farmersville, Seneca Co., N. Y., May 21, aged 75.

ORDINATIONS.

Aaron D. Abbott, Auburn, O., April 22.
Lansing Bailey, Warren, Herk. Co., N. Y., June 23.
A. Barker, Fountain Creek, Ill., May 8.
Amos N. Benedict, New Marlboro', Mass., July 15.

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JONATHAN BERRY, Franklin, Ind., July 31.
JOHN BRANTLY, Fayetteville, N. C., July 11.
——— CARMICHAEL, Newmarket, Madison Co., Ala., April 8.
LYMAN CARPENTER, Blue Grass, Scott Co., Iowa, Feb. 12.
JAMES CHRISTIAN, Charles city Co., Va., May 24.
JAMES M. COCHRAN, Machias Port, Me., Aug. 11.
G. F. DANFORTH, Medford, Mass., Aug. 12.
JUDSON DAVIS, Maryland, Otsego Co., N. Y., June 16.
HORACE G. DAY, Schenectady, N. Y., May 25.
THOMAS S. DEW, Little Buck Head, Burke Co., N. C., May 9.
BOSTON JENKINS DRAYTON, (colored), Richmond, Va., June 6.
JAMES DRUEY, Mt. Gilead, Mercer Co., O., July 4.
WILLIAM P. FARISH, Albermarle Co., Va., May 30.
WILLIAM FREEMAN, New York, N. Y., July 1.
CHARLES H. GATES, Chesterfield, (Montville,) Con., June 23.
ASA HOWARD GOULD, Baring, Me., Aug. 11.
HARVEY GRAY, Rush, Susq. Co., Pa., July 14.
SAMUEL HASKELL, Suffield, Con., Aug. 4.
MARTIN W. HOLMES, Middlesex, Yates Co., N. Y., July 7.
JAMES M. HOPE, Middletown, Orange Co., N. Y., Aug. 12.
ELI B. HUMPHREY, Chandaken, Ulster Co., N. Y.
G. W. HUNTLEY, Farmersville, Col. Co., N. Y., June 30.
C. A. JENNISON, Brooklyn, Mich.
JOHN JOHNSON, Calais, Me., June 3.
LEVI MANN, Woodstock, Ulster Co., N. Y., May 12.
GEORGE P. MATTHEWS, Liberty, Me., June 3.
J. McMILTON, Crooked Creek, Carrol Co., Ark., May 16.
J. G. MOORE, South Butler, N. Y., July 13.
SAMUEL W. NICHOLSON, Chesterville, S. C., June 27.
S. STILES PARKER, Burlington, N. J., April 30.
WILLIAM PIKE, Haverstraw, N. Y., June 22.
J. B. PORTER, Hopewell, Henry Co., Ky., April.
OAKMAN S. STEARNS, Southbridge, Mass., May 19.
APOLLOS PHELPS VIETS, Canton, Con., June 30.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Wakesha, Wis. Ter., Aug. 1846.
Lebanon, Ky., Feb. 5.
Keokuk Co., Iowa.
Newmarket, Madison Co., Ala., April 8.
Hopewell, Jasper Co., Geo., April 15.
Pickensville, Ala., April 17.
Savannah, Geo., 2d chh., April 18.
Springfield, Ky., April 20.
Middleburg, Loudoun Co., Va., April 27.
South Porter, Mich., April.
Wing, Lucas Co., O., April.
Friendship chh., Stokes Co., N. C.
Judson chh., Stokes Co., N. C.
Evansville, Ia.
Russell Co., Ala.
Whitehaven, Somerset Co., Md., May 3.
Bethesda chh., Caroline Co., Va., May 6.
Romine Settlement, Va., May 8.
Logansport, N. Y., 2d chh., May 26.
Green Point, L. I., N. Y., May 27.
Penn, Ind., May 28.
New Zion, Miss., May 29.
Albemarle Co., Va., May 30.
East Pittston, Me., June 2.
Rocky Point, Southold, L. I., June 2.
Lewiston Falls, Me., June 3.
Bridgeville, Pickens Co., Ala., June 12.
New York, N. Y., Union Baptist chh., June 17.
Golconda, Pope Co., Ky., June.
Hebron, Va.
Lancaster (Clintonville), Mass., July 8.
Kirkersville, O., July 10.
New Marlborough, Mass., July 14.
Smith Co., Miss., July 17.
Plank Road, Onon. Co., N. Y., July 22.
Goodwill, Stokes Co., N. C.
Ithaca, Tompkins Co., N. Y., Aug. 4.

DEDICATIONS.

Whitehaven, Somerset Co., Md., Nov.
Ypsilanti, Mich.
Allendale, R. I., May 27.
East Troy, Wisconsin, June 3.
Hannibal, Mo., June 6.
Salem, Ms., (chapel), June 7.
Milford, Con., June 10.
Wiota, Iowa.
Houghton, Talbot Co., Iowa.
Hoboken, N. J., July 1.
Cape Island, N. J., July 18.
Baltimore, Md., Seventh chh., Aug. 1.
Sanford, Me., Aug. 3.

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THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1847.

ARTICLE I.

PERFECT IN ONE.

Those who read our former article under this head, will remember that we contend for the necessity of an outward and visible, as well as an inward and spiritual unity of the Christian church. We use the term, of course, as we have already explained, not in the Romish sense, as implying a single consolidated organization, commensurate with Christendom and subject to one earthly head, but in the New Testament sense,—i. e. in the sense of an essential uniformity of organization according to the inspired model—some system of actual connection and inter-communication, binding all to each, and each to all, and securing to the individual members of every one, a perfectly free admittance to an equal standing in any other, whenever circumstances require a change,—in short, a practical and palpable unity, which would make the church glad and the world dumb.

To the opinion of some, that no form of church organization is traceable in the Scriptures, (as our plan precludes a direct appeal to the sacred record,) we have opposed, first, the *a priori* improbability of such a defect in the inspired directory of the church, especially when it is conceded on all hands that some organization is absolutely required; secondly, the consenting testimony of all the leading Protestant sects, which have uniformly agreed in

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appealing to Bible authority against the papal doctrine of church supremacy, and, so far as their differences pertain to organization, have all originated in diverse interpretations of Scripture on that point; and finally, the fact that among the most enlightened Protestant interpreters, there has been a gradual approximation towards unanimity as to what were the essential features of the Apostolic polity.*

These considerations are, we think, conclusive, though we should not once open the Bible to see. But the Bible is open, and in the hands of us all; and there is probably very little reason to fear, that any Biblical scholar will at this day so far stultify himself, as to affirm that there is absolutely no plan of church polity traceable there. We may very safely assume, that among those for whom we write it will generally be conceded, that the apostles organized churches of a certain determinate form; that their plan was so far uniform, as not to prevent a free intercourse and interchange not merely of Christian courtesies, but of members and ministers, and as not to impair the unity of the whole;† and that the principles of that plan, are a legitimate subject of scriptural investigation, not embarrassed by any greater difficulties than are connected with some, even of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel.

But here we are arrested by another difficulty. Supposing all difference of opinion at last removed, respecting the primitive form of the church, is that form binding on us? To the consideration of this point we propose to devote a few pages of our present number.

It is certainly a singular circumstance that such a question should need to be discussed among Protestants, and above all, among the sons of the Puritans. But it is no more strange than true, and, in our judgment, no more true than significant. It is the Puritan ministers of the day, who assume the special advocacy of the doctrine that

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* In the printing of the former article, the paragraph which *introduces* this final consideration was accidentally misplaced, being thrown back into the midst of the preceding division. As the derangement occasions considerable confusion in the progress of the argument, it deserves perhaps to be corrected here. The paragraph commencing on p. 177 with the words, "But it may be asked, &c.," should be transferred to the break on p. 180.

† "The church [Apostolic] was one, not as consisting of one Society, but because the various Societies, or churches, were then modeled, and ought still to be so, on the same principles." *Whateley, Kingdom of Christ, Ess.* II. § 22.

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"the churches severally are authorized to adopt any constitution and rules, which they find to be convenient;" * a position, be it remembered, originally taken by the defenders of the Anglican establishment, and to oppose which was the specific mission of primitive Puritanism. This position churchmen have very generally found it "convenient" to abandon, while their Presbyterian and some of their Congregational assailants, are fast finding no so convenient a spot for themselves to occupy. Be it ours, according to our humble ability, to make them as uncomfortable in it, as they were easily able to make their predecessors.

It is in no unfraternal spirit that we would address ourselves to such a task, nor without admiration of the genial feeling which often prompts the adoption and advocacy of the sentiment we impugn; but from a sober conviction that the sentiment itself is false in principle, and pernicious in tendency. For the much belabored scheme of a divine right, resting not on the written word, but on tradition and an unbroken ministerial succession, while we have no respect whatever, we have comparatively little fear. It may deceive the world. We know that it does pass readily with carnal men—men who, feeling the necessity of some kind of religion but having no spiritual discernment, can be satisfied with names and semblances instead of the reality, and who not unnaturally confound rank with authority, things ancient and venerable with things divine. But it will not satisfy enlightened Christians—those who believe that God is, and that his Word is his sole interpreter. Such will not trifle with their Maker's name, nor dare to call that divine, which he has not expressly owned. But this specious indifferentism is a more formidable evil. Affecting to rebuke the impious arrogance of those who put themselves in the place of God, it reaches the same result at the opposite extreme by degrading the requirements of the Most High to a level with mere human institutions. Under the name of Catholicism, it sweeps away every visible landmark of Christ's "one" kingdom on earth; and with loud protestations of zeal for the "spirit" of Christianity, rends piecemeal the "body" which its Master has prepared it—a body, we aver,

*N. Englander, Vol. III. p. 438.

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every way worthy of its divine Author, and through which alone the spirit can manifest its beauty or exert its power.*

Entertaining such convictions, shall we shrink from recording our protest against this insidious doctrine? What though it come to us wearing the aspect of an angel of light, and speak in soft and kindly tones which may well "deceive the very elect?" We hold it so much the more dangerous, and shall the more frankly and firmly declare ourselves against it, with a voice which (however feeble) we mean shall be distinct. Nor shall we in so doing deserve, though we may suffer, the reproach of hostility to the cause of Christian Union. Nay, but the reverse. Our conscience beareth us witness, that it is for Christian Union we are pleading; and our judgment assures us that we are pleading for it in the only safe and feasible way—for a union worthy of the name—possessing the substance, ensuring the benefits of union—a union for which all Christians of every name may fitly and harmoniously pray—a PERFECT ONENESS in the mind of Christ. Substantial unity in faith and spirit, true Christians already have. Dr. Schmucker's scheme "presupposes" it. The Evangelical Alliance was formed for the express purpose of "manifesting the unity which exists." What a loud confession, that one spirit cannot manifest itself as one, cannot act as one, cannot be perfectly one, while animating a multitude of disconnected and discordant bodies. On this confession we stand; and on those who have already made it to the world, we simply press its obvious and necessary consequence.

To prove affirmatively that the scriptural church polity is of universal and perpetual obligation, would be to argue over the whole question of the divine authority of the Apostles and the inspiration of their writings. But we are reasoning with Protestants, and may claim these as conceded points, and as constituting at the least a very strong presumption against the notion which we controvert. All we have to do, therefore, is to examine the methods by which it is attempted to reconcile that notion with the fundamental principle of Protestanism—"the Bible, the

* "There is one body and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling," etc. *Apostle Paul.*

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only rule of faith and practice"—or by which their irreconcilable disagreement is covered up and concealed.

Considering the history of this notion, we need not be surprised at finding it affirmed by its present advocates with some degree of faltering and indecision. Coolly to set aside an admitted apostolic institution on the mere "principle of preference," (an odd principle that, by the way,) would be too flagrantly unprotestant, too absurdly unpuritan. Hence, those who claim for the churches the right to modify their own constitution, almost instinctively throw in some limitation, which really strips the claim of all its objectionable force. The difficulty is, that when they come to their inferences, both hesitation and limitation disappear. The reservation is made in terms only, while in fact the authority of Scripture in these matters is set completely aside. Such logical manœuvres, as we all know, are very easily accomplished even by an honest mind under the unconscious bias of error.

We find a specimen of this convenient indefiniteness in the reasoning of Dr. Schumcker, whom we should be the last to suspect of any intentional unfairness.

"First Feature [i. e. of his plan of union.] The several Christian denominations shall retain each its own present ecclesiastical organization, government, discipline, and mode of worship.

It is conceded by the great body of Christians, that the Scriptures do not determine *all the particulars* of any system of church government; but leave the matter, *except some important outlines*, to the conscientious judgment and experience of the church in every age, and under every form of civil government; and the few who think they find their entire system of government in Scripture, do not regard it as so essential as to lead them to deny the *Christian* character of others. Hence every church has an equal right deliberately to test her forms of ecclesiastical organization by experience; and diversity of practice on this point ought neither to preclude ecclesiastical communion, nor impede substantial union among the parties." *Bib. Repos., Vol. XI. p.* 382.

Now, give their legitimate weight to the qualifying expressions which we have italicised, and we very cheerfully unite in the concession which is declared to be that of the great body of Christians. But, having by the inser-

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tion of these qualifications secured a general assent to his premise, by what logical process does the Doctor get rid of them in his conclusion? There we find the broad deduction: "Hence *every* church—Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopal, or (why not?) Papal—has an equal right to test her forms" and "diversity of practice on this point—i. e. *any* diversity whatever, or at least *any existing* diversity—ought not to preclude communion, nor impede substantial union." Is it too much to ask, what are those "important outlines" which the Doctor himself "excepts"?—which, according to the obvious implication, being determined in the Scriptures, are *not* "left to the judgment and experience of the churches?" Is it unreasonable to require compliance with these at least, as an essential condition to "ecclesiastical communion," and as practically necessary to any "substantial union?" Is it uncharitable to deny the *scriptural* "character" and the "Christian" propriety of those church organizations which disregard them?*

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* We mention Dr. S. merely as a specimen. It would be easy to multiply illustrations of this combination, of timidity in the statement of the doctrine with boldness in applying it. One or two will suffice. Says Dr. Mosheim, (the italics are ours:)—"Neither Christ nor his holy Apostles have commanded any thing *clearly* or *expressly* concerning the external form of the church, or the *precise* method according to which it should be governed. Hence we may infer that the regulation of this was, *in some measure*, to be accommodated to the time, and left to the wisdom and prudence of the chief rulers, both of the state and of the church." *Church Hist. B.* 1, *Pt. II Ch. II.* What things are commanded *obscurely* and *inexactly*, or in *what* measure the regulation of this was left to the chief rulers of church and state (!) the learned historian neither here nor elsewhere attempts to determine. His cautious phraseology necessarily implies some limitation of their power. But throughout his work elsewhere, while tracing the successive departures from the primitive scheme which mark the whole subsequent history of the church, not a word escapes him incompatible with the doctrine distinctly avowed by his annotator in this place, that "Christ has left this whole matter undetermined," and given to Christian societies an unqualified "discretionary power of modeling the government of the church in such a manner, as the circumstantial reasons of times, places, etc. may require."

Another instance we have just met with, in the Princeton Theological Essays (New York, Wiley and Putnam, 1847.) Second series, p. 251. "Conscientious and firm as our persuasion is, that the Presbyterian form of government and of worship, was the form actually adopted in the Apostolic church, and which *ought* to be the universal form; yet we are very far from thinking the adoption of this form, or of any other single form, by the different existing denominations, essential to Christian Union in its best sense. [Ah! in its *best* sense.] We think the unity of the Spirit the most important part of the whole. [And who does not?] . . We do indeed anticipate that when the Millennium shall open on the world, there will be greater uniformity in the outward aspect, as well as in the interior of the church of God. But we do not feel quite sure that the uniformity, with regard to external order, will be perfect and universal." Now we do beg to know what all this squeamishness amounts to. If the man honestly believes that the Presbyterian was the Apostolic, and "ought to be the universal

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The distinction of essential and non-essential, fundamental and extra-fundamental, we of course recognize as sound in this matter, as in all others. But we object to the vague use so often made of it on this subject, as if to stifle all inquiry and destroy the whole force of the Scriptural argument. We believe that those who rely on this distinction, are bound to show where the line runs; that reason needs the aid of revelation in determining its position; and that men are not at liberty to draw it any where and every where, as party preferences or prejudices may dictate. We demand—and it is all we ask—that, in the exercise of an assumed "discretionary power," churches and church officers shall be restricted at least by the fundamental principles of the inspired polity—that they shall not trench upon the established constitution, and so change the essential character, of the visible church of Christ.

And what are the fundamental principles of a church organization?—those which form its constitution, (as distinguished from its rules or by-laws,) and consequently determine its character as a society? The question admits of at least a partial answer, in which all can agree. If a complete enumeration of fundamentals were attempted, some might prefer a longer, and some a shorter list. But for our purpose it will suffice to mention two, about which (as lying at the very base of all) there can hardly be any dispute.

A church, being a corporation or society, is a person, i. e. has an organic personality, distinct from the individual personality of its constituent members. Now the character, and even the identity, of a person is determined more than by any other circumstances, or than by all others combined, by the matter which constitutes its sub-

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form," why not say so and have done with it? Why not imitate the frankness of his Episcopal brother, whom he is censuring, and whose worst fault appears to be that he believes Christians bound "to agree in one outward form of Christianity." What can the mighty difference be?

One more instance, which happens to be at hand:—"There is precept for the church, there is preceptive model for its form. There is divine right for its claim. And yet there may be grievous sin in observing either. If extraordinary circumstances in any land make another model better, [*if*, indeed! your *if* is a great peace-maker!] it is sin to prefer our church to that. We know these are delicate matters. The model that Christ left must not be lightly departed from, any more than there may be a departure lightly from the observance of the Sabbath day; but some departure, sometimes, is absolutely necessary, from either; and here is the wisdom of the saints, [!] to tell how or when."

Miller's design of the church, pp. 189, 191.

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stance and the voluntary principle which controls its action. This is true of natural persons. It is true of legal persons, or societies. It is true of churches. So that, if there is any thing whatever fundamental in the organization of a church, it is involved in the answer to these two questions: 1. Who shall be its members? And 2. Whose will shall be the corporate will? Or, in other words, who shall have the ultimate control, and bear the responsibility, of the church-action? Two churches which respond differently to both or either of these questions, are societies fundamentally dissimilar; and, as must be obvious to all, whatever common names they may bear, or whatever mutual courtesies they may interchange, cannot affiliate (in any proper sense or with any moral propriety) by ecclesiastical or ministerial communion. Now it is these and like fundamental diversities which (and which only) are destructive of the visible unity of the church, and against which we protest; and therefore when we maintain that the Apostolic constitution is binding on all churches in all ages, we are willing to be understood as meaning at least thus much: that no church (and still more, no "chief ruler," either in church or state,) is at liberty to alter the original terms of church-membership, or to make any other than the Apostolic disposition of the rights and responsibilities of church-sovereignty.

To be yet more explicit. Among the multitude of sects into which Protestant Christendom has become split up, some recognize the right of visible church-membership as belonging exclusively to true believers—the members of Christ's mystical body, the church invisible. In order to admission, therefore, they require not only a voluntary profession of penitence and faith, but the fruits thereof, satisfactory and continued evidence of regeneration. Others concede the right of membership to believers and their (infant) children.* Others extend it to the children of all visible church-members, including among the latter not only spiritual Christians, but those who having been baptized in infancy, have not fallen into actual apostacy or

* The infant seed of persons who are under the covenant [of grace], are themselves parties to it, are themselves members of the church. The fact is, that the church of God, with an exception before mentioned, ever has been, and is now, propagated by hereditary descent."

Mason's Essay on the church, No. III.

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outbreaking sin.* Corresponding differences prevail as to the grounds of exclusion. It is obvious, that, in the course of a few generations, churches organized on such essentially dissimilar principles must come to consist of wholly dissimilar materials. Certainly no such diversity existed among the primitive churches; or should be tolerated now. Our doctrine is, that those which in this thing have departed from the inspired model, (and for our present argument it matters not which they are,) have lost their scriptural character, and are bound to retrace their steps. In this matter an outward unity is indispensable to any "substantial [i. e. practical and permanent] union," and imperatively demanded by all that is sacred in the authority of Christ.

Again, as to the seat of the church-sovereignty (in the sense already defined, the only sense in which it belongs at all to men,) we find three wholly distinct and irreconcilable systems among evangelical Protestants, viz. the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Congregational. These all agree in recognizing Christ as the one supreme Head and only source of human authority in the church; whose will his people must consult and obey in their collective, as well as in their individual conduct. They also agree, however, in representing the church as charged with certain solemn and perpetual responsibilities in the execution of his laws, as well for their own edification and discipline as for the extension of his kingdom over the earth; and as entrusted with corresponding powers, requisite for the discharge of those responsibilities. But they differ—and fundamentally differ—as to the specific disposition they make, within the church, of these obligations and accompanying powers.

Congregationalism vests the whole in the brotherhood, or associated body of believers in each Christian community—whom it represents, not merely as having the right, but (what is a far weightier consideration) as charged by divine appointment with the responsibility, of receiving or rejecting members, of judging offenders, of choosing and

*Our readers will remember the celebrated controversy, which agitated the New England churches, during much of the last century, respecting the "External or Half-way Covenant." In those churches, evangelical truth triumphed over constitutional consistency; but not so in the National Establishments of Protestant Europe, nor in some other communions.

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ordaining officers,—in short, of doing all that Christ has required his church to do, and of doing it too in strict accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Master's law.

Presbyterianism takes the power from the people, and, with all its tremendous responsibilities, lays it exclusively on the eldership. It teaches that "the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of church-officers;" and that "to these officers the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent, both by word and censures, and to open it unto penitent sinners, by the ministry of the gospel and by absolution from censures, as occasion shall require." (*Conf. of Faith, Ch.* xxx.) These church-officers it constitutes into successive courts of government and appeal, (as e. g. the Session, the Presbytery, the Synod, the General Assembly,) none of which are amenable to the congregation or brotherhood in any form or degree. "Their responsibility all flows upward towards the higher courts, until at last it terminates in a Synod or General Assembly, whence nothing returns to the ears of the people, but the sounds of authority and power." Surely nothing short of a divine requirement could justify such an appropriation of these sacred prerogatives; and under such a requirement, Presbyterianism proper professes to act.

Episcopacy goes still farther, and concentrates all ecclesiastical authority in the hands of a small part of the ministry. It teaches that "from the Apostles' time, there have been three orders of ministers in Christ's church, viz. Bishops, Priests and Deacons;" and that to the first is committed the whole power, both of ordination and jurisdiction, and the general oversight and government of the church. According to the strict Episcopal theory, the laity has no voice in these matters; while the priests and deacons derive their very limited and unimportant powers from Christ through the bishops.

We do not say that these representations of their respective schemes, would be adopted without modification by all Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians, whether individuals or churches. Into existing organizations, we know, details are often introduced, more or less inconsistent with the fundamental idea, on which they are

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based. We only claim to have exhibited the most distinctive characteristics of these several forms of polity, according to the most prevalent and generally received view of them; and those, which to a greater or less extent determine the essential character of existing church-organizations in Evangelical Christendom. The analogy which they severally bear to the three leading forms of civil polity, viz. Democracy, Oligarchy and Monarchy, has often been noticed, and is sufficiently obvious.*

And now we ask, are not these differences fundamental? Do they not pertain to the constitution, do they not affect the corporate personality of the church? Says the Congregationalist: we, the brethren are the church. Nay, responds the Presbyterian "office-bearer;" for all the purposes of church-action, *we the elders* are the church. Ye are both schismatics, exclaims the mitred prelate, *I* am the church.

Now, if Dr. Schmucker knows of any more "important outlines," any more fundamental principles of church-building, than are involved in these rival claims, we beg that he will specify them. Yet in the details of his plan, he pays no sort of attention to these distinctions, but calls upon Baptists and Pedobaptists, upon Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Congregationalists to unite in a scheme, which requires unrestricted ecclesiastical and ministerial communion, a free interchange of members, and an active coöperation for extending the church throughout the world. We do not hesitate to pronounce an equal interchange of members and ministers, between religious societies so differently constituted, a practical impossibility;

*In the American Episcopal church, the power of the bishops has suffered considerable curtailment; and a decided infusion of the popular element is observable in its whole constitution. This was doubtless a necessary deference paid to the strong democratic tendencies of our people, at the time of its adoption. In a perfectly similar manner, civil monarchies have been limited by successive grants made to the progressive demands of the subject, until a pure monarchy hardly exists among constitutional governments. The following classification of political constitutions, taken from the American Encyclopedia, (Art. Constitution,) would apply almost equally well to the form of church-polity mentioned. "1. *Democratic*, when the fundamental law guaranties to every citizen equal rights, protection and participation, direct or indirect, in the government. 2. *Aristocratic*, when the constitution establishes privileged classes, as the nobility and clergy, and either entrusts the government entirely to them, or allows them a very disproportionate share in it. 3. Of a *mixed* character. To this latter division belong certain monarchical constitutions, which recognize the existence of a king whose power is modified by other branches of government, of a more or less popular cast."

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while, as a basis of inter-communion, we have already declared our conviction that the scheme lacks the essential elements of moral propriety. It is a scheme, in which, however honestly entered upon, conscientious and consistent men of whatever belief, could not long remain united —one therefore, which must fall to pieces by its own weight, before it could accomplish any thing worthy of the trial.

We have been sufficiently explicit for our present purpose, as to what diversities of organization ought not, in our judgment, to remain among the churches of Christ.

We do not say, whether the apostolic churches were intended to consist of believers only, or of believers and their children, or of these and still other classes; nor whether they were Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Congregational in their polity: but we do say, they must have been constituted on one, and only one, of these plans; and that, whichever one it was, the churches must all return to and all maintain that, in order to be "perfect in one." If any one of these differing systems has the sanction of a divine appointment, the others must be wrong, unless divine authority can be shown for making the change; because the change affects the essential character of the Christian society, and necessarily destroys the original unity of the universal church.

But what are the grounds, on which these departures from the apostolic platform, these fundamental diversities of organization, are justified? Perhaps we cannot adopt a more satisfactory method of answering this question, than by subjecting to a careful analysis the arguments employed by two of the most distinguished and popular among the avowed apologists for this state of things. We select Whateley and Neander, as well on account of the fulness with which they have declared and defended their views, as of the authority of their names.

The ecclesiastical position of Archbishop Whateley has unquestionably had much to do in determining his judgment on this point. He is a distinguished prelate in the Church of England, and of course bound to sustain her authority as legitimate and binding. As a sound Protestant, he feels the importance of doing this on scriptural grounds; and, as an acute logician, on grounds not manifestly untenable. He writes therefore, as is every where

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obvious, with two classes of persons constantly in view, whom he regards as occupying opposite extremes of error; the first, those who set entirely at nought the national church and her enactments; the second, those who absurdly plead an apostolical sanction for all her peculiarities of organization and usage.*

He is himself too clear-sighted a student of the Scriptures, and withal too honest a man, to undertake the maintenance of this latter ground. He frankly abandons the claim of a *direct* apostolicity for much that belongs to his own church, and that rests entirely (as he admits) on her own authority; and he seems quite dissatisfied with those who advance it. The Doctor is probably not unmindful of what he has himself so acutely exposed, both in his Logic (B. III. § 18) and his Rhetoric (Pt. I. ch. III. § 7), viz. the danger which any cause, good or bad, suffers from being weakly advocated, and with arguments manifestly bad. Thus he writes (§ 18.)

"Those who on such grounds defend the institutions and ordinances, and vindicate the apostolical character, of our own (or indeed of any) church,—do seem to me, in proportion as they proceed on these principles, to be, in the same degree, removing our institutions from a foundation on a rock, to place them on sand. Instead of a clearly-intelligible, well-established, and *accessible* proof of divine sanction for the claims of our church, they would substitute one that is not only obscure, disputable, and out of the reach of the mass of mankind, but even self-contradictory, subversive of our own and every church's claims, and leading to the very evils of doubt, and schismatical division, which it is desired to guard against." And it is this severity against high-churchism, doubtless, which has secured to him so much admiration and praise, in certain quarters where, we may be sure, no sympathy is felt in the main design of his essay. For ourselves, we confess, we cannot rejoice in an assault upon error, until we are satisfied that it is made with the weapons of truth. The remedy which cures the disease by killing the patient, deserves but little of our gratitude. Towards the high-church argument on this subject, we shall not be

* *Kingdom of Christ, Ess. II.*, § 17, where he describes "the opposite errors at variance with his principles." Our references will all be to this Second Essay.

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suspected of cherishing any special affection; but we do regret that an attempt should be made to refute it in the popular mind, by overthrowing the only one of its premises which has the least claim to our respect:—we mean the great truth, that every institution which has come to us from the apostles—and no other—is of binding and perpetual authority in the church of Christ. Could such an attempt succeed, the consequences would be deplorable. But it cannot succeed. At that point, the high-church argument is invulnerable. There is the hiding of its power. That one grand truth, despite all the sickly sophistry and actual misrepresentation connected with it, gives dignity to their doctrine and weight to their influence. And we take leave to assure our brethren of every name, that if they would successfully assail this advancing error, it must be at a weaker point than the one they have selected, and from a more dignified position than that of a shambling and inconsistent indifferentism.

But what is the "rock" on which Dr. Whateley would "rest the ordinances of his church," in preference to the sandy foundation of an express apostolical sanction? We answer, in the fewest possible words, it is an *implied* warrant furnished by the Scriptures to every Christian society, to manage its affairs in its own way, so long as its institutions are *not at variance* with the express requisitions of the apostles.

Let it be observed, by the way, what Dr. W. means when he applies the term *scriptural*, as he continually does, to the Anglican scheme—following in this respect, as in the leading features of his view, the example of "Judicious Hooker." By observing carefully the words italicised above, it will be seen in how meagre a sense it deserves the name, according to his own representation. It is scriptural, not as being drawn from Scripture, but as being "not at variance," therewith, and established by authority "implied" therein. On the same ground, the Bible Society, or the Bank of England, might claim to be a scriptural institution. We might properly commend to the Doctor's reflections his own comments on this kind of scripturalness, when speaking in another part of the same essay (§ 26) respecting articles of faith. "Some persons while claiming reception for such and such confessions of faith, [*read* 'church-organizations,'—*Nomine mutato*, *de*

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te, etc.] declare continually and with much earnestness, that they are teaching nothing but what is '*conformable* to Scripture,' '*agreeable* to Scripture,' &c. And the unwary are often misled by not attending to the important distinction between this,—between what is simply *agreeable* to Scripture,—and what is *derived from* Scripture,—*founded* on it, and claiming no other authority. Our reformers do not maintain merely that the creeds which they receive are *agreeable* to Scripture; but that they are to be received *because they may be proved from Scripture.*" p. 168. And why should not the constitution of a Christian church be scriptural in as high a sense?

But defective as the warrant is, for which he contends, the manner in which he makes it out from the Scriptures is more unsatisfactory still. The process is twofold. The warrant is implied—

I. In what the Scriptures *contain.* For we find a sanction clearly given by Christ and his apostles to "a Christian society;" and consequently to "the inherent properties, which naturally and necessarily belong to every regularly-constituted society." Of these he mentions three, as "belonging to the very essence of a community, viz. that it should have first *Officers* of some kind; secondly, *Rules* enforced by some kind of penalties; and thirdly, some power of admitting and excluding persons as *Members.*" (§§ 1—7.)

It might be asked with some pertinency, is this all that the Scriptures contain? Is there nothing of a more specific character "sanctioned" there? Be that as it may, this is all that Dr. W., for the purposes of his argument, has found it "convenient" to notice; and from this he boldly infers *a divine warrant* for *whatever* Officers, Rules, and Terms of membership, any Christian society may see fit to adopt. That we may not do his reasoning any injustice, we will let him speak for himself, in a passage (§ 18) where he sums up briefly the whole of this branch of his argument.

"The rock on which I am persuaded our reformers intended, and rightly intended, to rest the ordinances of our church, is, the warrant to be found in the Holy Scriptures written by, or under the direction of those to whom our Lord had entrusted the duty of 'teaching men to observe all things, whatsoever he had commanded them.' For in

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those Scriptures we find a divine sanction clearly given to a regular Christian community,—a church. Now since, from the very nature of the case, every society must have officers appointed in some way or other, and every society that is to be permanent, a perpetual succession of officers, in whatever manner kept up, and must have also a power of enacting, abrogating and enforcing on its own members, such regulations or bye-laws as are not opposed to some higher authority, it follows inevitably (as I have above observed) that *any one who sanctions a society*, gives, in so doing, his sanction to those *essentials of a society*, its Government,—its Officers,—its Regulations. Accordingly, even if our Lord had not expressly said any thing about 'binding and loosing,' still the very circumstance of *his sanctioning a Christian community* would necessarily have implied his sanction of the *Institutions, Ministers, and Government of a Christian church*, so long as nothing is introduced at variance with the positive enactments and the fundamental principles laid down by himself and his Apostles." p. 116.

Now it is obvious to a moment's attention, that a fallacy is couched here in an ambiguous use of the little word *a*—which, small as it is, has proved a mote sufficient to blind the eye of "the acutest of living logicians." This article, as is seldom noticed, has a twofold signification, being sometimes equivalent to *a certain* one, and sometimes to *any* one.* Accordingly, in the expressions above italicised, we have our choice of two meanings, one of which agrees with facts, and the other of which suits the purpose of the argument. Thus:

(1.) The Scriptures sanction a (certain) Christian Society:—which is true, and which of course implies a sanction of "*its* government, *its* officers, and *its* regulations." Or,

(2.) The Scriptures sanction a (i. e. any) Christian society:—in other words, they sanction in general the formation of some regular religious community, but *not* one of a particular form:—which is not true, as Dr. W. himself shall shortly testify. Yet this is the sole basis for his conclusion in the only sense in which it is of the least value

* E. g. 1. Dr. Whateley has written *a* Treatise on Logic, i. e. *a certain* one. 2. *A* treatise on Logic, should be a work of science, i. e. *any* such treatise.

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to him, viz. that "the Institutions, Ministers, and Government of *any* Christian church are divinely sanctioned, so long as they do not expressly contravene Scripture." It would seem that Dr. W. must have been himself somewhat conscious of the inadequacy of this support. Otherwise he could hardly have allowed himself to be driveh to the strange expedient of inferring a scriptural warrant as he does,—risum teneatis amici—

II. From what the Scriptures *omit*. And here we must be pardoned for again quoting at some length the exact words of the ingenious author. Far apart from the possibility of misrepresenting, in attempting to abbreviate his argument, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of preserving in our pages so curious a specimen of logical subtlety—such a perfect *lusus dialecticæ*. Our readers, who are not already acquainted with the interesting essay from which we quote, will hardly know which most to admire, the liberality of *the bishop*, or the dexterity of *the casuist*—the very uncanonical frankness which acknowledges the absence of all scriptural authority for the usages of his church, or the exquisite adroitness which turns this very absence into an all-sufficient warrant for the same! His conclusion, to be sure, is equally good for all other churches of all other sorts; and this, we opine, may be the reason why the risibles of some we wot of, notoriously sensitive to the oddities of "prelatical" reasoning, have not been at all disturbed by this highly original and wholly unique specimen of that kind of thing.

"§ 8. It has often occurred to my mind that the generality of even studious readers are apt, for want of sufficient reflection, to fail of drawing such important inferences as they often might from the *omissions* occurring in any work they are perusing;—from its *not* containing such and such things relative to the subject treated of. And this is much more especially the case, when we are studying works which we believe to have been composed under divine guidance. For in the case of mere human compositions, one may conceive an author to have left out some important circumstances, either through error of judgment, or inadvertency, &c.

"I have set forth accordingly, in a distinct Treatise, these views respecting the *Omissions* in the Sacred Books

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of the New Testament, and the important inferences thence to be deduced. We seek in vain there for many things which, humanly speaking, we should have most surely calculated on finding. "No such thing is to be found in our Scriptures as a Catechism, or regular *Elementary Introduction* to the Christian Religion; nor do they furnish us with any thing of the nature of a systematic Creed, set of Articles, Confession of Faith, or by whatever other name we may designate a regular, complete compendium of Christian doctrines; nor, again, do they supply us with a Liturgy for ordaining Public Worship, or with forms for administering the Sacraments, or for conferring Holy Orders; nor do they even give any precise *directions* as to these and other ecclesiastical matters; any thing that at all corresponds to a Rubric, or set of Canons."

"Now these omissions present a complete moral demonstration that the Apostles and their followers must have been *supernaturally withheld* from recording great part of the institutions, instructions, and regulations, which must in point of fact have proceeded from them;—withheld, *on purpose* that other Churches, in other Ages and Regions, might not be led to consider themselves bound to adhere to several formularies, customs, and rules, that were of local and temporary appointment; but might be left to their own discretion in matters in which it seemed best to divine wisdom that they should be so left." pp. 74—78.

"§ 12. Now what did the Holy Spirit design us to learn from all this? . . . . . We may fairly infer, I think, that what is *essential* is to be found clearly laid down in Scripture; and that those points which either are wholly passed over in silence, (when they are such that we are certain from the nature of the case, the Apostles must have given *some* directions relative to them,) or are slightly mentioned, imperfectly described, and incidentally alluded to, must belong to the class of things either altogether indifferent, or so far non-essential in their character that it 'is not necessary (as our 34th Article expresses it) they should be in all places one and utterly alike;'—such, in short, that divine wisdom judged it best they should be left to the discretion of each church in each age and country.

It was designed, in short, that a church should have (as

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our 34th Article expresses it) 'authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies and rites resting on man's authority only so that all things be done to edifying; but that 'as no church ought to decree any thing *against* Holy Writ, so *besides* the same ought it not to enforce the belief of any thing as necessary to salvation.'" pp. 93—95.

This is the argument; which, being drawn out to the length of some forty pages, interspersed with many just and ingenious reflections, and animated throughout with the admirable spirit for which its author has been so long and justly distinguished, becomes a really plausible and impressive view. Though satisfied that a fallacy lurked within it somewhere, we should hardly have known what to do with it, had we not fortunately studied logic at Dr. W.'s own feet. Subjecting it to the tests which he has taught us to apply, we find it yielding the following results.

1. A most remarkable *Ignoratio Elenchi*, or irrelevant conclusion. The largest inference which his premise will justify, as he himself shows (p. 94), is, that "the points passed over in silence must belong to the class of things *indifferent*." But that is certainly something very different from what is asserted in "our 34th Article;" (which Dr. W. presents as an equivalent proposition;) that a church "has *authority to ordain* . . . ceremonies and rites resting on man's authority only." If the Holy Spirit saw fit to interpose by way of restraint, so as to prevent the apostles from enjoining these things (whatever they may be, that he alludes to,) as matters of religious obligation, by what superior authority, pray, does the church of England impose them on Christ's freemen, if *not* "as essential to salvation," yet as essential to their enjoying the full privileges of Christ's house? For the exercise of such high prerogatives, she should certainly have something better to show than a BLANK charter.

2. A glaring *petitio principii*. This fallacy Dr. W. has taught us (Logic, B. III. § 13) is frequently found in combination with the one just mentioned; and here he has shown us how to effect the union. We can hardly understand how so acute and honest a reasoner should fail to perceive, that, so far as his premise is true at all, it assumes the very thing to be proved, viz. the apostolicity of those features of the Anglican (or any other) scheme,

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which are not mentioned in the Scriptures. A very slight attention to his phraseology is sufficient to show, that it is not on the Scripture-*omission* that his conclusion actually rests, (*ex nihilo nihil fit,*) but on his own *assumption* that these things, or things of precisely the same nature, existed in the apostles' time. Thus he says (§ 9):

"It does seem to me perfectly incredible on any supposition but that of supernatural interference, that neither the Apostles nor any of their many followers should have committed to writing any of the multitude of particulars which we do *not* find in Scripture, and concerning which *we are perfectly certain the Apostles did give instructions*, relative to Church Government, the Christian Ministry, and Public Worship." p. 81.

And again—in the Appendix, Note (D):

"The question still recurs, why should not the Apostles or their followers have also committed to paper, *what we are sure must have been perpetually in their mouths*—regular instruction to Catechumens, Articles of Faith, Prayers, &c." p. 258.

And so throughout the entire discussion, the things omitted, and they are the same which a church has "authority to ordain," are uniformly described as "particulars which we might have most surely *calculated* on meeting with,"—"institutions and regulations which *must* in point of fact, have proceeded from them,"—"things which we are *certain* Paul, as well as the other apostles, 'set in order, when he came' to each church."

But on what evidence, pray, are we so very sure that such things were perpetually, or ever, in their mouths?—at least, any farther than they are actually laid down in Scripture? Beyond that, how does it appear that they are at all necessary to the being or the well-being of a church? That they are *theoretically* essential, Dr. W. will not claim; for he has himself taught us (p.94) that their omission proves their *non*-essentiality. Nor can it be said that they are *practically* essential; for probably no single institution of this (*non-scriptural*) kind can be named, as having been adopted by some one or more Christian churches, which some other Christian church has not got along very well without. Why not, then, the primitive churches also?

Conceding the entire force of Dr. W.'s general remark

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respecting the significance of silence under certain circumstances, we venture to inquire, whether the silence of all the apostles respecting "Creeds, Catechisms, Liturgy, Forms for administering Sacraments and conferring Holy Orders—any thing in short, that at all corresponds to a Rubric, or set of Canons"—a silence, we confess, most impressively profound—is not some proof that the apostles never mentioned, if indeed they ever thought of these things, as Church-institutions—i. e. as necessary to the complete and efficient organization of a Christian church. And does not their equally profound silence respecting the "authority of particular churches to ordain" such things, afford some ground to suspect that such authority was never given, nor intended to be given? We commend these queries to those who may be interested in investigating the significance of omissions.

3. A *non causa pro causa*, or, in plain English, a false premise. We deny the fact of omission, so far at least as the *fundamental* principles of organization, government and public worship are concerned.

It may indeed be said, that in this argument Dr. W. refers only to such minor details of *usage* as all admit to be variable. And it must be confessed, that, in the preliminary discussion of his principle, he seems to have had his eye fixed on "our 34th Article," which claims for the church "authority to ordain ceremonies and rites" merely. Had he stopped there, our difficulty, though not removed, would have been comparatively slight. But, as was observed of Dr. Schmucker, Mosheim and others, when he comes to *apply* his conclusion, it appears that he means to embrace all things in which his church, and other Christian bodies, are unlike the simple scriptural model—including not only usages, but organic constitutional principles. A single quotation will make this clear. In § 37, he speaks of the "Mistakes to which Reformers are liable, when compelled to separate."

"One is, to underrate the privileges of a Christian community, by holding themselves altogether debarred from the exercise of such powers as naturally and essentially belong to every community. They have an undoubted right, *according to the principles I have been endeavoring to establish*, to appoint such orders of Christian ministers, and to allot to each such functions, as they

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judge most conducive to the great ends of the Society; and they have a similar discretionary power with respect to Liturgies, Festivals, Ceremonies and whatever else is left at large in the Scriptures. . . . .

For instance, at the time of the great Reformation, some bodies of Christians found themselves without any Bishop among their number; and formed what we called Presbyterian churches. Some members accordingly of these churches have felt themselves called upon in self-defence to decry Episcopacy, as a form of Government not instituted by the Apostles, and, consequently, as one which all Christians are bound to reject. Erroneous as, I am convinced, their premise was, they were, on the above principles, still more erroneous in drawing that conclusion from it. Others of them again lamented their want of Episcopacy; considering that form of government as having the Apostolical sanction, and, consequently, as obligatory and indispensable to be retained when possible; &c. . . . . .

Now that all these parties are mistaken in their views, must be evident to any one who embraces the principles which in the outset I endeavored to establish. *It follows from these principles*, that the bodies of Christians we have been speaking of *had full power* to retain, or to restore, or *to originate* whatever form of church-government they, in their deliberate and cautious judgment, might deem best for the time and country and persons, they had to deal with; whether exactly similar or not to those introduced by the Apostles; provided nothing were done *contrary* to Gospel-precepts and principles. . . . . And though their decisions ought to have been very greatly influenced by their belief as to what were the forms adopted by the Apostles, (which must have been not only wise, but the very wisest for those times and persons,) they had no reason to hold themselves absolutely bound to adhere, always and every where, to those original models. pp. 212—217.

Indeed the very limitations which Dr. W. any where assigns to this large discretionary power in the church, are the two mentioned in the church-article referred to, viz. that "as no church ought to decree any thing *against* Holy Writ, so *besides* the same ought it not to enforce the belief of any thing as *necessary to salvation.*" Of the

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value of the first, we have quoted Dr. W.'s own estimate on pp. 15, 16. Of the last we wish to say, that it is no concession on the part of the church, that she does not enforce a belief in her non-scriptural enactments as necessary to *salvation*, so long as she does enforce *submission* to them as essential to the *enjoyment of church-privileges*.

So long therefore, as a church retains "Officers, Rules, and some power to admit and exclude members,"—the three "inherent properties of every society,"—she is divinely authorized, according to Dr. W., to have *what* officers, *what* rules, and *what principles* of admission and exclusion may to herself, or her "chief rulers," seem best. And that, on the ground that the Scriptures are silent on these points. We deny the premise. On all these points the Scriptures speak—speak fully—speak intelligibly—speak differently from the requirements and practices of the English church, and, more or less, of most, if not all, of the churches in Christendom. In proof of which, an appeal to the Scriptures being now precluded, we beg leave to adduce, in addition to all that we said in our former article, and as an illustration of the increasing unanimity of scholars,* the testimony of Archbishop Whateley himself.

"§ 20. . . . For it is certain that our own institutions and practices (and the like may be said, I apprehend, of every other church in the world) though *not*, we conceive, *at variance* with any apostolical injunctions, or with any gospel principle, are, in several points, not precisely coincident with those of the earliest churches. . . . . And [after mentioning several particulars of dissimilarity, some questionable and others unquestionable, some trivial and some fundamental, he proceeds:] other points of difference might be added.

Now to vindicate the institutions of our own, or of some other church, on the ground that they "are not in themselves superstitious or ungodly,"—that they are "not at variance" with gospel-principles, or with any divine

* "The active controversy in which the subject has been involved, although it has not reconciled conflicting opinions, has brought out the historical facts in their fullest clearness. The able and candid on opposite sides can scarcely be said to differ as to the facts themselves; but they differ in their estimate of them." —*F. W. Newman, in Kitto's Cyclopedia, Art. Bishop.*

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injunction that was designed to be of universal obligation, is intelligible and reasonable. But to vindicate them on the ground of the exact conformity, *which it is notorious they do not possess*, to the most ancient models, ... does seem—to use no harsher expression,—a little inconsistent and unreasonable." pp. 130—132.

Other passages might be cited, but we must be brief. From all, we gather that Dr. W. is after all aware that the inspired account of the primitive church contains some things definite, as well as some things general—exhibits not merely certain abstract "principles" of church-building, but not a few of the "precise modes of application," which it seemed good unto the Holy Ghost by the apostles to ordain. He has himself mentioned several particulars *contained* in the Scriptures, and would doubtless admit that the list might be greatly extended. So far as all these are concerned, his argument from *omissions* proceeds on a false assumption.

But enough. We should not have devoted so much attention to this essay, were it not for the almost unqualified approval with which it has been received by all except High-churchmen, and the extensive influence it is doubtless exerting in favor of the insidious error against which we contend. The whole argument we think exceedingly loose and inconclusive, and altogether unworthy of its distinguished author—or only worthy of him, as indicating the exceeding skill with which he can "make the worse appear the better reasoning." To hide a single fallacy in a single argument is a sufficient undertaking for a man of ordinary ingenuity; but Dr. W. can hide three. Let him have the credit of it. But let not the cause he advocates be strengthened by such reasoning. An argument which combines within itself all three of the "Non-logical or Material Fallacies,"—the irrelevant conclusion, the begging of the question, and the undue assumption—the Dr. himself must allow to be the "Inverse Contradictory" of that "threefold cord which is not easily broken;" and must certainly prove a rope of sand to sustain the many weighty matters which he has caused to hang thereby. We submit the case, therefore, to "wise men—judge ye." Is the scriptural warrant made out, from anything in, or anything out of, the Bible? Is the church of England "founded on a rock," as Dr.

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W. undertook to show? Or any of our churches, so far as they abandon the basis of actual apostolical institutions, and construct platforms for themselves? Is it proved beyond all reasonable doubt, that "the churches severally are authorized by the Great Head of the church to adopt *any* convenient Constitution and Rules;" or that the polity of the primitive churches is not binding in all places to the end of time?

It is with unaffected respect and love that we write the name—clarum et venerabile nomen—of Neander. No individual has done more than he "to discern and bring forth to light the primitive Church Catholic," * as it is drawn out in the writings of the evangelists and apostles. Uniting a profound insight and an imagination of exceeding power to habits of severe and patient research, extensive learning, and an ardent love of truth, he has almost reproduced the apostolic times on his gleaming page. Some of the most important questions respecting the actual polity of the apostolic churches, it may with confidence be asserted, he has set forever at rest; and made it difficult for any scholar to revive many fond conceits, which in former times were much relied on in attempts to support the various ecclesiastical systems by the Scriptures. Henceforth it will be more necessary than ever for some of us to claim "discretionary power" for our churches to depart, as convenience may dictate, from the primitive model. Neander himself has felt the pressure of this difficulty, connected as he is with a church-establishment which differs very widely from that model, as he himself has delineated it out of the New Testament.

The points of contrast between the ancient and the modern system are too numerous and too manifest to escape attention; and the historian must trace a path of legitimate transition from the one to the other, or write, in the truthful narrative of the apostolic age, his own condemnation and that of this generous foster-mother, from whose bosom he drew the earliest nourishment of his Christian life, and at whose hands he has since received so many tokens of confidence and regard.

Neander's view and his mode of exhibiting it, are quite unlike those of Whateley, and equally characteristic of the

* D' Aubigné.

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author. In his sentiments, we find nothing that wears a paradoxical form; and in the statement of his reasonings, none of that sharpness of outline or that formal, almost rigid, accuracy of method, which in Dr. W. so strongly marks the practised logician. His doctrine, however, is none the less definite or intelligible. The historical form of his composition, indeed, for the most part, forbids its appearing as a dogma, to be sustained by proof and defended against objections. Yet even in his historical works, we cannot mistake his meaning. The favorite idea is seen running through the whole. It meets us in his introductions, and attends us to the close. It colors his representation of every important transaction affecting the outward manifestations of Christianity, whether in the individual or in the church. So that none of us were at all taken by surprise, when in the brief Introduction which he lately furnished to Rev. Mr. Coleman's work on the Primitive Church, he formally announced and attempted to sustain his opinion.

It is not to be supposed in his case, any more than in that of Dr. W., that the exigencies of his ecclesiastical position would *consciously* bias his judgment. As might be anticipated of any error which could find admission to such a mind, his view involves an element of the most noble and precious truth; and it is not at all difficult to trace the process by which this truth, seen out of its proper connections and apart from its needful qualifications, has passed into a practical error.

Finding a distinction every where insisted on in the New Testament between the mere form of godliness and its inward life and power, and particularly in the writings of Paul, between the ancient economy as a system of outward observances "which could never make the comers thereunto perfect," and the new as a dispensation of the Spirit "giving life," the truly pious mind of Neander has grasped this cardinal idea, and dwelt upon it until it stands out in his view as the one grand, distinctive, and all-comprehending characteristic of the gospel. Through the entire history of the post-apostolic church and in the existing condition of European Christendom, he sees illustrated in a thousand melancholy ways the disposition of men, particularly in a worldly church, to lose sight of these distinctions and to "prefer the shell to

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the kernel, cleaving to the letter and external forms, without any development and appropriation of the Spirit."* Not stopping to inquire how far this disposition is fostered and increased by the imposing schemes of human device which have taken place of the simple forms of primitive Christianity, he seems to regard this as the crying sin of our depraved nature; and feels it to be his special mission, as a Christian historian, to bear constant and earnest testimony against it. Looking at the subject always from this one point of view, and exerting the energies of head and heart continually in the same direction, he would have been more than man if he had not carried the idea too far, particularly when all the associations of his own religious life, and all the circumstances of his own beloved church, in more ways than one, favor a one-sided and extreme view.

Thus has it happened to Neander, whose doctrine on this subject may fairly be stated in this way: in Christianity, the essence is every thing, the form nothing. Surely this is no wide departure from the New Testament doctrine, that the form without the essence is nothing—that the essence gives all its value to the form,—and one into which a perfectly honest and highly enlightened mind might, under such circumstances, be betrayed. But narrow as the difference is, we see at once that it is enough. Narrow as it is, it is sufficiently broad to "cover a multitude of sins"—to cover all sins of form whatever, to blot out the very idea of a right and wrong, in all matters of external mode and organization. For "where no law is, there can be no transgression." We do not hesitate to pronounce this the legitimate force of Neander's representations on this subject. Their strength can hardly be overstated. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty,"—not merely in Paul's sense, of deliverance from the condemnation of the moral, and slavery of the ceremonial law—but absolute emancipation from all law relating to visible forms,—liberty, in short, to manifest the Spirit of life that is in us, in any way, or in no way, as may accord with the dictates of our own enlightened understandings and renovated hearts. This doctrine of

* Hist. of Plant. and Train. of Ch. (Philad. 1844,) p. 37. Comp. Introd. to Coleman's Prim. Ch. p. 14.

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Christian freedom suits well the mental habits of a German recluse,—an enthusiastic spiritualist, in a country where the ideal so generally predominates in men's minds over the practical. But are the disciples of Christ in this country prepared to receive it, and its consequences? Are they anxious to claim liberty to this extent, and willing to sustain its responsibilities?

But does he never exhibit the proper qualifications of his doctrine? We believe honestly, never. He has embraced it fully, and teaches it clearly, consistently and without compromise. It would certainly be impossible to exhibit the facts pertaining to the primitive development of the church with Neander's fidelity, without occasional passages in the narrative, and the casual use of expressions, which really imply a contradiction to the idea in this exaggerated form; but in such passages and phrases, there is no evidence that he is conscious of their bearing on his favorite idea. At times, under the pressure of his facts, he seems on the point of making the necessary restrictions, and of apprising his reader, that, while there dwells in Christianity a Divine Spirit which gives it all its value and dignity, all its excellence and power, God at the same time hath prepared for it, as he did for its adorable author, a body also; and that in no way so suitably, so freely, so gloriously can this Divine Spirit develop and manifest itself to the praise of the glory of his grace, as through the medium of this divinely-constituted Form; but he always stops short of the good confession, and leaves *this side* of the truth involved in mists and darkness; not purposely, but because his page faithfully mirrors the condition of his mind. Sometimes he goes no farther than to urge that the spirit of religion, in manifesting itself outwardly, must necessarily take on *some* form, but says nothing of a choice of forms. Sometimes he dwells a little on the superior adaptedness of the apostolic economy, as compared with other schemes, to exhibit certain characteristics of true religion; but carefully refrains from such a recognition of the Apostle's *authority* in this connection as would render those departures from their plan any thing worse than errors of judgment, about which after all there might very naturally be differences of opinion, and, very legitimately, differences of practice. Against one system of human ori-

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gin, he does indeed invariably and very faithfully protest, viz., the despotism of the Romish hierarchy; but his chief objection against that appears to be,—not that it sets up a *false and unscriptural standard* of unity for the universal church,—but that it requires *unity at all*, instead of allowing a free development of religion under any and all forms.

In illustration of these remarks, take a single passage, in which he goes as far as in any that we remember, towards recognizing the importance of the outward form:

"Every church, being a society for establishing and extending the kingdom of God,—a union for the avowal of the same faith in word and work, for the mutual confirmation and animation of this faith, for communion, and for the mutual furtherance of that higher life—being, I say, a union for these most lofty aims, must obtain a form and consistence adapted to them; for without this form, nothing can continue to exist among men. Christian churches stood especially in need of such an established order, since they must develop themselves and make their progress in a world so foreign to them, and under the influence of such various sources of threats and disturbance, or at least of affliction. In them, as in every society, a certain government and conduct of the common interests must exist. That form of government must have corresponded best to the spirit of Christianity and the purposes for which churches were formed, which was calculated the most to further their free development from within outwards, and also the most to further the collected and mutual efficacy of all individual powers and gifts. The monarchical form of government would have too much tendency to repress and overwhelm the free development of different peculiarities, and to introduce a system by which *one* definite human form should be stamped on every thing, instead of allowing the spirit free choice to develop itself under a variety of human forms, and these mutually to lay hold of each other."—*Hist. of Chris. Rel. etc.* (*Phil.* 1843,) p. 105.

Now all this is very well, so far as it goes. And it would be easy to show how strongly it makes in favor of the universal and perpetual preservation of the simple popular form of the primitive church, as better adapted than any other, whether "monarchical" or aristocratic, to "the spirit of Christianity and the purposes for which

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churches were formed." Neander, however, evidently makes no such use of it, but merely infers a condemnation of "the monarchical form," (with his eye manifestly on the church of Rome,*) as tending to "stamp one human form on every thing,"—his objection, however, being not to the *humanness* of the form, but to its *oneness*.

We think, therefore, that we have not overstated Neander's fundamental idea. Let us see how consistently he carries it out, and to what consequences it leads him. If external organizations are matters of entire moral indifference, it must be because none has ever received the direct and special sanction of God. Accordingly he teaches that "the Christian church is (not a divine institution, but) a *self-development* out of the peculiarities of Christianity;"† and that the apostolic church was established by God in the same sense only, in which "at any later period he may be said to have established *any* form of church government which has arisen out of a series of events according to the direction of the divine providence, and is organized and governed with regard [i. e. with the general *spirit* of submission] to the Lord's will."‡ This is going no farther than consistency requires; yet among the many excellent men who, in our own evangelical churches, praise Neander and his doctrine, we hear no public avowal of this part of it. We are curious to learn their *private* opinion. Does Mr. Coleman, for instance, who publishes this language of Neander with so much apparent satisfaction, himself adopt it? Does he regard the Scottish church, or the Presbyterian church of America, as having been "established by God"—as the apostolic churches were?

Again, Neander believes the self-development of the Christian church to have been progressive, not merely through the age of inspiration, but down to the present time. He observes, (what is unquestionably the fact,) that under Christ and his Apostles, "it was the custom of Christianity to appropiate to its own use existing forms,

* By the way, if all forms are so purely indifferent, why condemn the "monarchical?" Cannot the life and power of Christianity manifest under a despotism also; so that a *good* church of Rome would be exactly as good as any other church?

† Hist. Chris. Rel. p. 102.

‡ Introd. to Coleman's Prim. Church, p. 16.

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when it found any which suited its spirit and essence,"—such e. g. as those of the Jewish Synagogue;* and he sees no objection to continuing the process under the guidance of mere human wisdom. Nay, he distinctly affirms that "Christianity may enter into all human institutions, that contain nothing that is sinful by its very nature;" and this, as the context explains in the sense of appropriating them to its own use, incorporating them into its own organization and polity.† Indeed why may it not, if the form is morally indifferent—if nothing of an external kind is divinely appointed?

This is his celebrated doctrine of "the historical development of the church," which, as every one will see, is, in church-polity, as comprehensively convenient as Pope's doctrine in morals. "Whatever *is*, is RIGHT," is an end to all controversy, it must be confessed; but alas, alas, it is quite as fatal to all penitence and all reform.

In the application of his doctrine he advances boldly until he reaches—the Papacy; whereat he seems somewhat inconsistently to stagger. As thus:—Under the Harbinger, the church existed merely in an embryo state. During the personal ministry of our Lord, the germ assumed a determinate, though imperfect, form, and gave signs of incipient expansion. Beneath the quickening effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, it burst upon the world, an infant community, and commenced its regular growth. Thenceforward one feature after another of this spiritual society, this communion of saints and church of the living God, is brought to view, in the inspired record of apostolic acts, until the age of inspiration closes and the canon of Holy Scripture is complete. Thus far we accompany our guide with the greatest delight—not that we look on his interpretations as free from all imperfection, but as contributing the aid of one more honest and truly philosophical mind to the elucidation of that Volume, to which we look as the only safe guide in religious opinion and practice. There then it stands—the apostolic church—in the clear light of God's own Word—fully developed, and just as it was left by those who shaped it by express authority from Christ and under the

* Hist. Chr. Rel. p. 105. † Ibid. p. 117.

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guidance of his Spirit—a system exceedingly simple and yet perfectly complete,—self-consistent in all its parts,—harmonious, free and powerful in its action,—admirably suited, as Neander himself cannot fail to observe with delight, to the manifestation of the divine life in the church and its diffusion through the world,—and, as we shall take the liberty of adding, equally well adapted to all times and circumstances, because based on the most fundamental principles of the human mind, and expressive of the most essential nature of the gospel.

But with Neander the work of development is but just begun. It is a significant circumstance, that in his "History of the Christian Religion," when passing over from the period of inspiration to the following age, he finds no line of demarcation sufficiently distinct and important to occasion even a division between two chapters of his work. The stream of outward events glides smoothly on; and for once the great historian of the inward glides, all-unsuspicious, with it. Changes occurred under the eye of the apostles; and after the apostles are dead, changes do not cease—that is historically certain. Why should they? The law of the church is self-development according to "circumstances." Very soon, therefore, the influence of circumstances begins to be seen, at first but slightly and in an exceedingly innocent form, but afterwards, as men become wiser in this fascinating art of church-building, with more rapidity and boldness. Modifications soon cease to be slight—soon very plainly cease to be innocent. The prelatical Bishop appears. The Diocesan system develops itself, and expands into the Metropolitan; until finally, somewhere, we think, within "the first centuries," the church of Christ has matured into—what? A full-grown Pope, sitting, as he assures us, in St. Peter's chair,—probably the only one alluded to in Scripture, that in which Peter sat and warmed himself, when he denied his Master with oaths,—with his foot on the neck of Christian Europe! Surely, well may Neander exclaim, "this system" is beginning to "obtain somewhat too great a sway."* Yet let him remember, it is the same system, to which, in its inception, he gives his sanction and approval. It is the

* Hist. Chr. Rel. p. 117.

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system of departing from the inspired model; and if it may begin, who is competent to say, just how far it shall proceed ?*

Still the historical development goes on. The church's foot grows greater and heavier; and Christian Europe groans and pleads, but groans and pleads in vain, until the agony of the pressure overcomes her fear of the oppressor. With one huge effort she overturns chair, church, Pope and all, and goes on her way rejoicing. But how is it with the church? Here is a new set of "circumstances," to be sure; and we may look for a new stage in her "historical development." When she went down, amid the smoke and dust of the Reformation, it was in the form of Hierarchy, or Pope; she reappears in the form of—SECT, whose surname is *Legion*, and whose spirit—of a very equivocal paternity. In this shape—

> If shape it may be called, which shape has none
> Distinguishable in member, joint or limb;
> Or substance may be called, which shadow seems,
> For each seems either:—

she continues until the present time.

What now, we ask of our venerated Mentor, are we to say of all these things? Why, he answers, hold fast to "the fundamental distinction between the Old and the New economy. . . Neither Christ nor the apostles have given any unchangeable law on the subject. . . The coming together in his name alone renders the assembly well-pleasing in his sight, whatever be the different forms under which his people meet. . . All else is mutable. . . . Forms may change with every change of circumstances."† This is his language. In other words, so far as modes of organization, discipline and worship are concerned, all are right, because none can be wrong—

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* "But here let every one behold the just and dreadful judgment of God meeting with the audacious pride of men, that durst offer to mend the Ordinances of Heaven. God out of the strife of men brought forth by his Apostles to the church that beneficent and ever distributing Office of Deacons, the Stewards and Ministers of Holy Alms: Man out of the pretended care of peace and unity, being caught in the snare of his impious boldness to correct the will of Christ, brought forth to himself upon the church that irreconcilable Schism of Perdition and Apostacy, the Roman Antichrist; for that the exaltation of the Pope arose out of the reason of Prelaty, it cannot be denied."

MILTON'S *Reason of Ch. Government*, B. 1, c. 6.

† Introd. Prim. Church, pp. 14—16.

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always saving and excepting that monstrous Pope-church, wherein it must be confessed "the system obtained too great sway," and also excepting any form which claims to be of divine appointment and perpetual obligation, for *that* is incompatible with the "fundamental distinction."

We have left ourselves but little space to reply, but our answer is a short one. It is this. THE AUTHORS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH-POLITY WERE INSPIRED MEN. They, AND THEY ONLY, acted in this matter with the authority of Christ and the wisdom of the Holy Ghost. It follows,

1. That the primitive church-polity must be wiser and better than any we can substitute in its place. Neander expressly admits, that "they gave this particular organization to the church under the guidance of the Spirit of God;" and that therefore it must have been the "best adapted to the circumstances and relations of the church at that time."* And under what guidance shall we of the present times attempt to improve it? Mark his answer. "*That same spirit* which is imparted to us, through the intervention of the apostles, will at all times and under all possible relations direct to the most appropriate and most efficient form of government, if in humility and sincerity we surrender ourselves up to its teaching and guidance!"† We need not argue this point. We simply ask the followers of Neander in this thing—those in our own churches—on which horn of the dilemma do you propose to hang? In organizing the church of Christ, was the inspiration of the apostles of no higher order than ours, or may we attain a kind and degree not inferior to theirs?

2. That the primitive church-polity, and that only, has the sanction of divine authority. Here again we are sustained by Neander's own testimony. "In making these appointments, they acted as they did in every thing else, only as the organs of Christ. Paul, therefore, very justly ascribes to Christ himself what was done by his apostles, in this instance, as his agents."‡ Can any thing be more decisive of the question at issue? For, surely, the apostolical authority has not also descended to subsequent times. Even piety, in its loftiest attainments, can-

* Introd. Prim. Church, p. 16.
† Ibid. p. 18. ‡ Ibid. p. 15.

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not claim to be invested with prerogatives like theirs. It becomes therefore a very curious question, how a pious Protestant, in this nineteenth century, can reconcile such an acknowledgment of the apostles' authority with the entire subversion and removal of their institutions. Neander's mode is two-fold, as follows:

First, *negatively.* "The apostles themselves have given no law, requiring that any such form of government should be perpetual." To which it is a sufficient answer, that they have given no permission to introduce any other. But we go farther. Is not the apostolic authority, in its very nature, not only perpetual and universal, but exclusive? How runs the commission? All power, saith our Lord, is given unto ME in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach *all nations*, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with YOU *alway, even unto the end of the world.*" To whom else has he ever used such language, or they in his name? To no man. If therefore, the apostles, when they established the order of God's house and taught his people how to behave themselves therein, felt called upon to show "proofs of Christ speaking in them," let him that demands or defends a departure from their institutions, show similar credentials. If divine authority is required to establish, divine authority is required to alter or annul. "There is no prohibition,"—"It is *not* written: ye shall *not*,"—is surely insufficient. Two negatives in such a matter are not equal to an affirmative.

In the second place, *positively.*

"The apostles stand as the medium of communication between Christ and the whole Christian church, to transmit his word and his Spirit through all ages. In this respect the church must ever continue to acknowledge her dependence upon them, and to own their rightful authority. Their authority and power can be delegated to none other. But the service which the apostles themselves sought to confer, was to transmit to men the word and the spirit of the Lord, and by this means to establish *independent communities.* These communities, when once established, they refused to hold in a state of slavish dependence upon themselves. Their object was, in the

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spirit of the Lord, to make the churches free, and independent of their guidance. To the churches their language was, 'Ye beloved, ye are made free—be ye the servants of no man.' The churches were taught to govern themselves."—*Introd. to Colem. Prim. Church*, p. 19.

We accept this statement of facts as substantially correct. But is this an argument to justify all forms of church-organization which have "arisen at any time out of a series of events," (in which series of events, be it remembered, a deliberate act of the popular will has *never* been an item,) and four-fifths of which say to the people, "Ye beloved, ye are made *not* free; ye cannot, shall not govern yourselves?" On the one hand, the churches have not adopted these unscriptural constitutions, but, as Mosheim with great simplicity intimates, "their chief rulers, both in church and state," have imposed them. Who clothed *them* with authority? On the other hand, *had* they adopted them, which is hardly a supposable case, they would therein have acted in direct violation of that apostolic injunction which Neander quotes. For, suppose it had been the design of the apostles, as the organs of Christ, to establish his church forever on an independent and popular basis, and to enjoin her, with apostolic authority, never to abandon that basis, never to relinquish the sacred privilege, nor hope to escape the solemn responsibility, of self-government, never in short to submit to a "monarchical" or oligarchical form of church-domination,—what other course could they have taken than just the one described: first, to organize such communities as they did organize, and then to say, "Ye are made FREE—be ye servants to no man?"

We feel therefore that this attempt to invalidate the authority of the apostles in respect to the organization of the church, is a failure; and confidently reject the theory of "historical development" which rests upon it. We reject, too, the idea that lies at the bottom of all this dangerous speculation—that in Christianity the outward form is nothing, while we adhere with tenacity to the great New Testament truth, that the form without the essence, like the body without the spirit, is dead and worthless. Nay, we aver, that, as respects the manifestation of Christianity to the world, *the form is* EVERY THING—not merely *a* form, but just that specific form which is adapt-

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ed to give an unimpeded and unimpaired expression of its essential spirit. On this principle, it lies on the face of the sacred record, the apostles of our Lord proceeded. Their institutions are demonstrably constructed just so as most effectually to answer that purpose; and if they were not, if we could not perceive their appropriateness and excellence, we should be none the less bound to receive them in submission to the authority which established them.

But we must close. It has been our aim to give to the views of these eminent men a fair but thorough examination. We regard them as having furnished eminently favorable specimens of the kind of reasoning, by which a discretionary power is claimed for the churches to adopt constitutions for themselves, regardless of the primitive model. We feel warranted now in pronouncing such representations unsound and dangerous. They are treason to Protestantism—to the Bible—to Christ and the Holy Spirit. Our words are weighed. We know full well that it is zeal against the Papacy, and the High-Church Episcopalians, which urges men to these extremes. That zeal, so far as it is tempered with justice and charity, be it far from us to condemn. But can they without criminality forget that the hosts of Infidelity and Rationalism are pressing on the other side? To repel the assaults of those sickly enthusiasts, who fight against the whole spirit of our times, like so many Don Quixotes, clad in the cast-off armor and wielding the cumbrous weapons of a defunct age, will they tear down the defences of inspiration and apostolical authority, and leave the very citadel of Truth open to the approaches of a wily and accomplished foe, who boasts already of having in his possession some of the strongest holds of sacred learning, and whose myrmidons lurk in the habitual modes of thinking of half our educated men? By the same kind of reasoning as that which is employed on this subject by evangelical men, we would undertake to prove, that there are no specific articles of faith, no outward acts of worship, no peculiar Christian, as distinguished from moral, duties, binding on the conscience of a disciple of Christ because taught in the Bible; and that the apostles of our Lord were endowed with no preternatural gift or divine authority to determine what is true or false, what is right or wrong in religion—

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at least, with none that is not possessed in common by all good men. Amen, says the infidel. Yea, verily, saith the Quaker.

Madison University. J. H. R.

ARTICLE II.

A Sermon of Chrysostom's, translated, with Introductory Remarks.

By H. J. Ripley, Professor in the Newton Theol. Institution.

[Chrysostom was the most distinguished preacher of the ancient Greek church. His original name was John. In consequence of his remarkable eloquence, the surname Chrysostom (golden mouthed), has been appropriated to him since the year 636; probably, from an earlier date. He was born about the year 347, at Antioch, in Syria, where the principal part of his public life was spent. He was subsequently transferred to the archbishopric of Constantinople. Falling under the displeasure of the imperial family, and incurring the ill will of some powerful men, both in church and state, he was, greatly to the grief of the Christian community at large, deposed from his office and condemned to exile. He died in banishment in the year 407.

He was singularly gifted by nature with oratorical endowments, and enjoyed an uncommonly good education, both general and professional. His preaching was distinguished for its practical character, its perfect clearness, its directness and point, its exuberance and appropriateness of illustration, and its adaptation to the existing circumstances of his hearers.

His discourses may be distributed into two sorts, comprising respectively those which are, for the most part, commentaries on the Scriptures, and those which more nearly approach to our idea of a sermon. The former present a running commentary on the successive clauses of a passage, until some particular thought comes to occupy the author, on which he enlarges diffusely and elo-

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quently, and, in the greater number of instances, thus terminates his address. This thought is very variously connected with the verse, or clause, on which he is commenting; for he by no means confines himself within very strict limits in regard to the topic on which he chooses to enlarge. The latter class, which may be called sermons, includes those which are not so various in their topics, as not having the character of commentaries. Still, they are not properly discussions of a subject, nor does the author restrict himself to a regular consecutive train of thought. I have chosen to call the following production a sermon, because it belongs to the latter class. It has the name, in the author's printed works, both of *homilia* and of *concio*.

Among the more considerable of his discourses, is a series of seven on Lazarus and the Rich Man. Though bearing the title, *On Lazarus*, they are not strictly confined to the elucidation, or the enforcement, of the parable, but take a considerably wide range. Lazarus, however, is still kept in sight, and a connection between the topics introduced and this individual, is observed. Nor are those discourses which more directly relate to the parable to be conceived of as discussions, or the unfolding of principles accompanied with their doctrinal and practical applications. They are rather vivid pictures, suited to attract and fix attention, and to lead insensibly to a serious contemplation of religious truth. To modern readers they may seem too diffuse and protracted; there is too much repetition; and occasionally weariness is felt. When, however, we regard them as discourses delivered, at intervals, to assemblies embracing, in many instances, hearers who were not present on preceding occasions, and when we consider the character of such a population as Antioch contained, we can readily account for their popularity, and cannot but regard them as well adapted to the preacher's aim of exciting his hearers' attention to their spiritual concerns, and of confirming professed Christians in their adherence to the gospel.

Of these seven discourses, the one here translated is the fifth. It does not properly belong to the series, so far as the main subject is concerned. But in order to prevent satiety, without wholly turning aside from the subject of the series, and to employ for immediate benefit ideas

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which had somehow impressed his mind, he introduced it into the series, on the ground of its resembling the others in exhibiting the future life as the chief object of solicitude. It dwells on the continued existence of deceased persons as a ground of consolation to the bereaved. The author aimed to impress the truly Christian idea of death as only a departure to another world, a change of state, not the extinction of being, or an eternal farewell to life. By impressing this idea, he also sought to reform the practice which existed in Antioch, among the Christians as well as among the heathen Greeks, of excessive lamentation at the death of friends. In prosecuting his purpose, he does not undertake by reasoning to prove the doctrine of immortality, but assumes it as admitted by his hearers; and proceeds at once, by various illustrations, to produce a vivid feeling of this truth, to meet the various thoughts which might neutralize its power in a bereaved person's mind, and to present examples of worthy conduct under bereavement.

Like a true orator, he seized and urged the precise topics which were adapted to his particular audience, however inferior in strength they might be, in an abstract view of the case, or in other circumstances than those which then actually existed, and which were felt by his hearers. Thus, he dwells at very considerable length on the thought that by their public mourning at funerals they resembled the heathen, who had no hope beyond the grave; while other topics, which enter far more deeply into the subject, when viewed abstractly, are passed over with a bare mention. He knew what string to touch. His aim was, the good of his present hearers; he therefore expressed just those thoughts which their circumstances required. The discourse is not a discussion; it is an exhibition, a showing forth, of several views which his hearers would at once appreciate, suited to moderate their grief under the loss of friends.

While it exhibits many of Chrysostom's excellences, and may be taken as a very favorable specimen of his sermons, it also exemplifies some of his defects. It is not quite so familiar as some of his discourses, since it partakes more of the oratorical and formal character. At the same time, it very considerably resembles his usual style, in making a near approach to the manner of a per-

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son engaged in animated and dignified conversation. It may hence well be studied as a model of that dignified familiarity, which is so desirable in addressing promiscuous religious assemblies. Chrysostom's sermons and homilies well deserve to be read, as fine specimens of the difference which should prevail between the style of discussion and the style of popular address; a difference which is too much overlooked by preachers generally, but a disregard to which is in opposition to fundamental principles in rhetoric, or, more correctly, in human nature. There is not here, as in some discourses of this series, much occasion to complain of tediousness arising from a too minute dwelling on an illustration or an image, and a too minute showing of its applicability. But what is particularly observable in this discourse, is, a mingling of an illustration with the object to be illustrated, and a too direct application of epithets, both in the illustration and in the mention of the object, to two things, where strict propriety would allow their application to only one; a fault akin to that of mingling metaphorical and literal language. There will also be found here rather too remote an application of Scripture language; a fault, however, from which Chrysostom was remarkably free, when compared with other early preachers.

The following is an analysis of the discourse. Its design, as already stated, was to dissuade his hearers from indulging in immoderate grief at the death of friends. The application, by the apostle, of the terms in the text, *sleep* and *death*, to believers and to Christ respectively, is first accounted for. The whole subject is thus brought before the hearers; and the wide difference between sleep and death, in that the latter is followed by corruption, is stated as if suggested by a hearer. Two illustrations then follow, sustaining the sentiment which the preacher wished to enforce—1. That of a house re-built; 2. That of a statue re-cast. A hearer is next supposed to introduce the additional circumstance of dissimilarity, that death deprives us of the society of the departed. After disposing of this thought, the preacher expresses his deep regret at the practice which prevailed of excessive mourning at the death of friends; and suggests various topics of consolation. To dissuade from such mourning, he dwells particularly on its resemblance to the practices of

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the heathen Greeks, and the injury which, in consequence, Christianity suffered in their estimation. Two questions are then supposed to be put by a hearer—1. How can it be otherwise than that human nature should be most deeply afflicted on such occasions? 2. Was there ever an instance of a man suffering bereavement, who did not betray great grief? After replying to these questions, he closes by exhorting his hearers to bear these instructions in mind, and seek to become prepared for adverse dispensations of Providence.

This plan marks out a train of thought, not very close, it is true, but such as would naturally arise in conversation between Chrysostom and a few friends in Antioch who had been bereaved, by death, of an attached relative. The thoughts, as they succeed one another, appear natural; they grow in interest; and could not but have left a strong impression of the impropriety of Christians' mourning for departed friends after the manner of those who did not admit the Christian view of a future life. Our modes of education make us prefer a close and strictly logical train of thought; but if sermons were more frequently constructed on the principle of being a continued conversation on a given subject, or of being an endeavor to meet the action of the hearers' minds on that subject, they would be more interesting and profitable, while they would yet sufficiently regard proper notions of unity as to subject.]

On the words of the apostle [in 1 Thess. 4: 13]. *But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not.*

We have occupied four days in explaining to you the parable of Lazarus, bringing out the treasure we found in a body that was covered with sores; a treasure, not of gold and silver and precious stones, but of wisdom and fortitude, of patience and endurance. For as in regard to visible treasures, while the surface of the ground shows only thorns and briers and rough earth, yet, let a person dig deep, abundant wealth discloses itself; so it has proved in respect to Lazarus. Outwardly, wounds; but underneath these, unspeakable wealth; a body pined away, but a noble and wakeful spirit. We have also seen an il-

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lustration of that remark of the apostle's—As much as the outward man perishes, so much the inward man is renewed.

It would, indeed, be proper to address you to-day, also, on this same parable, and to enter the lists with those heretics who censure the Old Testament, bringing accusations against the patriarchs, and whetting their tongues against God, the Creator of the universe. But to avoid satiety, and reserving this controversy for another time, let us direct the discourse to another subject; for a table with only one sort of food produces satiety, while variety provokes the appetite. That it may be so in regard to our preaching, let us now, after a long period, turn to the blessed Paul; for very opportunely has a passage from the apostle been read to-day, and the things which are to be spoken concerning it are harmonious with those that have lately been presented. Hear, then, Paul this day proclaiming—I would not have you to be ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope. The parable of Lazarus is the evangelical chord; this passage is the apostolic note. And there is concord between them; for we have, on that parable, said much concerning the resurrection and the future judgment, and our discourse now recurs to that theme; so that, though it is on apostolic ground we are now toiling, we shall here find the same treasure. For in treating the parable, our aim was to teach the hearers this lesson, that they should regard all the splendors of the present life as nothing, but should look forward in their hopes, and daily reflect on the decisions which will be hereafter pronounced, and on that fearful judgment, and that Judge who cannot be deceived. On these things Paul has counselled us to-day in the passages which have been read to us. Attend, however, to his own words—I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him (1 Thess. 4: 13, 14).

We ought here, at the outset, to inquire why, when he is speaking concerning Christ, he employs the word *death;* but when he is speaking of our decease, he calls it *sleep,* and not *death.* For he did not say, Concerning them

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that are dead: but what did he say? Concerning them that are asleep. And again—Even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. He did not say, Them that have died. Still again—We who are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not go before them that sleep. Here, too, he did not say—Them that are dead; but a third time, bringing the subject to their remembrance, he for the third time called death a sleep. Concerning Christ, however, he did not speak thus: but how? For if we believe that Jesus *died.* He did not say, Jesus slept, but he died. Why now did he use the term *death* in reference to Christ, but in reference to us the term *sleep?* For it was not casually, or negligently, that he employed this expression, but he had a wise and great purpose in so doing. In speaking of Christ, he said *death*, so as to confirm the fact that Christ had actually suffered death; in speaking of us, he said *sleep*, in order to impart consolation. For where a resurrection had already taken place, he mentions death with plainness; but where the resurrection is still a matter of hope, he says *sleep*, consoling us by this very expression, and cherishing our valuable hopes. For he who is only asleep, will surely awake; and death is no more than a long sleep.

Say not, a dead man hears not, nor speaks, nor sees, nor is conscious. It is just so with a sleeping person. If I may speak somewhat paradoxically, even the soul of a sleeping person is in some sort asleep; but not so the soul of a dead man; that is awake.

But you say, a dead man experiences corruption, and becomes dust and ashes. And what then, beloved hearers? For this very reason, we ought to rejoice. For when a man is about to rebuild an old and tottering house, he first sends out its occupants, then tears it down and rebuilds anew a more splendid one. This occasions no grief to the occupants, but rather joy; for they do not think of the demolition which they see, but of the house which is to come, though not yet seen. When God is about to do a similar work, he destroys our body, and removes the soul which was dwelling in it as from some house, that he may build it anew and more splendidly, and again bring the soul into it with greater glory. Let us

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not, therefore, regard the tearing down, but the splendor which is to succeed.

If, again, a man has a statue decayed by rust and age, and mutilated in many of its parts, he breaks it up and casts it into a furnace, and after the melting he receives it again in a more beautiful form. As then the dissolving in the furnace was not a destruction but a renewing of that statue, so the death of our bodies is not a destruction, but a renovation. When, therefore, you see as in a furnace our flesh flowing away to corruption, dwell not on that sight, but wait for the recasting. And be not satisfied with the extent of this illustration, but advance in your thoughts to a still higher point; for the statuary, casting into the furnace a brazen image, does not furnish you in its place a golden and undecaying statue, but again makes a brazen one. God does not thus; but casting in a mortal body formed of clay, he returns to you a golden and immortal statue; for the earth, receiving a corruptible and decaying body, gives back the same, incorruptible and undecaying. Look not, therefore, on the corpse, lying with closed eyes and speechless lips, but on the man that is risen, that has received glory unspeakable and amazing, and direct your thoughts from the present sight to the future hope.

But do you miss his society, and therefore lament and mourn? Now is it not unreasonable, that, if you should have given your daughter in marriage, and her husband should take her to a distant country and should there enjoy prosperity, you would not think the circumstance a calamity, but the intelligence of their prosperity would console the sorrow occasioned by her absence; and yet here, while it is not a man, nor a fellow servant, but the Lord himself who has taken your relative, that you should grieve and lament?

And how is it possible, you ask, not to grieve, since I am only a man? Nor do I say that you should not grieve: I do not condemn dejection, but the intensity of it. To be dejected is natural; but to be overcome by dejection is madness, and folly, and unmanly weakness. You may grieve and weep; but give not way to despondency, nor indulge in complaints. Give thanks to God, who has taken your friend, that you have the opportunity of honoring the departed one and of dismissing him with

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becoming obsequies. If you sink under depression, you withhold honor from the departed, you displease God who has taken him, and you injure yourself; but if you are grateful, you pay respect to him, you glorify God, and you benefit yourself. Weep, as wept your Master over Lazarus, observing the just limits of sorrow, which it is not proper to pass. Thus also said Paul—I would not have you to be ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not as others who have no hope. Grieve, says he; but not as the Greek, who has no hope of a resurrection, who despairs of a future life.

Believe me, I am ashamed and blush to see unbecoming groups of women pass along the mart, tearing their hair, cutting their arms and cheeks—and all this under the eyes of the Greeks. For what will they not say? What will they not utter concerning us? Are these the men who philosophize about a resurrection? Indeed! How poorly their actions agree with their opinions! In words, they philosophize about a resurrection; but they act just like those who do not acknowledge a resurrection. If they fully believed in a resurrection, they would not act thus; if they had really persuaded themselves that a deceased friend had departed to a better state, they would not thus mourn. These things, and more than these, the unbelievers say when they hear those lamentations. Let us then be ashamed, and be more moderate, and not occasion so much harm to ourselves and to those who are looking on us.

For on what account, tell me, do you thus weep for one departed? Because he was a bad man? You ought on that very account to be thankful, since the occasions of wickedness are now cut off. Because he was good and kind? If so, you ought to rejoice; since he has been soon removed, before wickedness had corrupted him; and he has gone away to a world where he stands ever secure, and there is no room even to mistrust a change. Because he was a youth? For that, too, praise Him that has taken him, because he has speedily called him to a better lot. Because he was an aged man? On this account, also, give thanks and glorify Him that has taken him. Be ashamed of your manner of burial. The singing of psalms, the prayers, the assembling of the [spiritual] fathers and brethren—all this is not that you may weep

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and lament and afflict yourselves, but that you may render thanks to Him who has taken the departed. For as when men are called to some high office, multitudes with praises on their lips assemble to escort them at their departure to their stations, so do all with abundant praise join to send forward, as to greater honor, those of the pious who have departed. Death is rest, a deliverance from the exhausting labors and cares of this world. When, then, thou seest a relative departing, yield not to despondency; give thyself to reflection; examine thy conscience; cherish the thought that after a little while this end awaits thee also. Be more considerate; let another's death excite thee to salutary fear; shake off all indolence; examine your past deeds; quit your sins, and commence a happy change.

We differ from unbelievers in our estimate of things. The unbeliever surveys the heaven and worships it, because he thinks it a divinity; he looks to the earth and makes himself a servant to it, and longs for the things of sense. But not so with us. We survey the heaven, and admire him that made it; for we believe it not to be a god, but a work of God. I look on the whole creation, and am led by it to the Creator. He looks on wealth, and longs for it with earnest desire; I look on wealth, and contemn it. He sees poverty, and laments; I see poverty, and rejoice. I see things in one light; he in another. Just so in regard to death. He sees a corpse, and thinks of it as a corpse; I see a corpse, and behold sleep rather than death. And as in regard to books, both learned persons and unlearned see them with the same eyes, but not with the same understanding—for to the unlearned the mere shapes of letters appear, while the learned discover the sense that lies within those letters—so in respect to affairs in general, we all see what takes place with the same eyes, but not with the same understanding and judgment. Since, therefore, in all other things we differ from them, shall we agree with them in our sentiments respecting death?

Consider to whom the departed has gone, and take comfort. He has gone where Paul is, and Peter, and the whole company of the saints. Consider how he shall arise, with what glory and splendor. Consider, that by mourning and lamenting thou canst not alter the event

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which has occurred, and that thou wilt in the end injure thyself. Consider whom you imitate by so doing, and shun this companionship in sin. For whom do you imitate and emulate? The unbelieving, those who have no hope; as Paul has said—That ye sorrow not, even as others who have no hope. And observe how carefully he expresses himself; for he does not say, Those who have not the hope of a resurrection, but simply, Those who have no hope. He that has no hope of a future retribution, has no hope at all, nor does he know that there is a God, nor that God exercises a providential care over present occurrences, nor that divine justice looks on all things. But he that is thus ignorant and inconsiderate is more unwise than a beast, and separates his soul from all good; for he that does not expect to render an account of his deeds, cuts himself loose from all virtue, and attaches himself to all vice. Considering these things, therefore, and reflecting on the folly and stupidity of the heathen, whose associates we become by our lamentations for the dead, let us avoid this conformity to them. For the apostle mentions them for this very purpose, that by considering the dishonor into which thou fallest, thou mightest recover thyself from this conformity, and return to thy proper dignity.

And not only here, but every where and frequently, the blessed Paul does the same. For when he would dissuade from sins, he shows with whom we become associated by our sins, that, being touched by the character of the persons, thou shouldest avoid such companionship. To the Thessalonians, accordingly, he says—Let every one keep his own body in sanctification and honor, not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles who know not God. And again—Walk not as the other Gentiles in the vanity of their mind. Thus also here—I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others who have no hope. For it is not the nature of things, but our own disposition, which makes us grieve; not the death of the departed, but the weakness of those who mourn. No present objects, then, should be able to afflict a believer; but even before he reaches the future good, even in the present life, he differs from unbelievers, receiving no small benefit from the Christian philosophy,

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but deriving therefrom the greatest encouragement and perpetual joy. Hence Paul says—Rejoice in the Lord always; and again I say, Rejoice. Thus even before the resurrection, we receive this no small recompense of our faith, that we are not cast down by any terrible events, but from the hope of future good we receive abundant consolation. As, then, we are gainers on every hand, so the unbeliever is a loser on every hand, being punished at last on account of disbelieving the resurrection, and being dejected by present occurrences on account of his not expecting any good hereafter.

We ought, therefore, to thank God not only for the resurrection, but also for the hope of it; which can comfort the afflicted soul, and bid us be of good cheer concerning the departed, for they will again rise and be with us. If we must have anguish, we should mourn and lament over those who are living in sin, not over those who have died righteously. Thus did Paul; for he says to the Corinthians—Lest when I come to you God shall humble me among you and I shall bewail many. He was not speaking of those who had died, but of those who had sinned and had not repented of the lasciviousness and uncleanness which they had committed; over these it was proper to mourn. So likewise another writer admonishes, saying—Weep over the dead, for the light has failed; and weep over the fool, for understanding has failed (Ecclus. 22: 10). Weep a little for the dead; for he has gone to his rest; but the fool's life is a greater calamity than death. And surely if one devoid of understanding is always a proper object of lamentation, much more he that is devoid of righteousness and that has fallen from hope towards God. These, then, let us bewail; for such bewailing may be useful. For often while lamenting these, we amend our own faults; but to bewail the departed is senseless and hurtful. Let us not, then, reverse the order, but bewail only sin; and all other things, whether poverty, or sickness, or untimely death, or calumny, or false accusation, or whatever human evil befalls us, let us resolutely bear them all. For these calamities, if we are watchful, will be the occasions of adding to our crowns.

But how is it possible, you ask, that a bereaved person, being a man, should not grieve? On the contrary, I ask,

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how is it that being a man he should grieve, since he is honored with reason and with hopes of future good? Who is there, you ask again, that has not been subdued by this weakness? Many, I reply, and in many places, both among us and among those who have died before us. Job, for instance; the whole circle of his children being taken away, hear what he says;—The Lord gave; the Lord hath taken away: as it seemed good to the Lord, so it has come to pass. A wonderful instance, even when barely heard; but if you examine it closely, your wonder will greatly increase.

For consider; Satan did not take merely half and leave half, or take the larger number and leave the rest; but he gathered all the fruit, and yet did not prevail to uproot the tree; he covered the whole sea with waves, and yet did not overwhelm the barque; he despoiled the tower of its strength, and yet could not batter it down. Job stood firm, though assailed from every quarter; showers of arrows fell, but they did not wound him. Consider how great a thing it was, to see so many children perish. Was it not enough to pierce him to the quick, that they should all be snatched away? all together and in one day? in the flower of life? having shown so much virtue? expiring as by a stroke of vengeance? that after so many sorrows this last should be inflicted? that the father was fond of them, and that the deceased were worthy of his affection? When one loses vicious children, he does indeed suffer grief, but yet not intense grief; for the wickedness of the departed does not allow the sorrow to be poignant. But when they are virtuous, an abiding wound is inflicted, the remembrance is indelible, the calamity is inconsolable; there is a double sting, from nature, and from the virtuous character of the departed.

That Job's children were virtuous, appears from the fact that their father was particularly solicitous in regard to them, and rising up offered sacrifices in their behalf, fearing lest they might have committed secret sins; and nothing was more important in his esteem than this. Not only the virtue of the children is thus shown, but also the affectionate spirit of the father. Since, therefore, the father was so affectionate, showing not only a love for them which proceeded from nature, but that also which came from their piety, and since the departed were thus virtu-

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ous, the anguish had a threefold intensity. Still further; when children are torn away separately, the suffering has some consolation; for those that are left alleviate the sorrow over the departed; but when the whole circle is gone, to what one of all his numerous children can the childless man now look?

Besides these causes of sorrow, there was a fifth stroke. What was that? That they were all snatched away at once. For if in the case of those who die after three or five days' sickness, the women and all the relatives bewail this most of all, that the deceased was taken away from their sight speedily and suddenly, much more might he have been distressed, when thus deprived of all, not in three days, or two, or one, but in one hour! For a calamity long thought of, even if it be hard to bear, may easily become light through anticipation; but that which happens contrary to expectation and suddenly is intolerable.

Would you hear of a sixth stroke? He lost them all in the very flower of their age. You know how very piercing are untimely deaths, and productive of very diversified grief. The instance we are contemplating was not only untimely, but also violent; so that here was a seventh stroke. For their father did not see them expire on a bed, but they were all overwhelmed by the falling habitation. Consider then: a man was digging in that pile of ruins, and now he drew up a stone, and now a limb of a deceased one; he saw a hand still holding a cup, and another right hand placed on a table, and the mutilated form of a body, the nose torn away, the head crushed, the eyes put out, the brain scattered, the whole frame marred, and the variety of wounds not permitting the father to recognize the beloved countenances. You suffer emotions and shed tears at merely hearing of these things; what must he have endured at the sight of them? For if we, so long after the event, cannot bear to hear of this tragedy, though it was another man's calamity, what an adamant was he to look on these things, and contemplate them, not as another's, but his own afflictions! He did not give way to dejection, nor ask, "What does this mean? Is this the recompense of my kindness? Was it for this that I opened my house, that I might see it made the grave of my children? Did I for this exhibit

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every parental virtue, that they should endure such a death?" No such things did he speak, or even think; but steadily bore all, though bereaved of them after bestowing on them so much care. For as an accomplished statuary framing golden images, adorns them with great care, so he sought properly to mould and adorn their souls. And as a husbandman assiduously waters his palm trees, or olives, enclosing them and cultivating them in every suitable way; so he perpetually sought to enrich each one's soul, as a fruitful olive, with increasing virtue. But he saw the trees overthrown by the assault of the evil spirit, and exposed on the earth, and enduring that miserable kind of death; yet he uttered no reviling word, but rather blessed God, thus giving a deadly blow to the devil.

Should you say that Job had many sons, but that others have frequently lost their only sons, and that his cause of sorrow was not equal to theirs; you say well; but I reply, that Job's cause of sorrow was not only equal, but far greater. For of what advantage was it to him that he had many children? It was a severer calamity and a more bitter grief to receive the wound in many bodies.

Still, if you wish to see another holy man having an only son, and showing the same and even greater fortitude, call to mind the patriarch Abraham, who did not indeed see Isaac die, but, what was much more painful, was himself commanded to slay him, and did not question the command, nor repine at it, nor say, "Is it for this thou hast made me a father, that thou shouldst make me the slayer of my son? Better it would have been not to give him at all, than having given him thus to take him away. And if thou choosest to take him, why dost thou command me to slay him and to pollute my right hand? Didst thou not promise me that from this son thou wouldst fill the earth with my descendants? How wilt thou give the fruits, then, if thou pluck up the root? How dost thou promise me a posterity, and yet order me to slay my son? Who ever saw such things, or heard of the like? I am deceived; I have been deluded." No such thing did he say, or even think; he said nothing against the command, he did not ask the reasons; but hearing the word—Take thy son, thine only son whom thou lovest, and carry him up to one of the mountains which I

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shall show thee, he complied so readily as even to do more than was commanded. For he concealed the matter from his wife, and he left the servants at the foot of the mount in ignorance of what was to be done, and ascended taking only the victim. Thus not unwillingly, but with promptness, he obeyed the command. Think now what it was, to be conversing alone with his son, apart from all others, when the affections are the more fervently excited, and attachment becomes stronger; and this not for one, or two, but for several, days. To obey the command speedily, would have been wonderful; but not so wonderful as, while his heart was burdened and agitated for many days, to avoid indulging in human tenderness toward his son. On this account God appointed for him a more extended arena, and a longer race-course, that thou mightest the more carefully observe this combatant. A combatant he was indeed, contending not against a man, but against the force of nature. What language can describe his fortitude? He brought forward his son, bound him, placed him on the wood, seized the sacrificing knife, was just on the point of inflicting the stroke. In what manner to express myself properly, I know not; he only would know, who did these things. For no language can describe how it happened that his hand did not become torpid, that the strength of his nerves did not relax, that the affecting sight of his son did not overpower him.

It is proper here, too, to admire Isaac. For as the one obeyed God, so did the other obey his father; and as the one, at God's bidding him to sacrifice, did not demand an account of the matter, so the other, when his father was binding him and leading him to the altar, did not say, "Why art thou doing this?"—but surrendered himself to his father's hand. And then was to be seen a man uniting in his own person the father and the sacrificing priest; and a sacrifice offered without blood, a whole burnt-offering without fire, an altar presenting a type of death and the resurrection. For he both sacrificed his son and he did not sacrifice him. He did not sacrifice him with his hand, but in his purpose. For God gave the command, not through desire to see the flowing of blood, but to give you a specimen of steady purpose, to make known throughout the world this worthy man and to instruct all

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in coming time, that it is necessary to prefer the command of God before children and nature, before all things, and even life itself. And so Abraham descended from the mount, bringing alive the martyr Isaac. How can we be pardoned, then, tell me, or what apology can we have, if we see that noble man obeying God with so much promptness and submitting to him in all things, and yet we murmur at his dispensations? Tell me not of grief, nor of the intolerable nature of your calamity; rather consider, how in the midst of bitter sorrow you may yet rise superior to it. That which was commanded to Abraham was enough to stagger his reason, to throw him into perplexity, and to undermine his faith in the past. For who would not have then thought, that the promise which had been made him of a numerous posterity was all a deception? But not so Abraham. And not less ought we to admire Job's wisdom in calamity; and particularly, that after so much virtue, after his alms and various acts of kindness to men, and though aware of no wrong either in himself or his children, yet experiencing so much affliction, affliction so singular, such as had never happened even to the most desperately wicked, still he was not affected by it as most men would have been, nor did he regard his virtue as profitless, nor form any ill-advised opinion concerning the past.

By these two examples, then, we ought not only to admire virtue, but to emulate and imitate it. And let no one say, these were wonderful men. True, they were wonderful and great men. But we are now required to have more wisdom than they, and than all who lived under the Old Testament. For except your righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Gathering wisdom, then, from all quarters, and considering what we are told concerning a resurrection and concerning these holy men, let us frequently recite it to our souls, not only when we are actually in sorrow, but also while we are free from distress. For I have now addressed you on this subject, though no one is in particular affliction, that when we shall fall into any such calamity, we may, from the remembrance of what has been said, obtain requisite consolation. As soldiers, even in peace, perform warlike exercises, so that when actually called to battle and the oc-

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casion makes a demand for skill, they may avail themselves of the art which they have cultivated in peace; so let us, in time of peace, furnish ourselves with weapons and remedies, that whenever there shall burst on us a war of unreasonable passions, or grief, or pain, or any such thing, we may, well armed and secure on all sides, repel the assaults of the evil one with all skill, and wall ourselves around with right contemplations, with the declarations of God, with the examples of good men, and with every possible defence. For so shall we be able to pass the present life with happiness, and to attain to the kingdom of heaven, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and dominion together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

ARTICLE III.

THE BAPTIST AND PEDOBAPTIST THEORIES OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

Discourses on Christian Nurture. By H. Bushnell, D. D. Approved by the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 1847.

Dr. Tyler's Letter to Dr. Bushnell on Christian Nurture. 1847.

An Argument for Discourses on Christian Nurture. By Horace Bushnell. Hartford. Edwin Hunt, 6 Asylum street. 1847.

The above tracts have produced already a considerable ferment amongst our Pedobaptist brethren. They will produce still more. It is a controversy which, although belonging to them strictly, has a very important bearing on us as a denomination.

The Tracts of Dr. Bushnell present many excellent and appropriate truths;—make valuable concessions to us as Baptists;—fall into some serious mistakes about our the-

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ory of church membership, and exhibit in a striking light the errors that have necessarily grown out of Infant Baptism. In fine, this controversy will enable us to take a view of *The Contrast between the Baptist and Pedobaptist Theories of the operations of grace on the hearts of the young, and of Church membership generally.*

I. We have said that these Tracts of Dr. Bushnell present many excellent and appropriate truths.

The spasmodic piety, from the effects of which the evangelical churches of New England are now suffering, has prepared the way for such remarks as the following from the "Argument," p. 40—41.

"Now what I have endeavored in my tract, and what I here endeavor is, to waken in our churches, a sense of this power, and of the momentous responsibilities that accrue under it. I wish to produce an impression that God has not held us responsible for the effect only of what we do, or teach, or for acts of control and government; but quite as much, for the effect of our *being what we are;* that there is a plastic age in the house, receiving its type, not from our words but from our *spirit*, one whose character is shaping in the molds of our own. And then, under an impression so salutary, what changes will be wrought in the temperament of our own piety. If a man were to be set before a mirror, with the feeling that the exact image of what he *is*, for the day, is there to be produced and left as a permanent and fixed image forever, to what carefulness, what delicate sincerity of spirit would he be moved. And will he be less moved to the same, when that mirror is the soul of his child? This now is the new element that we want in our religion, and this I earnestly hope may be received. The simple introduction of this, while it destroys nothing valuable in our present form of piety, would suffice to change the style of it in all the points where it is defective; to moisten the dry individualism we suffer, to relieve the eccentricities we display, to set purity in the place of bustle and presumption. . . . Now we have a style of religion that contains, practically speaking, only adults, or those who are old enough to reflect and act for themselves, and it is as if we lived in an *adult world*, where every one is for himself. If we could abolish also distinctions of age, and sex, and office, we should only make up a style of religion somewhat drier and farther off from nature than we now have. We can never come into the true style of living that God has appointed for us, until we regard each generation as hovering over the next, acting itself into the next, and casting thus a type of character in the next, before it comes to act for itself. Then we shall have gentle cares and feelings; then the families will become bonds of spiritual life; example, education and government, being Christian powers, will be regulated by a Christian spirit; the rigidities of religious principle will be softened by the tender affections of nature twining among them, and the common life of the house dignified by the sober and momentous cares of the life to come."

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We believe that such words will find their way to many hearts, and to those of Baptists quite as freely as to those of Pedobaptists.

II. As Baptists we notice several important concessions, too, brought out by this controversy, the more valuable as educed from Discourses intended originally against us. It is something to have it acknowledged that ever since the Reformation, among the Pedobaptists, "no settled opinion upon the subject of Infant Baptism and Christian nurture has been attained to; between Protestant writers themselves there has been no agreement," and that at best but "gleams" of what Dr. B. now discovers and advances as the true doctrine have been seen "here and there" heretofore. It is singular to find it conceded, in so many terms, that even among the New England Pedobaptist divines—

"No settled opinion of the grounds or import of infant baptism has ever been attained to, certainly none that will authorize Christian men to denounce as heretical and dangerous every other opinion that may chance to differ from their own. Do we hold that baptism accrues to the special benefit of elect infants? I certainly do not. Is there any one of your respectable committee who entertains the distinction of elect and non-elect infants at all? We may not have reasoned ourselves out of this once familiar distinction, as pertaining to infants; but it is gone, time has killed it. Do we hold that baptism accrues to the benefit of infants that die? What better possibly, what better in common opinion, is the condition of infants that die baptized than if they were not baptized? But there is something like a covenant made in this matter of baptism. Even so, in this we all agree. But what is the covenant, what meaning and force has it? Here we never have agreed and do not now. The Baptists have pushed us for an answer; we have given them many answers, but never any single answer in which we could agree among ourselves. And so conscious was Edwards, in his debate on the "Halfway Covenant," of the ambiguity resting on this point, that he purposely put the subject by, saying:

'Though I have no doubts about the doctrine of infant baptism, yet God's manner of dealing with such infants as are regularly dedicated to him in baptism, is a matter liable to great disputes, and would require a large dissertation to clear it up." *Edwards' Works, Vol. I. P.* 90.'"

So again, on p. 17, Dr. B. says, "I might go on also to show how Dr. Hopkins accounts for the failure of Christian parents substantially in the same way as I have done. . . . insists on *the essential absurdity of Infant baptism as commonly practised*," *etc.* On p. 24 we read

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"There certainly is little reason to wonder that the Baptists should reject infant baptism, when we hold it ourselves only as a dead tradition, separated from any rational meaning or use. And if we stand upon the footing of absolute individualism, it follows irresistibly, as any child may see, that they are right in requiring evidence of actual faith previous to baptism." . . . "At the time of my settlement in the ministry, the council came near rejecting me because I could say nothing more positive concerning infant baptism."

On pp. 44—5, we find, "Baptism, [i. e. infant baptism] too, we are holding as an empty tradition; a form, the soul of which is evaporated and lost . . giving to its rejecters the strongest argument they have against it. It was for these unhappy defects and errors in our style of piety that I was moved to seek a remedy." And p. 35, he quotes Dr. Nevin on the history of the Puritanism of New England, as saying, "In a word, *it has made us all Baptists in theory, which is the same as to say that we ought to be in fact.* Thus far he agrees with me."

We have long believed all that is here stated—that the Congregational churches of New England, by just so much as they differed from the old Unitarian churches, and the Presbyterian churches since the time of Tennant, were Baptist in theory; and on this ground it is that we have felt less interest than perhaps we otherwise should and ought to have done in seeing them become "Baptists in fact." We have long seen that Infant Baptism was among them but "an empty tradition, a form, the soul of which had evaporated"—that with the principles of the evangelical Congregationalists of New England in regard to a regenerate church membership, it follows irresistibly, as any child may see, that Baptists are right in requiring evidence of actual faith previous to baptism." In fact, (though we would not have used the words ourselves in regard to any thing our Christian brethren hold sacred, yet) as they use the expression we may quote it, and admit that we have long seen "the essential absurdity of infant baptism as commonly practised" from the time of Dr. Hopkins down to Dr. Bushnell; and that the New England Pedobaptists have not been able in the course of two hundred years to attain to any scheme of infant baptism, or "settled opinion of its ground and import consistent with their

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own writers, or even consistent with itself." All this, however, we did not expect to have seen confessed so readily in "An Argument in favor of Discourses" written expressly to sustain this very practice.

III. Dr. Bushnell, in his discourses, has fallen into serious mistakes about the Baptist theory of the operations of grace. He both considers us to hold what we do not, and what our theory does not at all lead to; and he considers as exclusively belonging to the Pedobaptist theory much that our own admits and embraces quite as cordially as his. Our theory, sometimes called by him the "ictic theory," sometimes that of "individualism," he thus describes:

"It takes every man as if he had existed *alone*, presumes that he is unreconciled to God until he has undergone some sudden and explosive experience, in adult years, or after the age of reason; demands that experience, and only when it is reached, allows the subject to be an heir of life. Then, on the other side, or that of the Spirit of God, the very act or *ictus* by which the change is wrought, is isolated or individualized, so as to stand in no connection with any other of God's means or causes—an epiphany in which God leaps from the stars, or some place above, to do a work apart from all system, or connection with his other works. Religion is thus a kind of transcendental matter, which belongs on the outside of life, and has no part in the laws by which life is organized—a miraculous epidemic, a fire ball shot from the moon, something holy because it is from God, but so extraordinary, so out of place, that it cannot suffer any vital connection with the ties and causes and forms and habits, which constitute the frame of our history. Hence the desultory, hard, violent and often extravagant or erratic character it manifests. Hence, in part, the dreary years of decay and darkness that interspace our months of excitement and victory."

It is with regret that we see such a picture, such a caricature, drawn of our doctrine of conversion. It is true he puts us in respectable company—nay, he paints the above not as the actual description of Baptist views in particular, but of those advanced by Jonathan Edwards, but still as a part of that congregational puritanism of New England which is "all Baptist in theory." Had he drawn his illustration of the Baptist theory from Edwards's own account of the revivals at Northampton, we would not have demurred. But as for such a representation as that above, we leave it for others to decide if it fairly represents the views of the New England churches, either

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Baptist or Congregational, viewed on the scale of the last one hundred years. It would be almost an unfair caricature even of the extreme excitements of itinerant evangelists,—excitements not arising legitimately out of any theory—but the boisterous passions of unruly individuals, tolerated indeed for a time by several churches, but soon over. Similar excesses have arisen in all ages, in all parts of the world, and even in Catholic as well as Protestant countries.

But we desire now to show that the Baptist theory is not exclusively individualistic, as he supposes; but is capable of embracing all that is desirable of what he intends by his "metaphysical, organic connection."

Dr. Bushnell gives us his opinion on the operations of grace in Christian families thus: and this is, he considers, the true Pedobaptist theory. The true idea of Christian education is, "That the child is to grow up a Christian. In other words, the aim, effort and expectation should be, not as is commonly assumed, that the child is to grow up in sin, to be converted after he comes to a mature age, but that he is to open on the world as one that is spiritually renewed, not remembering the time when he went through a technical experience, but seeming rather to have loved what is good from his earliest years."

Further on he says, "If we narrowly examine the relation of parent and child, we shall not fail to discover something like a law of organic connection, as regards character, subsisting between them—such a connection as makes it easy to believe and natural to expect, that the faith of the one will be propagated in the other. Perhaps I should rather say, such a connection as induces the conviction that the character of the one is actually included in the character of the other, as the seed is formed in the capsule, and being there matured by nutriment derived from the stem, is gradually separated from it."

On page 32 of the Argument, this organic connection is explained as follows: "It is obviously predicable of something after birth, when physical separation is complete. . . . I set up '*organic*' to contrast in idea with '*individual*,' both as theologic or metaphysical terms, not as physical. . . I now take the actings of the parent in the child, both before and after birth; for as far as the child's will or individuality are concerned, they are in-

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cluded in the same category of passivity, and cover them both by the same term, calling them '*organic.*' Considering next this organic power as inhabited by Christ and the Spirit of God, and exalted thus into a spiritual state above itself, I take my stand at the birth point of the will, (not of the body,) and there I say that the Christian child ought to emerge into *individuality*, not as ripened into sin and set off in it, but as one that is regenerated, quickened unto spiritual life. In other words, it is the privilege of the Christian, not that he is doomed to give birth to a tainted life and cease, but that by the grace of God, dwelling in him and in the child, fashioning his own character as an organic mould for the child, and the child to a plastic conformity with the mould provided, he may set forth the child into life as a *seed after him*—one that is prepared unto a godly life by causes prior to his own will; that is, by causes metaphysically organic. Thus every thing previous to the will falls into one and the same category. No matter whether it come through vascular connection, or parental handling and control; it comes to the child, I said, 'just as naturally, and by a law as truly organic' (i. e. just as truly from without his own will) 'as when the sap of a trunk flows into a limb.' At some time, sooner or later, but only by a gradual transition, he comes into his own will, which, theologically speaking, is the time of his birth as a moral subject of God's government; and if he takes up life as a corrupted subject, so he may and ought also to take it up as a renewed subject—that is to *grow up as a Christian.*"

We will not just now go very deeply into Dr. Bushnell's theory. Suppose it correct in fact that many children are brought to the saving knowledge of God at a very early age; suppose that, through early training, while there was, as Dr. B. would say, a metaphysical, not physical, organic connection between the parent and child, through the words, actions and *spirit* of the parent, this should be far more generally the case with the children of pious than of irreligious parents; or suppose even that sometimes the physical and metaphysical organization of the child of irreligious parents shall not be so favorable to this early development of piety as in the child of believing, pious parents. Let us believe all that, and we do believe it, still, *what is there in it at all opposed to the*

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Baptist theory? We may believe that Jeremiah was sanctified from the womb—that Samuel "grew up" so piously from earliest infancy that he never was sensible afterwards of any sudden or violent change. It may have been so with John the Baptist, and with Timothy. It may have been and probably was in part through pious training and influences on the part of pious parents, that all this took place at so early an age. It is certainly meant to be implied that in the case of Timothy it was. Let all this be granted, and what then—where does it touch the Baptist theory? Dr. Bushnell, we suppose, would reply—(1.) The Baptist theory of church membership is that no persons are fit for the church until they manifest a sensible religious experience; and (2.) That the Baptist theory "tells the child that nothing but sin can be expected of him—presumes that he will not grow up a believer, or be eventually sanctified through his parents' faith, and therefore that the rite is inappropriate."

As to the first, it is indeed and exactly true that the Baptist theory is that none are proper subjects for church membership, until they manifest a sensible religious experience. But Dr. B. seems to confound two things that differ mightily, the sensible experiences of grace, and "explosive conversion," or at least, "sensible conversion." A person may be sensible of experiences of being in a gracious state every day, without remembering possibly when such experiences first began to dawn upon him. With some, these things are more gradual in their manifestations even in riper years than with others; much more when they take place in the dawnings of life. The Baptist theory of "effectual calling" does not depend, in whole or in part, on *when it takes place.* It only asserts that there must be credible manifestations of its taking place previous to church membership. It is not inconsistent with the Baptist theory or practice to baptize a person twenty years after he shall have been effectually called. We object, as much as Dr. Bushnell can do, to the taking of nothing for evidence of being in a state of grace but "an explosive experience." We believe practically, that many a true child of grace is long kept in doubt as to his acceptance with God by looking for some more sudden, violent and "angular" conversion, than in the nature of things he can ever realize. But we also think that

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should Dr. B.'s statements spread and become popular, there would be another danger more to be dreaded; one pointed out very ably by Dr. Tyler, i. e. that of the children of pious parents supposing that usually they were not to expect to pass through any sensible conversion, but ought to take it for granted they were in a state of "effectual calling," because their parents were pious and had them baptized. It is perhaps the extreme revival theory of "explosive conversions," overshadowing the true Baptist theory of insisting upon sensible experiences of being in a state of grace, that may have led to Dr. Bushnell's mistake; but certain it is that if he wants to get rid of a sensible present experience of grace as a necessary prerequisite to full church membership, he would do the Congregational churches of New England the most pernicious evil that has been done in one hundred years. We do not understand him thus. We do not wish to do so. Even the extreme case which he brings forward as an illustration in his "Argument," p. 44, we trust is not intended for any such purpose, especially as mention is made of "habits of devotion and *a settled spirit of dependence on God for the sustenance of all good exercises*," which would seem indications of daily experiences of grace.

But Dr. B. argues now, in his own language (2.) That "the Baptist tells the child that nothing but sin can be expected of him;" that it is to be presumed he will not grow up a Christian. We suppose Dr. B. means that this is said, not doctrinally, for our general views of doctrine are the same as those of his own church; and besides, *we do*, by our doctrines of *grace*, teach children that through that almighty and illuminating influence the noblest virtues and graces *are* to be expected of them. But Dr. B. means that *by declining to baptize them*, we say so in effect to the child. "The Baptist presumes that he will not grow up a believer. God presumes that he will, and therefore appoints" infant baptism. And therefore, fighting against this "Baptist theory," he says, "Who, then, has told you that the child cannot have the new heart of which you speak?" We ask, And who has told you, Dr. Bushnell, that the Baptist presumes, in declining to baptize an infant, that *he will not grow up a believer;* or that he may not even now be sanctified from the womb?

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And who told you that "God presumes that he will?" In our view, the Supreme Being does not "presume" about the matter, for he knows; and so on the other hand, as we do not pretend to know, neither do we "presume" to decide, or rather decide to presume about the matter, but *wait* the developments and manifestations he gives. In our view it would indeed be a presumption, to take that *universally* for granted which is, as you must admit, practically so very doubtful. Yet this is the very essence of the Pedobaptist theory. The whole philosophy of it is a presuming to take for granted that in *every case the child will grow up a Christian from its very birth.* This is the very height of presumption. It presumes a conjunction of three things, no one of which can be shown to occur at all. 1. It presumes that the parent shall *perfectly* discharge his duty; 2. That the church shall also perfectly do the same; and 3. That if both of these do thus, God will in every case not only save that child at last, but effectually call it in earliest infancy; so that it shall "open on the world spiritually renewed; not remembering the time when it went through a technical experience." Now this is the philosophy of infant baptism, the very essence of the Pedobaptist theory. It takes for granted that in the case of *every* child baptized, the two former or human conditions will be perfectly fulfilled, and then it further presumes that the third, or divine result will not only eventually but immediately follow in every instance. This we think the very extreme of presuming.

And here we must allow Dr. Tyler, a Pedobaptist Professor of Theology, to demolish in his own style the presumptions of infant baptism. Speaking of Christian parents, he says:

"If God had promised to save all their children on condition of *entire* faithfulness on their part, they could not appropriate the promise to themselves, for they know they are not *entirely* faithful, but come very far short of their duty.

"And here permit me to ask, when you maintain that if parents were faithful, they might expect to see their children, (as a general thing at least,) grow up Christians from their earliest childhood, what degree of faithfulness do you consider necessary to insure this result? Must they be sinlessly perfect? If so, what you have written is labor lost; for there are no such parents. But if you mean a degree of faithfulness short of sinless perfection, how great must it be? How faithful must a sinful, erring parent be, to render it certain that God

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will change the hearts of his children at the very beginning of life, before they are old enough to receive any verbal instruction?

"There are many parents who are eminently pious, and whose piety shines in nothing more conspicuously than in the education of their children. But they see no evidence that their children are pious. On the contrary, they think they see decisive evidence that they are not."

As to the fulfilment of the conditions on the part of the church, he does not speak. We may believe they are not better fulfilled than those of the parents. But in relation to the third point, i. e. the certainty of immediate divine renewal, he says:—"Now the question is, has God explicitly informed us in his word, that he will, thus early, renew the hearts of our children, if we will faithfully discharge our parental duties? Where is any such explicit promise to be found?

"The duty of the Christian parent is analogous to that of the Christian minister. . . .

"It is true that the faithful minister has reason to hope and believe that he will not labor in vain. But when, how, and to what extent, God will crown his labors with success, he has no means of determining. God is a holy sovereign. 'Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy.' It is true, he employs means, and he gives efficacy to the means of his own appointment; but he does it in his own way, and in his own time, and in such degrees as seemeth good in his sight. It is not always true that the labors of the most faithful minister are crowned with the greatest success. Many more souls seem to have been converted under the preaching of Paul, than under the preaching of Christ. But surely Paul was not more faithful than his Master. The great aim of the Christian minister should be, to do his duty, and to leave the results with God."

II. We have thus seen the two theories contrasted: we have been led to look at the philosophy of the two systems. It now only remains that under the guidance of the works we are reviewing, we trace some of the errors that have naturally and necessarily grown out of the system of infant baptism. It would really seem, from the testimony of these two divines taken together, that it is impossible to form any consistent theory on this subject that will not sooner or later strangle all spiritual religion in the womb. We are far enough from saying that prac-

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tically infant baptism has always done so. In New England, the Congregational churches have unquestionably escaped or emerged from this fate. But then all this is accounted for when we are told, and told truly, that they have "all become Baptists in theory," and ought, in all consistency, "to become so in fact."

We have not time to discuss just here the theory considered as the basis of infant baptism, and that out of which it grew, quoted from Neander by Dr. Bushnell. It is of course the same as his own. And a very pretty theory it is, we must acknowledge, though Neander admits, just before, that "It is certain that Christ did not ordain infant baptism," and "we cannot prove that the apostles ordained it."

This view of it, however, was soon laid aside, and "absurd opinions," too many, our author thinks, to be mentioned, sprang up. He hints, indeed, that it was thought to have a "magical power;" but this, he tells us, was a mere accidental result, owing to the superstitious value attached to the priestly hands that performed it. But we ask, was it not infant baptism, and infant baptism alone, that produced a belief unheard of in the heathen world even, and unmatched there in horrid consequences, i. e. the belief in *infant damnation?* Even Mr. Coleridge says, in his Literary Remains, that he came near disbelieving in this rite, "because infant baptism supposes and most certainly encourages a belief concerning God, the most blasphemous and intolerable," viz., that the want of it may occasion their "eternal loss." And this error has grown out of it, and is held by all the millions of the Romish church to this day.

If now we follow Dr. Bushnell, and descend immediately to the Reformed Churches, we find that "no settled opinion on the subject of infant baptism has been attained to." So that on the whole an immense deal of doctrinal evil and very little doctrinal good has accrued from Pedobaptism so far. "Between the standard Protestant writers there has been no agreement." Luther and the German Reformed Churches, and the Church of England, throw out opinions and theories of the efficacy of infant baptism, that "convey a strong scent of the old errors" of the Romish church, which, holding, as we have seen, the "blasphemous and intolerable belief" of the damnation

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of infants out of the church, so as a counterpoise teaches *Baptismal Regeneration*,—a belief, if not quite so blasphemous, if any thing, yet more absurd. When we find even that venerable father in the church, Dr. Nevins, declaring just amongst us that the church "makes us Christians by the sacrament of holy baptism, which she always held to be of supernatural force for this very purpose," we see another of the errors into which infant baptism has led large portions of the Christian church. Calvin "seems to have gathered the idea that the elect infants, and they only, have any advantage in baptism."

The New England divines "have never agreed and do not now," as to "what the covenant is, what meaning and force it has." "The Baptists have pushed us for an answer. We have given them many answers, but never any single answer in which we could agree ourselves." At first, it appears from the Cambridge Platform, none were to be full church members but such as gave evidence of spiritually renewed character. So far they were clearly Baptists in theory. But the practice of infant baptism proved a well nigh fatal blight to all spiritual church membership. "What was more uncomfortable to most Christians of that age than we can well imagine, the children of their sons and daughters often could not be baptized." Hence in 1662 the Half-way Covenant, "undoubtedly bad in theory, as it proved also to be in practical effect." The theory of infant baptism worked itself out further a little later, and, by a progression in error, "Mr. Stoddard of Northampton took the far more consistent and dignified ground that both the sacraments are to be regarded as means of grace, offered to all who hold the Christian doctrine, and maintain a correct life." Here, then, was the complete doing away with a regenerate church membership—the entire doctrine of regeneration almost swept out of the churches by infant baptism. Edwards and others labored to restore the "Baptist theory," and with such success that gradually, after one hundred years, the Unitarian churches were separated, and are all dying out,—they having alone maintained the Pedobaptist theory;—while the Congregational churches, having adopted our plan, are flourishing, though less, it is true, than those which are Baptist both in theory and practice. Is not all this enough to show, and it is shown, be it observed, by

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Dr. Bushnell himself, that whatever churches may be in practice, just in proportion as they are Baptist in theory they are spiritually prosperous, and just in as much as Pedobaptist in theory, the doctrines of regeneration and grace are lost sight of, become dead letters in the church, in fine, that all spiritual religion is strangled before birth?

Let us observe now the erroneous effects and "dangerous tendencies" of this theory on the mind of Dr. Bushnell himself, as exhibited in his writings. It seems that, in early life, he came near being a Baptist himself; so near that even now, when glancing at the relations of his doctrine to the Baptist denomination (Argument, p. 24) he naturally says, "And here perhaps it may not be indelicate to allude to my own mental experience. At the time of my settlement in the ministry, the council came near rejecting me, because I could say nothing more positive concerning infant baptism. . . After two or three years of reflection, I came upon the discovery that all my views of Christian nurture were radically defective and even false." It is not very clear what he alludes to, when he says he was near being rejected because he could say "nothing more positive respecting infant baptism." More positive than what? Not, of course, than these ideas of Christian nurture; for they are quite too positive for Dr. Tyler and the Massachusetts Sabbath School Committee and our Congregational friends—besides, his views were then radically defective, he thinks, on those points. "More positive," we suppose he means, than what he did hold then, and what that is, we have no means of judging. We know that several of the divinity students in Congregational theological seminaries have of late years manifested a disposition to deny, like Neander and Coleridge, (perhaps,) that there is any "positive" divine authority for infant baptism; but that it is a very appropriate symbol of infant consecration, and as of very high antiquity, quite proper. We do not know, but venture a conjecture, as to whether it was on the ground of being able to "find nothing more positive" than this, that he came near being rejected. We ourselves have known precisely similar cases; but though we have known of such, like Dr. B., *coming near*, we never have heard of them being *quite* rejected. On the contrary, they are ordained as Congregationalists. They baptize a few chil-

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dren, and then are driven, by a logical necessity, to find some new and ingenious defence for themselves; and then, naturally enough, "what before was dark, or even *absurd*," becomes "luminous and dignified." Certainly, if after all this mental illumination, Dr. B. has been able to find nothing "more positive" than the scriptural argument he adduces, we fear his Baptist brethren will wait some time before they take up his view of infant church membership.

He concedes (p. 5) that one class of his biblical proofs can only have the slightest weight by supposing the apostles and the Saviour to have taught the doctrine of baptismal regeneration (of which he himself declares elsewhere he stands in doubt), yea, to have "called" baptism "regeneration." So again, he argues that because in the third and fourth century the baptized were often called "faithfuls," therefore *whenever* in Scripture we read of a man having "faithful children," it follows that they were baptized infants! He seems even not to have reflected that in such case, Tit. 1: 6 would be a plain proof that infant baptism was certainly *not* requisite with church members generally. The children alluded to in the Epistle to the Ephesians and Colossians, must have been old enough at least to listen intelligently to discourses and letters. And do not Baptists regard these passages as of divine authority to their children now; yea, are they not, in Dr. B.'s view, to the unbaptized?

But the main argument for infant baptism, which seems to have satisfied his own mind, was a philosophical one—i. e., "the organic connection as regards character, subsisting between them—such a connection as makes it easy to believe, and natural to expect, that the faith of one will be propagated in the other. Perhaps I should rather say, such a connection as induces the conviction that the character of the one is actually included in the character of the other, as the seed is formed in the capsule, and being there matured by nutriment derived from the stem, is gradually separated from it." Now, after making all allowance for his explanations about a metaphysical, not merely physical, organic connection, and acknowledging, as we do, great truth, value and beauty in some of his ideas on this subject, yet we cannot read such language without feeling that his words are not sufficiently guarded,

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that there are "dangerous tendencies" in his ideas; and all this arises directly from his rejecting the Baptist theory, which allows full scope for all that is true in what he advances. It is just like trying to advance something "more positive," in favor of the Pedobaptist philosophy, than truth will warrant, that gets him into difficulty. We cannot see that "it is easy to believe and natural to expect that the faith of the one will be propagated in the other." Faith is the gift of God. It cannot be propagated by any organic connection, physical or metaphysical. Those things which tend to produce or prepare the mind for a work of grace, may and do result every way from the connection between pious parents and their children. A parent puts a Bible into the hand of his child; unquestionably that book has in it a tendency to prepare the mind for a work of grace—a tendency, if you please, to produce holiness; a parent takes his child to hear the preaching of the gospel; this has the same tendency, yet who would think it judicious to say that it is easy to believe and natural to expect that either the Bible or preaching will "propagate faith" in the heart of the hearer or reader?

But whatever modifying effect the parental connection may exert upon different dispositions of the child, it is certainly not correct to say, that "the character of the one is actually included in the character of the other." Indeed it is highly improper, and not true. It would be unjust to presume the child of an habitual drunkard or thief necessarily one too. Character is the sum of the dispositions, as moulded and modified not only by hereditary tendencies and parental influence, but by the air breathed, the climate inhabited, the companions of childhood, every look, thought and word of every stranger, and every accident, word, thought and action of life. Latent tendencies of former generations, fire-side stories and infant tales, all modify the character. Who then can entertain the conviction that the character of the child is actually included in the character of the parent?

Now we think Dr. Bushnell not merely incorrect here in his language, but that the ideas which he *means* to convey by them are positively full of "dangerous tendencies." And we think too that all these incorrect words and dangerous ideas arise from the logical necessity he

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felt, in his own mind, of getting hold of "something more positive," in favor of infant baptism, than he set out with. We feel that there is nothing in his whole scheme to prevent the child from falling into an error that has been most wide-spread and fatal in all churches, but those formed on the Baptist theory, i. e., that it most probably possesses a pious character because of the pious character of its parent, without any particular evidence of the fact one way or other. This is indeed the very essence of the Pedobaptist theory, and Dr. Bushnell, by a necessity of his own mind, brings it out. But Dr. Tyler and all other Congregationalists very properly shrink back with alarm from an error that has already proved so fatal to all spiritual religion. The Baptist by not presuming to decide of the faith of the child, either one way or other, at all, from that of the parent, but watching closely, and requiring in each case sensible present experiences indicative of being in a gracious state, derives all the advantage that can come from the Pedobaptist views, and avoids all these dangerous tendencies, both ecclesiastically, of introducing all the world into the church, and experimentally, of leading those to believe they have a name to live who are dead.

We do not mean to say, that Dr. Bushnell would practically take it for granted, that all the children of pious parents were pious. This he indignantly denies, saying, "ask yourselves whether it [a passage in his discourse] teaches that Christian parents are to take it for granted that their children are pious?" But, notwithstanding his disclaimer, Dr. Tyler has fixed it upon him. Though he may not practically wish to carry it to that length, his language teaches it, if language can, when it says, "the character of the one is actually included in that of the other." His system, the Pedobaptist theory, teaches it, however, more strongly than any words. Of this he himself is witness. Infant baptism is "a seal of faith in the parent applied over to the child on the ground of *a presumption that his faith is wrapped up in the parent's faith.* It sees the child in the parent, and *counts him presumptively a believer and a Christian.*" And yet Dr. Bushnell denies, and exclaims, "ask yourselves whether it teaches that Christian parents are to take it for granted that their children are pious?" What else can it teach?

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What else does the word 'presume' mean, but just to "take for granted," "to take before proof or trial, or without examination?" Richardson defines this word, and so Crabbe in substance, only adding a hint especially intended, one would think, for our Pedobaptist friends, "we must be careful not to *presume* upon more than what we are fully authorized to take for certain." Here then is infant baptism declared publicly by Dr. Bushnell and the Committee of the Mass. S. S. Soc., over and over again, after six months' deliberation, and all possible corrections, almost to the wearing out of the paper, to teach every time it is administered, what Dr. Bushnell himself with indignation repels the charge of teaching as such a calumny, that he will not argue about it. It teaches what Dr. Tyler lifts his hands in horror protesting against being taught, and in relation to which he asks, "What Christian pastor would dare take the responsibility of teaching the baptized children and youth of his congregation?"

Yet once more, the theory of infant baptism has led Dr. Bushnell ecclesiastically, and to a dangerous extent practically, to throw aside the belief in sensible experiences of grace and revivals. Again we say, we have no idea that he would do any such thing deliberately and completely; indeed he says, "Let me not be understood as rejecting revivals of religion," and many of his views on this subject we heartily approve. But unused to our Baptist theory of sensible experiences of being in a state of grace, he confounds quite too much all such things with "explosive conversions," and revivals with a "miraculous epidemic, a fire-ball discharged from the moon," etc. Let any one read the earlier part of the sixteenth page of his Argument, before quoted, and say if such is not the fact.

It is very remarkable, but infant baptism leads him to expressions and views dangerous, from their tendency to produce just the error which the Pedobaptist scheme is thought by its votaries particularly calculated to guard against, i. e. the throwing responsibility off the parent in relation to the religious training of the child. Thus he speaks, p. 18, of it as forming a relation "between parents and churches, on the one side, and children on the other." Now if, as Pedobaptist writers say, there is such a tendency in parents to neglect their duty and

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throw off their responsibility in regard to their children, will not this dividing of parental responsibility with the church just favor that tendency and really produce a *laxity* at home,—a sense of only half or partnership responsibility, in quarters where God has put it undividedly? There is in this day too much of that, any way; and what with Sabbath schools, catechisms, and, in the Episcopal church, god-fathers and god-mothers, the church does often come in between the parent and the child, and the whole work of religious training is left to the church, instead of where the God of nature and of grace placed it, in the hands of the parents. We value Sabbath schools as above all praise; but if other power is systematically to step in between the parent and child in religious matters, no matter whether it be a Sabbath school teacher, a god-father, or an orthodox minister, and they as a part of the church are to be considered as having a kind of official supervision directly over the child and between it and the parent, or even a covenant partnership with the parent on behalf of the church, dividing with him the responsibility, the result will be pernicious both to parent and child. No parent has a right to form any such partnership. He may not lay off his personal responsibility. The Baptist theory is both more natural and more scriptural. It holds the parent to be *the* officer appointed of God for the religious training of his own child. It permits of no shirking the responsibility by a division of offices. He must make use of such agencies and assistances as he can—Sabbath schools, Bible classes, sermons, catechisms, prayers, but he is the responsible supervisor alone. If he neglects his duty palpably, by failing to take advantage of all reasonable facilities, the church must discipline him for neglect; but not step between him and his own child. Dr. Bushnell, we know, charges our theory with "*excessive individualism;*" but the opposite theory, it will be seen, naturally tends to downright socialism. Take the plan of Fourierite communities—take the mode of education proposed by the Roxbury Community; and you might almost fancy they had gotten the germ of their thought from the covenant of infant baptism. For "parents and churches," read, "parents and communities on the one side and children on the other," and you see at a glance all the difference. Perhaps both

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would rather seem milder imitations of the idea of the education of Spartan children in ancient Greece.

We have thus examined the theory and tendencies of infant baptism, so far as Dr. Bushnell's work could enable us to do so. We have also touched incidentally upon the Baptist theory. Every day shows the advantages of this latter, as a system of church membership.

It is certainly more comprehensive. It allows ample scope and makes provision for parental religious training of children, as ample as the Pedobaptist theory. Indeed more so. It is the only scheme that does throw the responsibility thoroughly and wholly where it belongs, on the parent, and not divide it out into as many hundred fragments as there are members of the church around, or deacons, priests, bishops, and cardinals, up to the pope himself above.

It provides room for all that is true in Dr. Bushnell's theory of "organic connection," physical and metaphysical, between the pious parent and his child. It provides ample room even for the child to "grow up a Christian," insensible of any particular moment of conversion, yet to bow his head like young Samuel and worship the God of his parents, and partake of the blessings of Christian ordinances. It provides the only safe scheme for this to be accomplished without danger of flooding the church with unbelievers, by requiring that he have present sensible experiences of grace, a sensible daily repentance for sin, and walk with God. It is true, our scheme does not teach parents or children either to "take it for granted" that this has already taken place, and that "the faith of the parent has been propagated in the child," as a matter of course, as the result of Christian nurture.

But the Baptist theory holds as essential the doctrine of regeneration by grace—that natural goodness is not enough—that there must be a supernatural work of the Spirit on the heart, a death to sin and new life to righteousness; in fine, that we "must be born again."

It leans perhaps to sensible conversions and repentance, as the most usual way in which the ranks of the army of Christ are, as a whole, recruited. And who will doubt that this is the case? Is not this the way in which the multitudes are and must be brought in, who are now not in a state of grace? Is it not thus that their children will

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usually be brought, even in Dr. Bushnell's own view? And practically, is it not thus that the large majority even of the children of pious parents are brought? It must never be forgotten that although Christianity is in no respect inconsistent with natural or universal religion, yet that it contemplates man from a different and nearer stand point. It views him as sick, and comes to him as a remedial rather than a preservative system; it views him as in bondage to sin, and sets before him liberty; as a sinner, and brings him salvation. I came, said Christ, not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. This is the peculiarity of the system. Natural religion views man as a holy being, needing only to see what virtue is, to choose it. Christianity presupposes sin. It does not contradict natural or universal religion. So far as that goes and can go, well. But the peculiar genius of Christianity is quite different. It is not that of original health, but of health restored by its own medicines. Its province is that of the physician. And "they that are whole need not the physician, but those that are sick." As the wise head of a family will strive so to regulate the food, clothing and habits of his children that they shall maintain uniform health the year round, but yet knows that owing to a thousand occurrences they will be needing medicines and the physician, and that it would be absurd in his scheme to overlook or exclude remedies, and that to treat his children as always in health might often cost him their lives, so the wise and pious parent will strive to train up his children so that they may "grow up" in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, as holy as possible. But he will not expect practically that they will grow up without much sin, and therefore much need of Christ; that generally there will be in the religious history of each seasons of marked spiritual crisis, and that even where they seem to grow up without sensible transitions from the sorrow of penitence to the joy of pardon, it is not because these things do not take place, if they are holy youths, but just the opposite; because they began so early and take place so constantly that there never was a day when they were not sensible of them. In this sense, but in no other, may we expect or desire to see our children grow up without sensible conversions or experiences. This it is for them to "grow up Christians." Such a

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view of the work of grace on the souls of children, is surely not contradictory, but entirely coincident with the philosophy of Baptist views—the philosophy of the doctrine of spiritual regeneration, as universally necessary to church membership.

Before we take leave of Dr. Bushnell's pamphlets, we wish to add a word more about them and their author. His style is forcible and manly, flexible and eloquent, almost beyond any writer of discourses in New England that we know of. His train of thought is always vigorous and original; he unites singular boldness with great occasional beauty. Never fastidious, and sometimes quite careless; he never tires, but instinctively at the proper moment can rise to great sublimity of thought, and plume a thought with words of exquisite finish, winged words that find their way at once to the heart. We hardly know of a better model for a good pulpit style. Even these discourses on Christian nurture will do good. They will wake up all who read them, Baptists and Pedobaptists, to features of religion quite too much lost sight of by the present generation in the hurry and confusion produced by revivalism, or the despondency occasioned by its reaction. But they are not going to put new life into infant baptism. The very errors into which the custom leads one of such rare powers and keen discrimination as himself, will tend to give our views favor in the eyes of the considerate, and exhibit in the strongest light the essential incongruity of the Pedobaptist theory with evangelical religion.

Still we are bound to express the highest respect and regard for Dr. Bushnell, as a man and as a Christian. His system has carried him far, for the deeply logical structure of his mind; and frankness of his character has led him to avoid all shirking of legitimate consequences; but let it be here remarked that *this is the mildest and most moderate theory of infant baptism* ever exhibited; the least offensive to others, the most simple and consistent with itself. If it will not stand, nothing will. Dr. Tyler's Letter in reply to it is but an argument for Baptist principles from beginning to end.

It is not our business to make lengthened remarks upon the controversy that seems to have sprung up between Dr. Tyler and Dr. B., any further than the views ad-

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vanced are concerned. Yet we cannot but regret to trace a certain dogmatic style of address, which, though allowable sometimes in a pulpit discourse, is not quite correct in an address to a committee of brethren in the ministry, of the age and standing of the members of the Mass. S. S. Committee. In his style of speaking of Dr. Tyler, he is almost arrogant and contemptuous. He seems to be young in controversy; takes positions and produces arguments to vindicate the point in hand, more offensive to his opponents than what he wants to prove by them; makes concessions and statements that would easily enable a wily adversary, if he wished, to draw him away from his point by a thousand false issues.

It is as a writer of sermons that he exhibits his full strength and excellence. His sermons on "Living to God in Small Things," on "The Sea," "Prosperity our Duty," "The Day of Roads," are for real mental power applied to the very highest subjects, for daring grasp and originality of mind, superior to any published sermons of the day, and only leaving the greater wonder that he can find a steady ordinary congregation capable of appreciating them. A better service could hardly be done to the religious public than the publication of a volume of his discourses.

T. F. C.

ARTICLE IV.

THE COMPARATIVE NUMBER OF THE SAVED.

"Are there few that be saved?" This is not a question of idle curiosity alone; though it might have been that which prompted the individual who made this inquiry of the Saviour. Instead of returning a direct and immediate answer, he exhorted the inquirer, with others, to attend to that which was of infinite importance to them as individuals, and which, by delay, might soon be beyond their reach. In this is seen the wisdom of Christ;

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and to such he often gave implied answers, conveying at the same time important and convincing truth. But in almost immediate connection with the question, whether there be few saved, a satisfactory reply may be found. It is included in the figures employed by the Saviour respecting the progress and ultimate greatness of the kingdom of God. He compares that kingdom to a large branching tree, springing from the minutest seed, and to the all-pervading influence arising from a small particle of leaven. A little subsequent to the inquiry, and perhaps intending it as an answer, he directs the minds of his hearers into the future, declaring that the ransomed shall come from the east and the west, and from the north and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God. Even the Jewish nation who had rejected him, and despised his teachings, should at length see the day when they would gladly welcome him as their Redeemer and Sovereign, with the joyful greeting, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

Many, from a narrow view of the gospel, and from a false method of judging, have been disposed to reject the Christian religion, because, as they say, it is confined to a few; while the multitude, and among them many of the great, the rich, and the learned, have refused to receive it. Infidels have endeavored to turn this into an engine to oppose and invalidate the Christian system. But the passages to which we have alluded, and other repeated declarations of Christ, and of prophets and apostles, do explicitly state or plainly imply in their descriptions of the kingdom of the Redeemer, as the gospel shall spread and triumph, that those who shall be saved through the atonement of Christ will be "a great multitude which no man can number." From what the Scriptures reveal, and from the nature and design of the gospel scheme of salvation, we have abundant reason to believe that those who shall enter heaven, from among the inhabitants of this world, having washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, will, by no means, be few. We propose, therefore, at present, to offer a few suggestions respecting the comparative number of the saved.

A little consideration and reflection may lead us to believe that the number already saved is greater than we at

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first might suppose. Countless multitudes are now in the heavenly world, who once dwelt upon this sinful earth. And could we behold them all collected in one vast company, the scene would doubtless appear to us as stupendous and glorious as the vision of the prophet-apostle when he gazed into heaven and saw that numberless throng, redeemed from among all nations, and kindred, and people, and tongues, who stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, who sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

In the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the apostle enumerates some of the prominent servants of God, from Abel down through the prophets; and because the number was so great, he says that time would fail to mention others, all of whom, through faith, wrought righteousness and obtained promises. And these several individuals named, scattered along the world's history, were, in most instances, each but one among the thousands of contemporaries who also obtained a good report through faith. God had many people before the flood, in the days of the patriarchs, in the journey through the wilderness, in the time of the prophets, and during the entire period to the coming of Christ. When Elijah mourned that all save himself had forsaken their covenant and become idolaters, God assured him that there were still seven thousand in Israel who had not bowed their knees to Baal.

Under the gospel dispensation, immense numbers have heard the truth, have believed and been saved. Not only Jerusalem, but the Gentile world was filled with the doctrines of the cross. All this was accomplished by the apostles and their immediate successors. On every hand, throughout the known earth, went missionaries, every where proclaiming the gospel, and baptizing disciples. In their progress, idolatry fell prostrate before them, and the ancient and imposing systems of pagan religion were uprooted and overthrown. The gospel spread into Africa, and flourished there. It was promulgated with success in the known countries of Asia. Europe was gladdened by its light; thousands in Greece, in Italy, in France, in Spain, in Germany and in Britain were converted to

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Christianity. Thus, in the early centuries of the Christian era, millions went from earth up to heaven, redeemed by the blood of Christ. From that time to the present, including even the period of the dark ages, there have always existed spiritual churches, which have maintained the pure doctrines of the gospel, in opposition to all the corruptions of the papal hierarchy. How many in these churches, and some also in that, and how many since the great Reformation by Luther and others, have been true converts to Christianity and have died in the faith. And to all who have died in the gospel faith, add, from the world's beginning, every one that has died in infancy, all of whom, we doubt not, are now glorified spirits in heaven; and what a vast, what a stupendous assembly they present! Are there few that be saved? Let the ransomed hosts of heaven answer.

We not only have reason to believe that the number of the saved will be great, but, as we look forward to the future, we have satisfactory reasons for believing that it will be far greater in the end than the number of the lost.

Before we form decided opinions on this subject, we ought to study the manner in which God accomplishes some of the purposes of his will. Nor should we limit the Almighty, or compare him with any human standard. The mind of God and the pathway of his designs are infinitely above those of men. Jehovah has declared, "As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." "The things which are impossible with men are possible with God." In the fulfilment of his purposes, and in the execution of his righteous judgments or of his merciful designs, the Great Eternal is not bounded or circumscribed by any distinct or limited periods of time marked out by men. In this respect, "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." Whatever he has purposed to do, will be done; and whatever he has spoken, shall be fulfilled; though in the mean time a thousand ages may pass away. The divine being, in the accomplishment of his work, is not cramped for space, or confined to any particular period. With him are unmeasured, uncounted years. "From everlasting to everlasting," or more properly, "from eternity to eternity," he is God. He acts

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for his own glory and the highest blessedness of his universe; and these he will secure, as the grand result will show, when revealed in the great and glorious day of the Lord. The Almighty will finish at last what he has begun; and the events of each succeeding generation shall be rendered subservient to the purposes of his will. Illustrations of this are found in the manner of his operations in respect to the world upon which we dwell. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," but who can tell how a long a period may have elapsed from that beginning to the creation of man? The developments of geology indicate that during that interim ages passed away; and this earth, "without form and void," was undergoing various changes and revolutions, till at length it was fitted and adorned as the beautiful residence of the human race.

When sin entered the world, bringing sorrow and death in its train, and spreading a moral blight over the creation, why did not God, who saw the end from the beginning, and knew from eternity every event that would transpire, and who, in his eternal counsels, had already provided an economy of grace—why did he not immediately send his Son into the world to destroy the author of this evil at its very commencement? It was not in accordance with his omniscient wisdom, his infinite glory, and the highest good of man. He promised a Sacrifice and a Saviour; but four thousand years must elapse, before the fulness of time should come for God to be manifest in the flesh. All this was the period of preparation for the kingdom which should be set up in the world by the Messiah. Though myriads of the human race perished during this period, having little or no knowledge of the way of life, still, had the Saviour come sooner than he did, the world would have been unprepared for the introduction of the gospel, and the consequences would doubtless have been far more disastrous in the final result than any loss occasioned by the delay of his advent. If, then, so long a period was necessary to prepare the way for the dispensation of the gospel, who shall number the years allotted for that gospel to wage its warfare and win its triumphs in this world? Will the preparation for Christ's kingdom be longer than its actual existence on earth? If it be allowed that Satan has triumphed thus

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far, will he always triumph? Are there no coming eras of victory and glory for the church of God? If, as yet, the number of the lost exceeds that of the saved, will it always be thus? Is there no time to be given for the kingdom of the Redeemer to prevail against the empire of darkness? Shall only two thousand years be the measure of that dispensation for whose introduction it took four thousand years to prepare? Is such the probable way in which God would operate, in unfolding and accomplishing his purposes? He works on a grander scale—in a larger and sublimer sphere. Eternal years are before him, a thousand of which are but as a day in his sight, considered in reference to what he has determined to do. All the human beings whom he has created and placed in this world, since time began, may be in comparison with those whom he will yet create and save, as but a drop to the ocean, or as a single star to the countless hosts of heaven.

Again, we may form a similar estimate of the comparative number of the saved by considering Christ's interest in the work of redemption, and his resources to carry it forward. This great enterprize was not undertaken by human power, nor is it committed to mortal hands alone. The prophet had a vision of its almighty author, when he inquired, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save?" Has he not resources adequate to accomplish the object which brought him from heaven to earth? Will he assume and not perform? Will he speak, and shall it not be done? Will he contend with his enemy, and not triumph over him? Would he whose name is Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, come into this world to set up a glorious kingdom, and fail of securing that grand result? "All power," said he, "is given unto me in heaven and in earth: go, therefore, preach—disciple—baptize—he that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned." What though millions rebel, refuse to believe, and are lost forever, will not other and unnumbered millions repent, accept the gospel, and be received into heaven? What though some obstinately refuse to

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submit to Jesus Christ; will not his kingdom come in the salvation of multitudes of others, who will bow willingly to him, before this world shall be wrapped in the flames of the last conflagration? God is able of the very stones to raise up children unto Abraham. The blood of Christ is efficacious to cleanse from all sin; and if the men of this generation or of the next will not be purified by it, future generations, in thronging crowds, will come to that sin-healing fountain. The Jews, in the days of Christ, refused the gospel, and it was given to the Gentile world who received it. So multitudes, to whom it is now preached, may reject it and perish, but it shall yet be preached to others, and they shall hear, believe and be saved. The feast of eternal love has been prepared, and if those who are first bidden refuse to come, the invitation shall be extended to others, and Christ's house shall be filled.

Jesus is not only invested with power to save, and has adequate resources to build up his kingdom, but his heart's desire, his profoundest interest, is in the work of redemption. It was for this that he parted with the glory that he from eternity had with the Father. It was to bring salvation to the lost, and to redeem men to God, that the mighty Saviour became the child of Bethlehem. For this he endured the taunts and hatred of men. For this he drank the bitter cup of suffering, submitted to the garden's agony, and Calvary's dreadful death of the cross. It was to establish, enlarge and perpetuate a glorious spiritual kingdom, that he linked humanity with divinity, involving the sacrifice of his atoning blood, in which the human, defaced and ruined, might bathe and become as the divine. A life infinitely blessed in heaven, exchanged for one of toil, privation and sorrow on earth—a death the most painful and degrading, voluntarily endured for his enemies—the tomb entered and its power overcome—a triumphant ascent to glory, and to the seat of intercession, where he still dwells—all show the deep, surpassing interest which the Son of God feels in the great work of man's redemption. And having done all this, will he not yet see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied? Will the divine Jesus have died, and only a few sinners be made to live? Will he have freely poured out his blood, and only a few be cleansed? Will he have come

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to destroy the works of Satan, and that evil spirit after all gain the advantage? Has the mighty Redeemer triumphed over principalities and powers, and led captivity captive, and shall his kingdom be inferior to the kingdom of darkness, or the number of its subjects be less? O, when the closing scene of this earth shall come, will it not be found that the empire of Jesus will be as a world of light and beauty, in comparison with which the kingdom of Satan will be only as a dark and gloomy island? The former will be as a broad universe of splendor and glory, and the latter as a lone star fallen from heaven!

Again, the declarations of Scripture lead us to the same conclusion. No one can have carefully studied the sacred volume—Moses and the prophets, Christ and the apostles—without being impressed with the idea of the future extent and grandeur of the kingdom of God. The strong language used by the inspired writers, the figurative representations which they employ, assure us that the whole world is yet to be converted to Christ. "As truly as I live," saith the Almighty, "all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord." We might quote other passages of similar import with which the word of God abounds. But this is unnecessary, so obvious and full on this point are the teachings of inspiration.

Not only does the eye of prophecy look forward to the grand consummation of a world redeemed, but the adaptation of the gospel to the necessities of fallen humanity, and the present indications of Providence in regard to its universal diffusion, contemplate the same sublime result. How long ere that predicted period will arrive, we have no means of knowing. Nor can we tell how long the earth will remain filled with the knowledge and glory of God, as generation after generation shall go from earth to heaven. The world is capable of containing an immensely increased population. Improved and multiplied facilities for travel by sea and by land, will have a tendency to swell the tide of emigration till every part of the habitable globe shall teem with human life. The benefits of scientific discoveries, and the blessings of a pure faith, under the general prevalence of the gospel, will unite all nations, with their vast myriads of Christian subjects, in one grand brotherhood of peace and love. Living and laboring for the glory of God and the best

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interests of men, all will find an undisturbed home, and an adequate supply for every want. In that joyful era of the world's millennium, the number of those daily departing to be with Christ, will be scarcely less than that of the brilliant orbs which lie along their pathway to glory. Few will then refuse the offer of life and salvation, and break their way down to despair. O, that will be a glorious period, "the days of heaven upon earth," when Christ shall reign the King of nations, as he now reigns the King of saints; when the most powerful minds and the highest attainments shall all be consecrated to truth and holiness; and when the universal heart of humanity shall triumph and rejoice in the grace of a redeeming God.

May we not conclude, therefore, that in the grand result of the gospel of Christ, the number of the saved will far surpass the number of the lost? Though it were truly said, in the days of our Saviour, and even now, "wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be who go in thereat," and "straight is the gate, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it;" yet we must look at the human race as a whole, down to the end of time, and contemplate the saved, not only before Christ, not only in the beginning and early progress of the gospel, but also in the glory of its diffusion among all the kingdoms of earth, and in the sublime splendor of its later triumphs, when, under new instrumentalities or unwonted effusions of the Holy Spirit, "a nation shall be born in a day." If we admit that half or more than half of the human race, up to this time, have been lost, all these may be few, very few, compared with those who are yet to be saved; so that when the gospel dispensation shall close, when the decisions of the judgment shall be made, and eternal destinies fixed, it will be found that Christ has gloriously triumphed, and that his blood has been rendered efficacious to the salvation of a great multitude, the immensity of whose numbers is beyond all finite computation. In contrast with that holy, celestial throng, the number of those who madly choose the way to death and despair will be few, though contemplated alone they may be many. The criminals confined in our jails and prisons, compared in number with the entire population

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of the country, may, perhaps, give us some idea of the ultimate proportion of the lost to the saved.

Among the lessons derived from a review of this subject, we cannot fail of perceiving the folly and false judgment of those who reject the Christian religion, on the plea that it is confined to a few. Our suggestions, we trust, are a sufficient refutation of this infidel objection to Christianity. It is not only shown to be groundless, but it bears an absurdity upon its face. If numbers constitute virtue, then we might be a Romanist, a Mohammedan, or the most degraded pagan, provided the class to which they severally belonged could boast of numerical superiority. The views of such as urge this objection are narrow; they have evidently failed to study the genius of the gospel. In this respect they are like the man of scanty intellect, described by Pollok:

> "Beyond his native vale he never looked;
> But thought the visual line that girt him round,
> The world's extreme."

We belong to the human race, as a whole, extending from the first man to the last. We cannot form a correct estimate of the results of salvation's work, based on a period of only five hundred or of five thousand years. We should look down the long vistas of the future, when not the few, but the many will believe and be saved; when not the common people alone, but when kings and queens shall be fathers and mothers in Israel; and orators and poets, philosophers and statesmen shall all become the humble disciples of Jesus of Nazareth. When the extremes in the chain of human existence shall meet in the judgment of the great day, then will be known the comparative number of the saved and the lost.

We may also learn from this subject, the importance of studying rightly the character, government and designs of God, so far as they are revealed to us. The material creation speaks of Jehovah: "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge." But it is in the gospel of his Son, in his moral government over men under an economy of grace, that we discover the excellence of his character and the glory of his power. There we behold his most stupendous work. "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined." The

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material universe shall fade away, the sun shall go out and the stars expire, but God's spiritual kingdom—his new creation—shall endure forever. Souls redeemed by the blood of Christ shall be the glory of that holy, that boundless and imperishable universe. Wondering angels might well desire to pry into the benevolent designs of Deity.

Here, too, we may have some view of the sublimity of our holy religion—the glorious gospel of the blessed God. Is it adapted only to the minds of the weak and ignorant? Must it be spurned with contempt, because some whom the world esteems great refuse to submit to its claims and be honored with its rewards? Christ's religion! it is a theme whose limits are beyond man's loftiest powers of thought, and worthy not only of an angel's intellect, but of the infinite mind of God. "If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost," who have no adequate conception of what they oppose.

We are also encouraged, from this subject, to engage with increasing interest in the missionary cause. This is one of the most obvious of God's chosen instrumentalities to carry out the design of the infinite sacrifice of Calvary, in bringing many sons to glory. Every disciple of Christ, identifying himself with this blessed enterprise, may become the favored agent, under his divine Master, of contributing something to hasten the predicted period of the gospel's universal prevalence, and to swell the number of that vast multitude yet to be saved.

And, finally, we may bring all the considerations which our theme presents, to bear with immense weight upon each rational mind, in urging it to an immediate personal interest in religion. The conditions of salvation can never change. Repentance must be exercised toward God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. And whoever would share in the eternal benefits of the glorious gospel, must in earnest sincerely strive to enter in at the straight gate, lest by neglect and delay, the door of mercy and of hope be closed forever.

S. D. P.

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ARTICLE V.

THE MORAL HERO.

WHAT is a manly Christian? What are the constituents of a "good soldier of Jesus Christ"? We think that he must possess valor, knowledge, discipline and loyalty.

A prime requisite is valor. The true hero will be brave to endure, to aspire, and to overcome.

Valor is value; the measure of one is the exponent of the other in a man. It is not so much a virtue as *vir*tue in the aggregate. It is *man*hood, the strong working out of manly qualities. Moral heroism is virtue in action—exalted principles reduced to practice, embodied in worthy deeds and illustrated by them.

Our condition, as moral agents in a sinful world, demands the constant exercise of this quality, since mentally, spiritually, and physically, our whole existence is a constant battle against obstructions to our welfare. Happy are they, not who have the fewest and the feeblest to encounter, but who possess the most spirit and perseverance to conquer them, or the serenest resignation to submit so long as their antagonists are invincible. These are the heroic spirits who

> "Wait for the dawning of a brighter day,
> And snap the chain the moment when they may."

There is no valor on earth like heavenly patience. In the language of Tertullian, "She fortifies faith; she commands peace, she sustains love, she lays the foundation of humility, she controls the flesh, she guards the soul, she drives away offences, she perfects martyrdom, she comforts the poor, she gives moderation to the rich, she drives not the weak beyond their strength, she wastes not the might of the strong, she quickens the believer, she kindly allures the unbeliever, she gains for the servant the ap-

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probation of the master, for the master the approbation of God. She is lovely in the child, praiseworthy in the youth, venerable in the aged." This quality of valorous patience, so firm to endure and so useful in endurance, like all other virtues, was most sublimely manifested in our Lord. One instance, particularly, in the heroical patience of Christ, is, at the same time, a proof of the greatest strength, and an exemplification of the most glorious triumph. At the very moment the Prince of Life suffered himself to be smitten on the cheek by a Roman slave, he was infinitely stronger than Pilate, fortified as he was by the whole power of imperial Rome, and all the hateful passions of turbulent Jerusalem. See the true soldier of eternal justice, the great "Captain of our salvation," standing amid the whirl of wretched expediences and worldly contempt. Therein was our grandest example of valor; no martial heroism could compare with that. "The high priest of expediency" triumphed apparently; the mild, forbearing, unaided "Man of sorrows" was "crucified between two thieves." But wait a little, and see how apparent discrepancies in the divine government are rectified. Within fifty years from that time, Christianity was going forth into all the regions of the earth, and gathering together the Roman and the Greek, the barbarian and the Scythian, the bond and the free, into the field of Christ. Meanwhile the ploughshare was upturning the foundations of Jerusalem, and the wolf prowled amid the ruins of her pride and power. The following lines, by the prince of American poets, may become hackneyed by frequent quotation, but the divine doctrine they express will never grow obsolete.

> "Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again,
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> But error wounded writhes in pain,
> And dies amid her worshippers."

But the true hero aspires as well as endures. He pants for self-development, that he may win social influence. He will consult the world's wants rather than its wishes, and seek for commendation only in the path of usefulness. The highest valor is manifested, not in the zealot who most recklessly fights for a segment, but in the saga-

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cious champion who most resolutely serves the whole circle of humanity. The use of proper means, and the profitable application of strength for the attainment of noble ends, constitute a warfare honorable to God and man. In conflicts prompted and sustained by Christian principle, there is a moral grandeur, an intense sublimity, infinitely transcending all the exploits of bloody battle-fields. In moral struggles, it is not nervous excitement that one needs, but spiritual boldness, the bravery of firm conviction, full persuasion, conscious honesty, and those fervid aspirations which elevate the soul to a clear medium and unencumbered space, where it can strike with blows intrepid and effective.

But to attain the superior force that lies in a well directed independence of spirit, requires the vigorous employment of great moral courage. If one would benefit the world, he must often oppose it; and it requires more bravery to face popular odium than to "stand in the cannon's mouth." He is more valiant who conquers groveling passions, than he who desolates fertile lands; and this self-conquest is indispensable to the attainment of that depth, width and calm force which arms one to master difficulty. The celestial martyr holds the honor of his Lord as preferable to his own ease. The glory he aspires after is at once his chosen avocation and his highest enjoyment. The halcyon, when the sea is troubled, fears lest the winds should disturb its repose, and such is the man of selfish worldly aims; but the Christian hero, struggling through earthly conflicts to eternal rest, is symbolized by the eagle, that child of storms, as athwart tempest-charged clouds he takes his flight to bask in the sun.

"Hope, the last blessing that is lost," prompts, in the devout soldier of Christ, the perpetual prayer, "O, give counsel to my mind and force to my arms!" A fine instance of the energy and perpetuity of this kind of inspiration is presented to us in the enterprise of the Propaganda at Rome. That is the only institution extant which carries us back in thought to the times when sacrificial odors ascended from the Pantheon, and when wild beasts bounded upon their victims in the Flavian amphitheatre. That missionary body is still sending forth religious heroes, like those who landed in Kent with Augus-

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tin, to convert our ancestors; they are still confronting hostile kings, with the same fortitude that nerved them to confront Attila. They are busy under every meridian between Cape Horn and the remotest borders of our western wilds, with persevering endeavors which we should do well to emulate. Each recruit to their corps is a soldier and knight-errant the spouse of Christ. They enlist for life, and swear to smite the great red dragon; they are brothers in one great band, the betrothed champions of the woman clothed with the sun. And these are no fickle, faint-hearted heroes, courting indolence and contented with slight acquisitions; their life is one long servitude, the clamor of their voice and the clash of their arms are silenced only by death; as one battalion falls, another rapidly succeeds, and the last of the resolute band will be contented only when the world is won. Shall not we, who profess a purer form of Christianity, outrun our predecessors in the glorious career of beneficent toil, and be first in to grasp the laurels of final conquest?

Surely "a cloud of witnesses holds us in full survey." Do you not hear them—the old martyrs—as they call to us from on high? Crowned with splendor, filled with rapture, the divine messengers fly from sphere to sphere, singing the anthems of the future, and wooing us to those conflicts in which it should be our chiefest joy, as it is our highest privilege, to engage. The angel of justice and the angel of mercy will fight with those who go forth armed to reëstablish among men the empire of righteousness and the reign of love. Many faithful soldiers may fall in the strife, but the name and influence of each will remain on earth, like a ray of the glory of God.

We have spoken of enduring valor, and valor that aspires; but valor that overcomes is the distinguishing attribute of a moral hero. The true man, the "good soldier of Christ," is heroical in every attitude which the law of necessity compels him to assume. Those are not the less valiant who are wrongfully scourged in secret by the oppressor, or who die captive in prison, than the heroes who pour out their sacrificial blood upon the open and stormy battle-field. Each to his work, and in his own time! Different phases of the same cause may be glorified with the same valor. The fashion of the clothes

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men wear, and the changeful circumstances under which their deeds are manifested to the world—these adventitious things matter not; the heart, the purpose, is all.

"The characteristic of a genuine heroism is its persistency." The strong man, the healthy natural soul, sees through to the end, and pursues it without a faltering step. With his stout heart and vigorous will, he is like a knight harnessed in perfect armor, ready to strike a blow, or to sustain one when it may not be evaded. Or, rather, he is as a swórd itself, strong to cleave, and especially strong to bear the brunt of opposition. His valor is thus both active and passive. He smites only when smiting is needful. His force is not wasted in useless endeavors, like ammunition exploded on the exterior of a ledge; but all his energies are concentrated in practical use, as powder compressed within a rock shatters most when most confined.

It is interesting to observe how the mythology of every nation and age recognizes and celebrates this principle. Hercules was a monster-slayer; he represented the activity of valor. Prometheus, bound, was a suffering victim, chained to a mountain of rock and torn by vultures; he was the type of enduring valor, that conquers through patient agony. The war-god of our Saxon fathers, Thor, was a compound of another, and perhaps a nobler, sort. He was not the god of mere strength—blind force; nor was he the passive victim of persecution. He was the god of work, the supreme sovereign of well-directed strength. He was the first-born of the sun and the earth, the divine principle which, so soon as light and warmth embraced chaos, commenced its stirring and incessant war for the achievement of good. His was a wise, bold, persevering struggle. He did not strike at random, but with well-aimed blows. His giant arm wielded a huge hammer, which never missed its aim, and with which he crushed every thing that opposed him. He did not throw away his strength, as a fool scattereth his, but ruled all resources with a fixed purpose, and made himself the servant of the future, of eternity. Thor was the worker, Hercules the avenger, Prometheus the martyr. Each was truly heroic, each exemplified valor in some of its forms. They differed in externals only, while fortitude and vigor, divinely tempered, were elements in each. If

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Christianity did not abound in solace and fortifying wisdom of the most exalted kind, we might find much to teach us even in the happy dreams of the pagans.

The second important element in a "good soldier of Jesus Christ" is knowledge. He must be well instructed in men, in the science of morals, and in the practice of religion.

First of all, he must understand men. A soldier needs to understand the nature and dispositions of his comrades, in order the more effectually to inspire their action and direct their force. It is said of Napoleon, "that he never went into any town, or city, or country, new to him, but immediately he was examining and considering where would be the best place for a castle or a camp, for an ambush or an attack, for the means of defence or annoyance." He was equally assiduous in his study of human nature; and his addresses to his army show that few men ever made such wonderful proficiency in the pursuit as he. This was his ruling passion. His power in popular speech was equalled only by his martial skill.

But the soldier of the cross is engaged in a loftier warfare, and needs still greater sagacity. He is dealing with the work of salvation, and ought well to understand the composition of the immortal creatures he would save. If he would reasonably hope for eminent success, he must know man, not as he appears in a museum of anatomy, nor amid the dusty alcoves of a library, but living, loving, active man, in the field, the street, the shop, in meditation and practical life, on the land and on the sea.

It is to be feared that in the Christian warfare there is ordinarily a sad want of practical knowledge, and, consequently, a corresponding want of success. In too many places, the minister of Christ rises in deserted temples and delivers himself of sterile words; he has too little force even to excite opposition. And why is this? Has Christianity accomplished her destinies, and ceased to be in harmony with human nature? Is she no longer responsive to the sympathies of the soul? No; an eternal aspiration towards the infinite constitutes a religious instinct imperishable in man. That which repels and disgusts is not true Christianity; it is a sterile system that has assumed the name to disgrace it; that which is uncouth and

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perishable, is not the divine tree, but the dead bark that covers it.

We are so constituted that when a true man puts himself on a direct line to our heart, through sincere and energetic emotion, we have no other means of preventing his approach but by fleeing from his presence. And this we will not do; for nothing on earth is so fascinating as the language of true feeling. We may hate the preacher and his theme, but if he has the root of the matter in him, and speaks with sincerity, we are bound to hear him. We may envy him, the profane may curse him, but envy and curses equally testify to the deep impression he makes, and are our unwilling homage to his strength. The old story of the actor's reply to the bishop of London is very significant. "We are effective in fiction," said he, "because we are in earnest." He had feeling and he showed it. It is not enough that the fires burn at the heart of a preacher, as on the hearth of volcanoes, but through crevice and crater, the vital heat must flash and roar; the flushed cheek, gleaming eye, and trembling tones that move over an audience, must verify his ability and win rewards for his honest toil.

We affect other natures only through our own. In proportion as we know ourselves, we shall be acquainted with the nature of all men. We can in no way acquire a natural mode of addressing them so successfully as by being really in earnest. All imitation is fatal to strong effect. The kingdom of man, like the kingdom of heaven, suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. The popular heart loves to be heroically besieged, and never yields its admiration so willingly as when it is commanded by superior talents. "The multitude," says a sagacious writer, "are ready to swallow any thing that comes in the shape of rhetoric. They are hungering and thirsting for it, and seek the desired gratification from the pulpit, the bar, and the senate chamber; they are ready to be instructed, to be moved, to be aroused, transported, —yes, the most obstinate are willing to be enlightened, the most obdurate to be melted, the dullest to be charmed, if the power and the wisdom come in the form of eloquence."

The question is, how shall this sort of wisdom and power be attained? Classical knowledge is certainly a

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mighty auxiliary. Reinhard, one of Germany's greatest preachers, says, in his Confessions, that he was much indebted for his pulpit success to the orations of Demosthenes. But, perhaps, the nearest approach to the highest style of teaching which the history of uninspired eloquence affords, was exhibited in the public instructions of Socrates. In Plato's Banquet, Alcibiades is made to say, "When I heard Pericles, or any other great orator, I was entertained and delighted, and I felt that they had spoken well. But no mortal speech has ever excited in my mind such emotions as are kindled by this magician. Whenever I hear him, I am as it were charmed and fettered. My heart leaps like an inspired Corybant. My inmost soul is stung by his words, as by the bite of a serpent; it is indignant at its own rude and ignoble character. I often weep tears of regret, and think how vain and inglorious is the life I lead. Nor am I the only one that weeps like a child and despairs of himself; many others are affected in the same way." Now we know from history, that Socrates acquired his power by abandoning the schools of Sophists, and following the advice inscribed over the gate of the temple at Delphi—KNOW THYSELF. Every great teacher in ancient times, and every truly eloquent soldier of Jesus, in later ages, has studied moral wisdom principally in his own heart, and in the practical school of life.

No man needs to be thoroughly educated in the art of powerful speech more than the ambassador for Christ. If profane men in worldly causes need to be well prepared with effective address, how much more is it required in him through whose lips

> —"The violated law speaks out
> Its thunders; and by whom, in strains as sweet
> As angels use, the gospel whispers peace."

Speaking on this topic, Augustin recorded his views as follows: "The design of Christian oratory is either to instruct men in the truth, to refute their errors, or to persuade them to the practice of virtue, and an abhorrence of vice. The first requires plain narration; the second, strength of argument and ratiocination; and the third, the art of moving the mind and affections. As the Christian orator speaks that only which is holy, just and good,

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he endeavors to speak in such a manner that he may be heard with understanding, with pleasure and with effect. That he may be heard with understanding, he speaks with plainness and perspicuity, and a regard to the capacities and knowledge of his hearers; that he may be heard with pleasure, he will pay such attention to the common rules of eloquence as to endeavor to speak with acuteness, eloquence and strength; and that he may be heard with effect, he will labor to persuade and to convince his auditors of the truth and importance of his doctrines."

It was said that Demosthenes "eat shields and steel," so brave and indomitable was his eloquence. Do the soldiers of Christ, the preachers of righteousness manifest either his zeal or his boldness? Do they not generally seem to forget that "eloquent words a graceful manner want?" An English poet, of the last century, describes the preaching of his day thus:

> "In point of sermons 'tis confest,
> Our English clergy *make* the best;
> But this appears, we must confess,
> Not from the pulpit, but the press.
> They manage, with disjointed skill,
> The matter well, the manner ill;
> And what seems paradox at first,
> They make the best, and preach the worst."

Unfortunately this sketch is applicable to regions beyond the limits of old Albion. Many of our preachers talk of life and death, heaven and hell, in cold blood, and preserve a tame manner throughout a discourse on eternal retributions. How unlike was Raphael's conception of pulpit propriety, when he delineated that good soldier of Christ, the prince of apostles, with beaming face and both arms raised, pouring out the thunders of his doctrine amid a refined audience of pagan philosophers.

We have been speaking of the importance to a preacher of an acquaintance with the nature of man, as furnishing him with potent means for moving mankind. In this connection it should be remarked that this kind of knowledge is most surely and accurately obtained by mastering the principles of moral science.

To develop man's immortal nature, and the relations of

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this life to eternity, is the preacher's province—to foster the growth, and give a right direction to germs destined to expand forever—to startle the slumbers of a guilty race, and to paint to their gaze in distinct colors the shadows cast from the cross and the throne of God on the shifting and transient scenery of earth. The spirit of true scholarship is neither dogmatic nor inert; it lays all books, all material worlds, and all the intelligence in the universe under contribution; it borrows illustrations from the past, the present and the future, from history and imagination, from every kingdom of nature and every department of art; it thrills every chord of feeling, and invigorates, while it beautifies, every faculty of the soul. It slumbers not, wavers not, succumbs not, while there is a resource unexhausted or a difficulty unsubdued. Employed in any cause, mind of the highest order can accomplish any thing but miracles; allied to infinite purity, it is omnipotence itself.

Shall the hero of the cross bemoan the lack of material, interesting and effective, for his use? Is there nothing beautiful in the tints of creation, august in moral science, or glorious in the doctrines of grace? Is there nothing moving in the history of our race, touching in earthly vicissitudes, majestic even in the ruins of man, and sublime in the method of his reconstruction into the architecture of heaven? Where now is the race of Abraham—its perished grandeur, and its living attestations to the truth of prophecy? Where is ancient philosophy—its diversified types and perpetual failures in attempts to rescue and ennoble man? Where is Christianity—its wonderful progress and still more wonderful founder, miracles, character, life, death, glory on high, and glorious trophies constantly won, to blend in a final triumph over a world redeemed? The Bible—looking before and after, teeming with realities as high as heaven and as deep as hell, vocal on every page with the songs of the redeemed, or the groans of the lost, and all these things here to be used and hereafter to be eternally verified—how can the preacher want matter more invigorating to the understanding, or more thrilling to the heart?

But despite all this infinitely diversified field of argument and illustration, what is reaped therefrom but, often, the dreary pedantry of prolix dogmatism? We

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humbly think that the pulpit of our day is not sufficiently definite, practical and fervid.

The preacher, from the essential character of his calling, is a commentator on infinity; and to insure success in his work he must limit each task to the unfolding of some specific point. To impress that one grand precept or doctrine, and that alone, upon the hearer, with every motive that time or eternity can urge, and with every adornment that the wisest taste can command, is the only way to render each discourse effective, and the longest series of discourses original and striking. Too many of our preachers are like chiefs whose soldiers have all deserted; they are the solitary representatives of obsolete opinions, having no hold on the masses of men, because they have no specific touches of truth and sentiment for them; they are frigid fragments of fragmentary things, integrant to nothing grand, and without a comprehensive unity in themselves. They are effeminate recreants, and not good soldiers; mouldy pedants, "plunged to the hilt in musty tomes and rusted in,"—useless book-worms, unfitted to dwell with living, aspiring, working men. They can make no sound but with their puny voice, and that makes no impression on the busy world. The truthfulness and practical utility of a composition is in proportion to the variety and dignity of the facts it contains, those facts being always the realization of some specific principle; if the facts are drawn from earthly resources, the aggregate is an oration; if from heavenly wisdom, it is a sermon. The most valuable pulpit exercises are those in which the general doctrines of the cross are manifested with distinctness, in rare and yet simple, bold and yet beautiful, array.

In addition to being definite, one must be practical in preaching. The icy formulas of artificial sermons will not command attention and promote reforms. Donne, in his seventieth published discourse, said with much meaning, that "almost all knowledge is rather like a child that is embalmed to make a mummy, than that is nursed to make a man; rather conserved in the stature of the first age, than grown to be greater." What would he have said of the pulpit literature of the present day? Certainly the modern race of preachers are not overburdened with stores of profound and practical wisdom, "by their own

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weight made steadfast and immovable." Sectional prejudice and bigoted ambition have crippled our better faculties into contemptible proportions; we deal in thorny polemics with stronger habit, and fonder love, we fear, than with the practical duties of our profession,

> "As if religion was intended
> For nothing else but to be mended."

Instead of uniting our energies in efficient attacks on a common foe, we incur his contempt by wasting our ammunition in foolish and unchristian squibs at each other. What poor business this for the soldiers of Christ, in a world vibrating on the brink of perdition! How well-founded and well-deserved is the sarcastic remark of Carlyle on this subject. "Instead of heroic martyr conduct, and inspired and soul inspiring eloquence, whereby religion were brought home to our living bosoms, to live and reign there, we have 'Discourses on the Evidences,' endeavoring, with the smallest result, to make it probable that such a thing as religion exists."

To these remarks on the specific and practical in preaching, we may add that no moral hero can be powerful any where without being fervid. He is to be a burning, as well as a shining, light; imparting illumination to the gloom, and life to the darkness that surrounds him. His effulgence, however, is not to be of the cold glimmer of decaying matter, but the bright shining of ethereal flame. The fervor must be real, and not assumed. An audience is no more affected by artificial emotion, than they are warmed with painted fire. If the eloquence of a preacher "apes the travelled lore it never knew," his words will fall on human hearts as dead leaves fall at mid-winter on the impassive ice. Pulpit oratory of the first order is a compound of strong logical acumen, and deep, honest feeling. To borrow an illustration from the Apocalypse, it is a sea of glass mingled with fire—solid, lucid substance made flexile and brilliant by that element which is most penetrating and purifying. The result is a limpid current of thought; chaste language arranged in a delightful harmony, which speaks at once to the heart and imagination; a compound of energy and mildness, dignity, grace and unction; an inexhaustible

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fountain of argument, adorned with a grateful richness of illustration; the power of alarming and consoling by turns, compelling even those who are not converts to his doctrine, to feel the force of his talents and the importance of his theme. To do this naturally and habitually, we repeat, there must be a wide scope of observation and sensibility, native to the speaker's soul. Masterly artistic skill may fashion a mass of stone into the exact resemblance of a human form; but nothing less than warm original emotion can kindle the eye and mantle the brow with the living flames of eloquence. Given, a fountain of true emotion in the soul,—then the opening of currents in the most graceful and impressive manner, for the gratification and benefit of the world, becomes a duty of the most imperious kind. Said Augustine, "We ought to borrow the eloquence of the pagans, leaving them their falsehoods; as Israel carried away the gold of the Egyptians without touching their idols, for the purpose of embellishing the holy ark."

The bee refines the flavor of his hive by blending the sweets of a hundred different fields; so the preacher should gather richness and sweetness from the prolific regions of the east and the untamed wilderness of the west. He should cultivate the decorative as well as the substantial in pulpit ministrations, since

> "Taste, like the silent dial's power,
> Which, when supernal light is given,
> Can measure inspiration's hour,
> And tell its height in heaven!"

It is a fatal mistake to suppose that one must be superficial and trite, in order to be popular in the pulpit. Coleridge declared it to be his opinion, that "in any half dozen sermons of Dr. Donne, or Jeremy Taylor, there are more thoughts, more facts and images, more excitements to inquiry and intellectual effort, than are presented to the congregations of the present age in as many churches or meetings, during twice as many months." Yet both these were the most popular preachers of the times, were heard with enthusiasm by crowded and promiscuous audiences, and the effect produced by their eloquence was held in reverential and affectionate remembrance by many attendants on their ministry, who, like the pious Isaac

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Walton, were not themselves men of learning or education." The lucid style of preaching in those days, is thus characterized by a contemporary poet.

> " See God's ambassador in the pulpit stand,
> Where they could take notes from his look and hand ;
> And from his speaking action bear away
> More sermons than our preachers use to say."

When a preacher is endowed, like the patriarch of old, with fire shut up in his bones, and being full of the matter is intent upon disburdening his ardent soul, he will not come before the people for the purpose of "pouring out fervors a week old." His advent will not be heralded by the rhetoric of the schools, nor will he be most anxious to dazzle his hearers with jewels plundered from the shrines of antiquity. Tremblingly he beholds himself and all mankind, exposed to a "fiery deluge and without an ark." His manner will be part and parcel of his matter, and both will be natural, irresistible, and spontaneous as the flash and concussion of heavenly bolts. Indeed, the delivery of one who is oratorical in the highest sense of the term, can hardly be described as a thing distinguishable from that all-animating energy which vivifies his whole being. Appropriate gestures, like noble sentiments, are felt rather than seen. The hearer, held bound by the chain of induction, listens with delight for instruction mainly, and thinks little of the manner of its presentation, because it is so perfect.

> " While admiration, feeding at the eye,
> And still unsated, dwells upon the scene."

The good soldier of Christ, stationed on the watch-tower of Zion, should arm himself with all the powers of speech, that he may the better combat error, awaken faith, purify the heart, kindle the imagination, subjugate the will, and subdue the rebellious passions to the yoke of eternal law. He should seek the most exalted inspiration, and communicate without restraint the emotion he feels. He rises in the place of God, discusses interests that are immortal, and, if he is himself conscious of the responsibility of his station, he will fortify his eloquence by the self accusations of each conscience ranged in the awful perspective of death, judgment, and eternity.

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Whimsicality of spirit, ridiculous in less dignified discourse, becomes superlatively absurd when one would arouse and instruct the soul; it stifles sentiment, enervates composition, and is absolutely incompatible with true eloquence. Never do the ministers of Christ preach more usefully for their own renown, than when they labor effectually for the salvation of mankind. Remorse for sin, cries for pardon, and tears of joy, these constitute the applause most honorable to the Christian minister.

The third topic to be considered is the kind and measure of discipline requisite to form a good soldier of Jesus Christ. His faculties need to be tempered by suffering, invigorated by toil, and rendered victorious by grace. A proper blending of physical, intellectual and emotional training will produce that tone of character which dignifies the enjoyments of sense, endures hardships for the sake of exalted aims, scorns death for the noblest freedom, and wears the brightest honors with the humblest spirit.

In the first place, the best discipline of the moral hero begins in the furnace of affliction; it is under circumstances of trial that our sympathies are aroused, our finer feelings developed, and our best lessons learned. By becoming acute in our own sensibilities, we win the skill of strongly moving others, provided those sensibilities are properly trained and linked to sterner powers. Solid learning embodied in sound doctrine, must ever constitute the substance of good preaching; but ardent feeling will form a decoration for this, as charming as it is useful. The ladder of the patriarch's dream, traversed by angels and reaching to heaven, rested on a rocky base; and such is true pulpit eloquence,—its basis is immutable truth, its adornment, sanctified emotion. The eloquence of a tried and tender heart is better than frigid logic; it is intuitive conviction, and a mighty auxiliary to religion. It tends most powerfully to arouse the intellect, and "breeds perpetual benediction," to nourish the soul as with angels' food;

> "The truths that wake
> To perish never;
> Which neither listlessness nor mad endeavor,
> Nor man, nor boy,
> Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
> Can utterly abolish or destroy."

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The grand defect in many modern preachers is a want of heart. In repulsiveness, they resemble fragments of icebergs floating in the arctic ocean. They argue with precision enough, but they argue coldly. They aim to convince the understanding, and to fortify a creed; but seldom, and with feeble power, do they touch the sensibilities and kindle devotion. The chief force of many sermons is expended in hammering out a chain of cause and effect, or in rendering perfectly luminous original sin, predestination and other abstruse doctrines. These formal discourses, "dried preparations," tagged together with arbitrary ligaments in numerical stiffness, are as meagre and lifeless as a skeleton articulated with iron wires. Therein you find little of that irrepressible spirit of divine conviction for which materialism cannot account, and which even depravity can hardly resist. Instead of bringing home the tremendous truths of the gospel to "men's business and bosoms," through intelligible illustrations and appeals to feelings common to all hearts, these dogma expounders and creed definers, like Milton's fiends in hell, find a more genial occupation in adjusting the subtleties of "fixed fate and foreknowledge absolute." And yet these men complain that the Sabbath is desecrated and the house of God deserted. Who can wonder that while the dull preacher, in a dry phlegmatic manner, is reading his drowsy lucubration, with too little zeal to earn the shame of an enthusiast, the profligate are unalarmed, and the intelligent are driven from sacred altars in disgust? Make the pulpit respectable and it will be respected. The spirit of scholasticism has converted intelligent and forcible preaching into the rigid forms of dogmatics, as Napoleon converted melodious bells and whole parks of cannon into columns of bronze.

Christ's commission to his disciples was, "Go ye into all the world and preach,"—proclaim with the living voice the truths essential to salvation. Jesus knew well that it is only through the life and energy of the soul, luminous with spontaneous fires, and by the force of the living voice, that the glorious gospel can be propagated and felt sympathetically in all its force. There is in our nature a profound need of emotion and sympathy which nothing can stifle, and which the artificialities of ordinary preaching will never supply. That kind of speech is

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effective which not only nourishes the mind, but arouses it—not only conveys thought into it, but compels the hearer to think for himself.

Those pulpit heroes who "draw not the voice alive unto their lips," will not be likely to draw many souls to Him who taketh away the sins of the world. Skilful elocution adds much to the effect of doctrinal teaching; since well modulated tones, accompanied by appropriate gestures, present simultaneously "a concert to the eye and to the ear." The style of our Saviour was remarkable for investing trite subjects, or cardinal truths, with striking and attractive beauties. Every discourse of his resembles "the beauteous garniture of altars on a festal time;" and the highest encomium ever pronounced on preaching was recorded of his, in the declaration of an eye-witness, that "the common people"—miscellaneous crowds—"heard him gladly."

The good soldier of Christ is potent only so far as he wields weapons that produce immediate and enduring impressions where they fall. The value of his accoutrements consists not so much in their elegance as in their effectiveness. "For what use is a golden key," inquired Augustine, "if it cannot open what we desire? and what harm if the key be of wood, provided it will unlock the door of knowledge; for we desire nothing, but that the things be laid open which are now shut up." Truth must be unfolded to mankind in the light of honest and earnest feeling. Logic, iron-linked like chain-shot, must receive momentum before it can do execution. As the dart of Acestes kindled while it was rising towards the sun, so does the mind inhale fresh vigor and glow with increased zeal, as it aspires to consummate excellence and pants to diffuse it. Such a speaker will leave his moral features impressed on the soul of his hearer in bolder relief than Phidias left his on the shield of Minerva. "There is but one indivisible point," says Pascal, "from which we should look at a picture; all others are too near, too distant, too high, too low. Perspective fixes this point precisely in the art of painting;" and with equal truth it may be remarked, deep feeling fixes it in preaching. "The heart," says Longinus, "is the source of all true eloquence." Goethe paraphrased this important thought as follows:

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"Persuasion, friend, comes not by toil or art;
Hard study never made the matter clearer;
'Tis the live fountain in the speaker's heart,
Sends forth the streams that melt the ravished hearer.
Then work away for life—heap book on book—
Line upon line, and precept on example;
The stupid multitude may gape and look,
And fools may think your stock of wit most ample.
But would you touch the heart, the only method known,
My worthy friend, is first to have one of your own."

We do not take steel to an ice-house, but to a forge, and work it at a white heat, when we would give it flexibility and practical use. Acute and honest feeling is the surest guide to effective speaking, and wins the profoundest regard. Let one be true in thought and purpose, and his emphasis will not be false; let the soul be full of the language of heavenly sentiment, and the body will naturally yield itself, a graceful vehicle of power and the organ of unobstructed communication. Thus it is easy to interpret the fact, stated long ago by Augustine, that "if a man have an acute and fervid mind, he will acquire eloquence more readily from reading or hearing eloquent men, than from practising on the rules of eloquence." The only imitation that is profitable is in the soul, and not in the body; it is in the activity of the spiritual faculties, and not in the motions or modulations of physical organs. Whenever the vernacular of a spirit truly aroused is proclaimed, whatever may be the coinage of the words, the speech seems elegant to the listener, and, because it is natural, it is easily understood. "Such imitation," says Longinus, "is not to be looked upon as plagiarism, but as lifting our souls to the standard of the genius of others, and filling us with their lofty ideas and energy."

It is an old saying, and a true one, that the wounded is the wounding heart. Wesley and Whitefield, in the first days of their career, were thoroughly disciplined in the fires of spiritual suffering, as well as in the halls of science. They knew how to value the more tranquil movements of the mind; but felt that something bordering on the tumultuous was necessary to the accomplishment of their high calling. They aimed to agitate and elevate the religious passions to their utmost height. They found the world both stupified and stultified; and they knew

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full well that unimpassioned reason would furnish more impediment than assistance in the work of renovation. They did not anxiously guard against every sentiment and expression calculated to agitate or alarm, nor were they ambitious of exasperating the natural repugnance of depraved hearts, by adding as much as possible to the dryness of their pulpit ministrations.

A good manner will secure a good audience, and will produce good results. All the liberal arts are exceedingly social in their character and influence. When a man hears with delight, he will instinctively seek others to listen with him, just as in a gallery of paintings, or at a concert of music, persons are inclined to good nature and agreeable conversation. But a man who is wooed to slumber by the monotony of his "parson," will be likely to prefer solitude elsewhere to that which he is sure to find at church. Moreover, a good manner is a lucid exposition of divine truth—it is like Scripture read through illuminated transparencies. A deaf mute will often detect a hypocrite, by the absence of truthful expression in his face; and all persons blest with the exercise of common sense will have no difficulty in making the same discovery.

"Whitefield," says his biographer, "wrought out acceptable tones, and gestures, and looks, as well as acceptable words. Was Whitefield right? Then many are far wrong. Let the rising ministry take warning. Awkwardness in the pulpit is a sin; monotony is a sin; dulness is a sin; and all of them sins against the welfare of immortal souls." Now every body knows this is true; but who keeps the counsel? Clergy and laity go on in the same hackneyed routine of dogmas, made doubly repulsive by artificial awkwardness and inveterate dulness. There is no appropriate care given to a suitable manner of presenting truth to men. Hence, says Dr. Rush, "We need not be surprised, that the pulpit, the senate, the bar, and the chair of medical professorship, are filled with such abominable drawlers, mouthers, mumblers, stutterers, squeakers, chanters and mongers in monotony."

The historian of great events, the advocate of sublime interests, and, above all, the ambassador of God, placed in the tower of Zion to arouse men from their fatal sleep,

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should feel the greatness of their subjects, if they would hope to be successful in the pleas they make. "Though you give the holy things of God the highest praise in words," said Baxter, "if you do it coldly, you will unsay, by your manner, all that you have said. It is a kind of contempt of great things, especially so great as these, to speak of them without great fervency and affection." The more educated and refined the hearer is, the greater is the offence he suffers under indifferent speaking. A short time previous to his death, Doctor Parr dictated a letter to Archdeacon Butler, in which he said he had given "minute and plenary direction for his funeral," and requested him to preach "a short, simple funeral sermon," adding with emphasis, "say little of me, but be sure to say it well." It would seem as if, having heard so much poor preaching while alive, he did not wish to endure posthumous pangs from this source.

The truth is, quite too much of pulpit discourse, even when it has the hue of beauty, has no heat, as where the sun "stoops his golden locks afar on snowy mountains cold." But is this necessary? Look at Whitefield, with his great, glowing soul, traversing kingdoms, oceans and continents, every where pouring out on sinful man a pellucid tide of the most vivid emotion. His elocution was not confined to the evolutions of his limbs, and the tones of his voice, but spoke from his whole person, and thrilled along every nerve of his hearer. The secret of his wonderful power is told in Cowper's panegyric on the great preacher, when he said, that

> "The tear
> That dropped upon his Bible was sincere."

Whitefield was simple, but not insipid; like Baxter, he made it a rule to insert in every sermon he delivered something above the ordinary capacity of his audience. But he invested the sublimities of the gospel with such a lucid atmosphere, that the astonished hearer beheld them as enrapturing discoveries, rather than as dubious hypotheses—blazing and life-giving realities, instead of effete and musty dogmas. The influence of this glorious innovator on universal stupidity was most happy. Kindred souls caught the inspiration and augmented its power.

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The expanded sensibilities and comprehensive intelligence of a few godly preachers generated a new and lustrous medium, through which the grovelling sons of men soon began with eager delight to contemplate the glories of heaven. Thousands looked up and saw the ineffable splendors of divine constellations bursting on their view, where before had been seen nothing brighter than flickering tapers. There is no mystery in such a man's popularity. A distinguished writer has said, "Raise me but a barn, in the very shadow of St. Paul's cathedral, and with the conscience-searching powers of a Whitefield, I will throng that barn with a multitude of eager listeners, while the matins and vespers of the cathedral shall be chanted to the statues of the mighty dead."

This leads us to remark, in the second place, that the practical struggles of life constitute an important portion of the discipline of a moral hero. We have spoken of the suffering that creates sympathy, and we now speak of the trials that impart force.

Sometimes we meet with soldiers of Christ who develop their strength in a double strife, a struggle against inward infirmities and outward wrongs. Of this class was Robert Hall. At an early period of his life he was led to contemplate the severe duties of religious manhood, the grand, the sacred conflict, wherein to fall is to conquer, to die is to live. His whole existence on earth was a battle; in the noblest sense he was "a hero of a hundred fights." Bitter indeed were the conflicts he endured; but in them all he learned that "if misfortune comes, she brings along the bravest virtues." He was one of those benefactors of mankind, who are fortified with consolations more grateful and invigorating than those found in that extraordinery bath, mentioned by Pindar, which the nymphs caused to issue from the earth, by order of Minerva, to refresh Hercules, when he returned from his expedition into Spain against Geryon. They are governed by supernatural motives, and seek not to support life

> "By earth, nor its base metals, but by love,
> Wisdom and virtue;"

and therefore their works resemble those of the Supreme Architect, constituting the most august demonstration,

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that man was created after a divine image, and endowed with amazing capacities for beneficent toil. Inspired by holy zeal, they are nerved with energies which overcome all difficulties and vanquish all error. The faith that upholds them renders their spirits sagacious to "look not at the deed alone, but spy into the thoughts with subtle skill."

> "Patient in toil; severe amidst alarms;
> Inflexible in faith; invincible in arms."

Directly opposed to these noble and useful traits is the character of the grovelling creature, whose supine soul is drawn out only to external things which degrade and destroy. Milton, having given his views of education, and of properly educated men, proceeds to notice, in the following words, the effects they would produce as orators. "Whether they be to speak in Parliament or council, honor and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then also appear in pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought, than what we now sit under, ofttimes to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach." This is much in the same strain of indignant comment indulged in by that other master genius of more recent times, Coleridge.

> "The sweet words
> Of Christian promise, words that even yet
> Might stem destruction, were they wisely preached,
> Are muttered o'er by men, whose tones proclaim
> How flat and wearisome they feel their trade;
> Rank scoffers some, but most too indolent
> To deem them falsehoods, or to know them truth.
> O! blasphemous! the book of life is made
> A superstitious instrument, on which
> We gabble o'er the oaths we mean to break."

But Robert Hall was neither hypocritical nor indolent. He was encompassed and burdened by extraordinary and almost insufferable impediments to intellectual culture; but to his majestic soul these furnished no reason why he should "grow grey, bound in the swathes of his infancy." He viewed himself as a soldier on active duty in an enemy's country, and as such he looked not for ease or emolument in this world. Tertullian said truly, "We

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have been called to a knighthood of the living God, and we took the soldier's oath at the time of our baptism. No warrior goes with all his conveniences and out of his chamber to battle; but from the camp, where he is inured to hardships and accustomed to all kinds of inconvenience. Even in peace, soldiers learn, by labor and toilsomeness, to bear the hardships of war, being constantly under arms, exercising themselves in the field, and throwing up trenches. So, ye blessed ones, regard every thing that is hard to you, as an exercise of your mental and bodily powers. Ye serve in a good camp, where the living God is your general, where the Holy Ghost directs the camp exercises, and an angel's life in heaven, eternal glory, is the victor's reward."

We may say of the highest order of pulpit eloquence, as Gray said of poetry, "It requires the best of talents, and the best of those talents." Hall knew this, and through a long intellectual career governed himself accordingly. He was one of those rare spirits who occasionally are born with giant arms to throw bridges over fearful gulfs for emancipated nations to traverse, and who with equal ease level mountains of error, or new mould the opinions of men into proportions gigantic like their own.

"Formerly," says Colton, "the altar of St. Peter was contented with utensils of wood, and of lead; but its rites were administered by an Austin and Chrysostom—priests of gold! Things are reversed now; the altar has golden utensils, but leaden priests." Perhaps this remark is applicable quite beyond the pale of the Romish church. Throughout this country and all over the world, we need a great accession to the pulpit, of magnanimous and cultivated men. It is discipline that we need, more than decoration,—the discipline of severe toil and renovating grace. Said Rowland Hill to the Welch curate, "never mind breaking grammar, if you can only break hearts." We do not estimate the talents of a general by the elegance of his spurs, nor by the glittering profusion of lace on his gaudy uniform. Napoleon wore a simple coat of grey, while his lackey flourished in gorgeous costume. On the field of Austerlitz it was matured science and veteran experience that won the day, rather than the barber's or the tailor's skill. It is well to be choice

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in language, as well as prolific in thought; good taste requires it, and permanent reputation among the cultivated absolutely demands it; and yet a too scrupulous attention to words enervates a vigorous speaker's style, cramps his faculties, chills his spirit, and tends to exhaust all the resources of a free and manly eloquence. It is this spirit of minute and fastidious criticism that has given birth to abundance of effeminate sentimentalism in modern books and sermons. One should for a long time nourish his soul in the study of grand models; he should meditate much, and in devout sequestration accumulate facts, principles and reflections; then, whether impelled by his genius to speak or write, he will be facile to govern his thoughts and be governed by his sentiments.

Hall was the master of elegant majesty, a consummate excellence, which he won, not as was once supposed oysters win their pearls, by gaping, but as Vulcan fashioned magnificent and impervious armor, in sweat and incessant toil. The terrible brightness which invested his preaching was cast from the throne of God, and was laid at his door by the genius of Christian zeal, as the mother of the Grecian warrior brought resplendent arms to the tent of her son. And that tremor which Homer describes to have shaken the Myrmidons at the sight, was no unapt emblem of the dismay that convulsed the antagonists of freedom and religion, whenever Hall appeared in the pulpit or from the press. He prosecuted his whole course of preparation for the ministry under a conviction that the altars of our God are not to be strown with mutilated minds; nor did he suppose that the most acceptable incense would be likely to ascend from hearts in which no holy fires were kindled. So far as his influence was concerned, he was resolved that "truth" should not "be hushed that heresy might preach." He kindled his beacon-light on a bold summit, and neither bodily nor mental anguish,—the storms of life nor the frowns of power,—induced him for a moment to cease from augmenting its splendor, till death transferred the sacred flame to a higher sphere. A power almost supernatural seems mingled with the august simplicity of his language. His words, so choice and so chaste, contain virtues that are irresistible, a force to stir the intellect and thrill the heart, a rhythm that never wounds the ear, and yet too

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vigorous ever to disgust with insipidity the taste. In his calmest movements there are indications of great talent and power; as a mighty river quietly coursing through lowlands, yet bears in its deep tide something of the impetuosity it received in descending from its mountain source.

What greater intellectual or moral treat could one enjoy, than to have seen and heard Robert Hall in some of his happier pulpit efforts? It was then that he was said to "blend the finest remembrance of the antique world—the dearest associations of British patriotism—and the pure spirit of the gospel—in a strain as noble as could have been poured out by Tyrtaeus." He was a fine illustration of what we have said of the discipline of trials and the eloquence of deep feeling. When he became fully animated, his pain-racked body quivered like the light frame of a house in contact with a powerfully acting steam engine, and his tones trembled under the weighty message they bore, suggesting to the listener the idea that the fountains of beauty and sublimity within him were exhaustless, and would discharge themselves more copiously if they had adequate channels. Some of his happiest inspirations kindled in the imaginations of his hearers glimpses of "things not made with hands,"—joys too ravishing to be long endured,—impulses which winged their souls "along the line of limitless desires." The decision of the wisest of his critical friends is that he was always the best when he was intensest—"when he unveiled the mighty foundation of the rock of ages—or made the hearts of his audience vibrate with a strange joy, which they will recognize in more exalted stages of their being." Yes, what a treat it would have been to have heard Hall preach one of those sermons which as far transcend the productions of ordinary pulpits, as the genius of Milton or Newton surpasses that of the common herd of rhymers or empirics.

> "Can earth afford
> Such genuine state, preëminence so free,
> As when, arrayed in Christ's authority,
> He from the pulpit lifts his awful hand,
> Conjures, implores, and labors all he can
> For resubjecting to divine command
> The stubborn spirit of rebellious man?"

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We can form but an inadequate conception of this great master in Israel from his printed works. The pen is indeed a powerful instrument in such hands; but the power of speech almost infinitely transcends that of mere writing. But it is easy to perceive in what Hall printed, that the two great pulses of oratory, hope and fear, beat freely in his breast, and must have been all but omnipotent in his pulpit. Sometimes, indeed, his expressions are of exceeding strength, and his impetuosity, like all his excellencies, outruns example. He acted on the principle, that truth which does not strike palpably, and with force enough to shake the foundations of sophistry and guilt, is no truth. A brave and bold soldier may sometimes appear to expose his troops and himself too rashly; but his policy is the best, since he abbreviates perils by the fierceness and vigor of his attacks. Mr. Hall would have said to all cowardly spirits, as Christian said to Mr. By-Ends, "If you will go with us, you must go against wind and tide; the which, I perceive, is against your opinion. You must also own Religion in his rags, as well as when in his silver slippers; and stand by him, too, when bound in irons, as well as when he walketh the streets with applause."

But a rich compensation is left us for not having heard Hall, in the force of his example. Art has preserved a representation of his manly form, and friendship has detailed to us many of his mental and moral traits. We are told how, weary and oppressed, he was wont to emerge from protracted study amid expectant throngs all hushed, "a crowd of spirits silent and devout." We know that every hearer, as he greeted that noble figure approaching the throne of instruction like a monarch indeed, felt that "he cometh with a tale that holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner;" and it requires no great stretch of fancy to conceive how "the air of paradise did fan the house, and angels officed all," while the regal action of the preacher symbolized the truth which transforms and edifies. But while all this is denied our sight, a lesson of noble fortitude remains to the mind, which no young soldier of Christ should ever forget. Despite all plausible excuses for mental indolence, Mr. Hall never relaxed for a moment his high pursuit. He was too heroical in spirit disgrace-

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fully to fall into the train of those who, like the son of Manoah, are endowed with capacities enough, when properly husbanded, to break the green withes of the Philistines as cindered flax, and yet prefer to be shorn of their locks by an enemy under their own roof. Scorning to succumb to such degradation, he aspired from the outset to gather fragrance from the whole paradise of knowledge, that he might distil from his lips all the sweets of persuasion. Let each votary at the shrine of our holy religion go and do likewise. No amount of acquisition can create a soul under the ribs of death, it is true; but sagacious study will impart facility and force to original powers. It is God and not man, who creates a generic difference between a pebble and a diamond; but it is the lapidary's appropriate duty and reward to develop the obscure splendors latent in the gem, enabling them by his skill to sparkle in the sun and glitter in the crown.

But, in the third place, let it here be added more particularly, that the discipline of divine grace is of supreme importance. If there ever was a mission calculated to inflame zeal, substantiate the soul and elevate it to a high purpose of sacrifice, it is without doubt that which is entrusted to the ministers of Christ.

> "No tongue
> So vast a theme could equal, speech and thought
> Both impotent alike."

But do we seek aid, human and divine, with a devotion commensurate with the solemn dignity of the cause? Let the standard-bearers of the army of the Lord, like the enslaved of Egypt, go forth from the house of bondage; let them break the degrading fetters which impede the fulfilment of their celestial vocation; and thus they will come to repossess the liberty Christ purchased with his blood. The destiny of the world is in the hands of the ministers of religion. The mystery of iniquity, now finishing its career, will soon be succeeded by a sublime revelation of love and mercy from on high,—a voice crying to those who are in darkness, Behold the light! Through the divine medium of repentance and faith, the nations will then look up full of joy, and adore the ineffable majesty of Him who came to repair all disorder, reveal all truth, and enlighten all mankind.

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But who will make the world ready for the coming of that bright day? Where are the embattled hosts of brave champions for eternal truth, who, through "a wilderness of primal sweets that never fade, walk in thoughtfulness, and yet expectant of beatitude more high?" The world groans for the want of men, the service of the heroic sons of grace, who are ennobled and perfected by that faith which gives dignity to pursuit and stability to possession. The chivalrous enterprise in which the modern church is engaged is more divine than that which, under the sway of Peter and Godfrey, impelled its forests of brilliant lances to the summits of the Alps and Pyrrenees. We fight not for the rescue of a sepulchre, but for the salvation of a world, and should struggle constantly in view of that fearful day when all nations shall rise from their tombs, and "the two assemblages shall part, one rich eternally, the other poor."

Where can adequate strength be found? Not in earthly resources; for these produce nothing more substantial than "webs wove of gossamer in fancy's lightest loom." Fenelon, pondering on this subject, exclaimed, "Shall those who ought to speak like apostles, gather up, with industrious affectation, those flowers of rhetoric that Demosthenes, Manlius and Brutus trampled on? Or shall we imagine that the ministers of the gospel have less concern for the salvation of souls, than Demosthenes for the liberty of his country?" These questions are of startling import. We should ever remember that it is grace that saves souls, and not creeds. If the citadels of immortal minds are not captivated with evangelical principles, they will be ruined by their opposite; if not guarded and adorned by the bright symbols of eternal things, error and death will plant their pale flag there. "The best protection," said Socrates, "is in the thoughts of men whom God loves;" and a wiser than he has told us that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

We were born into the kingdom of Christ, not for peace, but war. The condition of sovereign grace, which permits us to dwell under the spotless banner of the gospel, requires us perpetually to defend the standard of truth and righteousness, which the apostles and our fathers fearlessly displayed. Should we not march with alacrity to the holy conflict? Alas! our step totters, our

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heart throbs with fear, "our hands hang down, and our knees are feeble." Where are the magnanimous and self-sacrificing confessors of Jesus? Who emulates those who "through faith subdued kingdoms and waxed valiant in fight?" Why were those early Christians mighty? Because, "standing fast in one spirit," they strove "with one mind for the faith of the gospel, in nothing terrified by adversaries." Compared with primitive zeal, there is a sad want of pungent feeling in the modern herald of the cross. The iron seems not to have entered his soul. His preaching does not move energetically forward in perpetual progress, like one borne on the bosom of a mighty river; on the contrary, the sensation produced is like a wearisome journey in a narrow canal, impeded by numerous locks. He does not grasp his audience in fearless struggle, and agitate them with the concussions of profound emotion. He does not seem to be earnest in purpose, and eager in pursuit; arresting the eye by appropriate action, and the ear by animated argument. His sentiments may be quite orthodox, but they do not come home, thrilling the heart and expanding the soul; there is no irresistible eloquence to lift the hearer to heaven, or waft him from Indus to the pole. And this want, it is to be feared, is occasioned by the absence of vital godliness. We need more of that discipline which has been so well described in the fine imagery of one who had been severely trained for sacred functions. In allusion to Bunyan's Pilgrim, Macauley says, the effective preacher "emerges from the Valley of the Shadow of Death, from the dark lands of gins and snares, of quagmires and precipices, of evil spirits and ravenous beasts. The sunshine is upon his path. He ascends the Delectable Mountains, and catches from their summit a distant view of the shining city which is the end of his pilgrimage. Then rises in his mind a natural, and surely not a censurable, desire, to impart to others the thoughts of which his own heart is full—to warn the careless, and comfort those who are troubled in spirit. The impulse which urges him to devote his whole life to the teaching of religion, is a strong passion in the guise of a duty. He exhorts his neighbors; and if he be a man of strong parts, he often does so with great effect. He pleads as if he were pleading for life, with tears and pathetic gestures,

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and burning words; and he soon finds with delight, not perhaps wholly unmixed with the alloy of human infirmity, that his rude eloquence rouses and melts hearers who sleep very composedly while the rector preaches on the apostolical succession. Zeal for God, love for his fellow creatures, pleasure in the exercise of his newly discovered powers, impel him to become a preacher. His orders have come down to him, not through a long and doubtful series of Arian and Papist bishops, but direct from on high. His commission is the same that on the mountain of the ascension was given to the eleven."

Such are the active friends of God, and he will bless them, because they are faithful to the highest trusts. They feel that a subtle foe is ambushed and active every where. Trusting in Jehovah only, they go forth to disperse the enemy and destroy his power. O, why should any prefer the banner of unrighteousness and unbelief to the pure and immortal standard of Christ? Let us listen to the eternal God and put our trust in him, that we may say with confidence, as the captain of the armies of Israel said before a great battle with the Ammonites, "Be of good courage, and let us play the man for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth him good."

The loyalty of the moral hero is the fourth and last general topic to be considered in this discussion. The good soldier will be loyal to truth, to his country and to the great Captain of salvation, Christ.

In the first place, it is demanded of the Christian hero that he should pay the strictest allegiance to truth. That feebleness of character, which is so prominent in the structure of modern mind, imparts its crippling influence to the children of faith. Hence the deplorable concessions made by timid professors of Christianity, the only effect of which is to increase the audacity of the foes they were designed to conciliate. When capitulation is proposed by a martial hero, he is not far from surrendering; but Christianity never capitulates. When the time-serving demand of us the complacencies which it is expedient to extend to worldly men, tell them to remember first of all the loyalty the faithful owe to truth. Bid the pusillanimous, who fear to fight the battles of the Lord, depart from the ranks of his professed friends. Go, if you

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prefer, and negotiate in the dark with corrupt passions; bestow on them in secret the spoils of the redeemed, and defame stealthily the sacred spouse of the King of kings; strike a parley with a wicked generation, and make with it your peace. But ours is that peace which the world cannot give. We take our fortunes with Him who said, "You shall be oppressed in the world; but be of good courage, I have overcome the world." It is in this way only that we show ourselves worthy successors of the blessed heroes

> "Who, for the testimony of truth, have borne
> Universal reproach, far worse to bear
> Than violence; for that was all their care,
> To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
> Judged them perverse."

When Chrysostom was besought to assume the sacred functions of the Christian ministry, he shrunk from the responsibilities, so terrible appeared they in his view. Said he, "Like an orb of fire whose splendors irradiate the universe, the soul of a priest should beam refulgent; but mine, by reason of a guilty conscience, is veiled in clouds; my star has set, and never, ah! never, with a Christian's confidence shall I gaze upon my Lord." A proper view of the connection of this sacred office with immutable truth, and the eternal retributions consequent thereon, cannot fail to fill the candidate for its honors with fear and trembling. Galen plead for wisdom and caution in his profession, on the ground that while "an unskilful sculptor spoils only a block of marble, an unskilful physician spoils a man;" but it is for the preacher of the gospel to remember that if he is disloyal to truth, he ruins souls. "I have learned from the Holy Scriptures," said Luther, "that it is a perilous and a fearful thing to speak in the house of God; to address those who will appear in judgment against us, when at the last day we shall be found in his presence; when the gaze of the angels shall be directed to us, when every creature shall behold the divine Word, and shall listen till he speaks. Truly, when I think of this, I have no wish but to be silent, and to cancel all that I have written. It is a fearful thing to be called to render to God an account of every idle word."

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It is well to inquire, how such good soldiers of Christ as Chrysostom and Luther won their confidence and strength. They besieged the throne of grace, ere they attacked the strong holds of sin. They dwelt in God, and lived only for the defence of truth, so that hope still rose before them "like a fiery column, the dark side not yet turned." And shall our tongue be silent, so long as the words of death are traversing and devastating the earth? Shall we sit with folded hands in murderous indolence upon the borders of that fatal stream which saps the foundation of the temple of truth, detaching precious fragments every day, and rolling them with the ruins of the past to the dark caverns of oblivion? Shall we not rather join our hands and hearts, with all who love God and mankind, in a moral warfare that shall call out in noble exercise all our mind, soul and strength? Of what use is it to complain, and not act? What good will it do to pour forth in secret a few sterile tears? Faith demands works, and not idle groans; it calls for sacrifice, since it is that which saves; it requires that Christians should regard the world from a high point, and dash down every obstacle with boldness, exclaiming, "if the emergency demands it, let me die, and know that the triumph I seek is not for self, but for the cause!" No measure of vigilance is too great in this respect. It is ever true as in the days of Cowper,

> "When nations are to perish in their sins,
> 'Tis in the church the leprosy begins;
> The priest, whose office is with zeal sincere,
> To watch the fountain, and preserve it clear,
> Carelessly nods and sleeps upon the brink,
> While others poison what the flock must drink."

This quotation forms an appropriate transition to our second topic under this head, namely, the loyalty which the moral hero owes to his country. The good soldiers of Christ are elected and armed to be the conservators of all virtues, private, social and national. Addressing executive powers, they should unfold the equal rights of mankind, and the preference which Jesus extended to the poor; preaching to the people, they should inculcate submission to just laws, for conscience' sake rendering to Cæsar the things which to Cæsar belong. It is their province and duty to inculcate passive obedience to jus-

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tice, and active rebellion against every form of tyrannic wrong, thus exemplifying in their teachings and example the fact that mercy, wisdom and power are the inseparable companions of true religion. The loyal disciples of Christ are not boisterous politicians,

> "Blest with each gift of nature and of art,
> And wanting nothing but an honest heart;"

nor are they sycophantic men-fearers, degraded into the base dupes of a dupe, like the tools of Bolingbroke in Richard's time, "that king of smiles." Then, as at more recent periods, poets coined odes to glorify wicked usurpations, like Falstaff lauding them, because they offended none but the virtuous, and demagogues explained abstract happiness and liberty to the multitude, when almost every exalted virtue had been ostracised. The minister of Christ is not ambitious of robbing such patriots of their laurels, recreants to God and man, who have reason to fear the doom of Pazzo and Rinieri, whom Dante beheld tormented in the seething flood for having filled the earth with violence and war. "Give me an honest fame, or give me none," says the loyal friend of peace and righteousness. He consults the wants of the million rather than their wishes, remembering the truthful remark of the Grecian bard, "The great crowd of men has a blind heart." The spirit that actuates his heart emanates from the cross; and by its divine inspiration so tempers and controls him, that humility imbues the majesty of his acts, and majesty sublimates his humility. In the language of Chrysostom, "O how godlike should be the spirit of a priest! Scarcely can I persuade myself that the holy confidence of Moses and Elias would be completely adequate to so high an embassy. For, as if the whole world were entrusted to his charge, and he the common parent of the nations, thus he approaches unto God; imploring him that all wars may be extinguished, all anarchies be quelled; that peace may spread wide her wings, and golden harvests diffuse their blessings; that every calamity which privately or publicly assails us, may forever be expelled." Tertullian declared the legitimate tendency of Christianity in much the same strain. "We are no Brahmins," said he, "we are no Hindoo fakirs, we are

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not eremites or hermits, who flee from life. We are well aware of the obligations we owe to God, our Creator and Lord. We reject the enjoyment of none of his gifts; we seek only to preserve the requisite moderation, and to avoid abuses. We do not live in this world without participating in your markets, your baths, your public-houses, your work-shops, your auctions, and every thing which pertains to the commerce of life. We engage with you in navigation, in military service, in agriculture, in trade. We engage with you in manufactures, and devote our labor to your benefit."

Such is the spirit and purpose of the true moral hero. He does not emulate those worthies who exercise only the Cyclopian grace, destroying others first and their friends last. They would rather exemplify heroism of a higher, purer type, and not unlike Milton's loyal angel,

> "Faithful only he:
> Among innumerable false, unmoved,
> Unshaken, unreduced, unterrified,
> His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal."

He who ministers at the sacred altars of our religion has two cardinal duties to fulfil; supremely honorable when well discharged, but nothing, worse than nothing, if he violates them; for public hatred, and that which is worse than hate, contempt, will follow him as his shadow. First of all, he must be a man of God, and then a man of the people; as a man of God, he must soar above all transient things, and regard the fleeting objects of earth as a traveller, on the summit of a mountain, sees the winds chase light clouds beneath; as a man of the people, he must feel that he is sent to point out to them the way of salvation, to mitigate their sufferings, console their sorrows, beguile them of their griefs, speak to them of national welfare, and unfold to their spiritual vision the marvels of eternal joy. As a man of God, he must be ready to sacrifice himself for all God's creatures, cordially embracing every rank and class in the immensity of his love; as a man of the people, he must identify himself with the destiny of each, his fears, his hopes, his discomfitures and his triumphs, uniting the tender fibres of his heart to all other hearts, that he may penetrate them with sympathy and imbue them with a life divine.

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Moral heroes do not live to themselves only and to none accountable, preferring proud liberty beneath the yoke of servile pomp; they seek that independence which is consistent with personal integrity, and conservative of religious worth. Pindar says that Hieron established the new city of Ætna "with heaven-built freedom"; and it is upon the same foundation that the genius of Christianity would raise the architecture of the state. A little practical godliness would do no harm to those "servants of the people," who, as Florent Galli says, "make violent efforts to recover in politics the dignity which they have lost in morals." Any one familiar with the seats of our state or national legislation knows but too well that there are a plenty of professed patriots, who at night violate the laws they have enacted by day. No doubt, as Prince Henry says to Poins, "he is a blessed fellow who thinks as every man thinks;" but, unfortunately, such thinkers never keep long in the highway of social virtue or public improvement, should they ever chance to find it.

During the popular commotions of the last century, Pius VI expressed himself as follows: "That virtue, whose duties are prescribed by the light of nature, and more fully brought to light by the Christian dispensation, is alone capable of bringing mankind to perfection and supreme felicity; and it alone can be the foundation of a prosperous democracy." Clothed with mere moral virtues, we should be but imperfect beings. It is religious truth which can alone supply the graces which are requisite for general self-government. The foundation of such a system must be, that every one is to respect the rights of his neighbor as much as his own; which is but another way of stating the Christian precept to "love your neighbor as yourself." Perhaps none of us are yet too wise or too good to learn something from a pope. One lesson, at least, we should gather from comprehensive observation, and the history of ten thousand conflicting, transient creeds;—that illiberal denunciation and ferocious ultraism can do no permanent good. According to the statement of Pausanias, Hercules, when he came to the temple, grew impatient and furious, because he did not receive an instant answer from the oracle; but it becomes the Christian hero to exercise a diviner patience

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and more amiable docility, while he seeks wisdom at a purer, higher source.

Upon that portion of God's army now on earth, tremendous obligations are devolved by the peculiar circumstances of the present, and the indescribable results which are to grow out of the germs of this era in an eternal future. We are born in an age of transition, of enterprise, and peril, when the religion we profess beseeches the valor of all her heroes, the zealous succor of all her friends. Indifference, idleness, love of an effeminate life, and, most of all, fear, cowardly fear, tends to blind or corrupt the enfeebled consciences of many men who creep about muttering, in feigned security, "peace, peace, and there is no peace." They fear toil, they fear the battle, they are in fear of every thing except that which is most to be feared. O there is a burning glance falling from on high, accompanied with terrible maledictions upon such recreants. For what do they suppose themselves born? God did not place man upon the earth to repose himself, as in rural ease, where he may squander precious hours in sleep. The times in which we live, especially, are not like a soft zephyr, which breathes only to caress and refresh our brow; but a wind which alternately burns and congeals, a tempest which rapidly drives our frail bark, under gloomy heavens, amid reefs and whirlpools. We must watch, row, sweat; our stubborn nature must be disciplined to the work, or we perish inevitably. We owe this self-culture, this devotion to duty, this consecration of every talent in its best use, to our brethren, as well as to ourselves; we owe it to our country, to humanity at large, to the church, the grand metropolis of Christ, whence, as chief sovereign, he rules the worlds and summons all rational creatures to unite themselves under the eternal laws of intelligence and love.

A few remarks further on supreme loyalty to Christ will complete this discussion. Nothing can be more diverse than the motives which actuate the moral hero, and those which impel the votary of earthly ambition. Worldly heroes practise hypocrisy as a virtue; and, in concealing their machinations, attempt to palliate the wickedness of their duplicity, by pleading its necessity. But the moral hero conceals nothing; he is frank in demeanor, honest in attachment, and unswerving in protes-

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tation, knowing nothing of that false respect "which the proud soul ne'er pays but to the proud." The soldier of Christ is armed with a panoply divine, and finds daily increase of strength at the shrine where he pays his oblations. We are told that Scipio Africanus, the vanquisher of Hannibal and all the powers of Carthage, was so devout that he never entered upon any important enterprise without first seeking counsel and strength from heaven. But the consecrated disciple of Christ has keener and nobler faculties than paganism ever developed or matured. Trained by faith, he reads the dread things of eternal doom, and hears the "sounding rains of fire that come ever on." He engages in the struggles of moral conquest only on account of the connection between those struggles and the one all glorious principle which religion unfolds to him. Love is the mightiest agent in stirring up the soul to strong and triumphant effort. Its inspiration never fails. Its devotees are disciplined into indomitable men, in the presence of the gushing heart of the Son of God. Fear paralyzes the soul; but divine love animates it with a flame unquenchable. It is not the heroism of nerves and muscles, but a spirit full of reliance on God, substantiated by an invincible composure, which laughs at flames, and commits the body to the embrace of death with a song of triumph. The history of the church abounds with illustrations of this power, not only to support in martyrdom, but to command respect and admiration in ordinary pulpit labors. When that "burning and shining light" of France, Bossuet, rose to speak of life and death, judgment and eternity, nobility quailed, and Louis XIV trembled. "Silence!" exclaimed the great prince Condé, as he saw that other master in Israel, Bourdaloue, enter the temple where a multitude had assembled to hear him preach, "Silence! the foe is upon us." John Knox declared that he never entered the pulpit without trembling; and it is well known that when there, he invariably caused trembling in the throngs who heard him. An ignorant man being asked what he thought of Whitefield's preaching, replied, that he preached like a lion; no unapt notion, says Southey, "of the force, vehemence and passion of that oratory which awed the hearers, and made them tremble like Felix before the apostle. This encomium on the preaching of

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Whitefield was not unlike that of a Scotch peasant recently, who, in describing Chalmers, said, "O that's the man to make the rafters shake!" Quinctilian says the tradition respecting Cæsar was, that he always spoke with the same mind as that with which he conducted war; the heroical preachers just named were of like stamp, but infinitely better employed. Such men draw refreshment and solace from the contempt of those very things which pride converts into the bitterness of remorse. They are happy in having the Lord for their God; they make his law their will, and in the loyalty of cheerful service they find undisturbed repose. The spirit of prompt obedience insures perpetual and increasing light on the glorious path they pursue.

> "The printed steps
> Of that eternal worth, which is the end
> Whither the line is drawn."

The archduke Leopold of Austria, in 1639, drew up for himself certains rules of life, among which was the following: "I resolve to have an aversion and hatred of heart, which shall be shown in my deeds, as far as my condition and profession will permit, towards all that the world possesses of honor, glory, pride, vanity, ambition, commodity and power; and I wish to live in great joy in detachment and poverty of spirit, stript of affection for all that the world esteems, that I may possess God alone, my infinite treasure, and that I may be useful to others, desiring, as far as is possible, to follow the example and traces of my Lord Jesus, who was put naked on the cross for my love." This heroical spirit of self-consecration we greatly need in our own age and country. Religion must impart strength to man, that he may become an efficient auxiliary to religion. The spirit of God must move on the chaos; then a new world will emerge, wherein dwelleth righteousness. The essence of Christianity is aggressive on the kingdoms of darkness; from its nature it is militant among the nations; and one must imbue every faculty of his soul with its godlike ambition for universal conquest, or be fearfully discomfited.

We cannot repeat too strongly, it is divine courage and strength that we most need. The church languishes; but although the malady is fearful, let us not be discour-

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aged; because the evil is great, let us bravely meet it; since the demand is urgent, let our zeal be greater, our devotion more active, our love more ardent, and our faith more stable. Those who say, God will rectify this evil, and at the same time remain indolent themselves, speak the truth, and in thus saying, condemn themselves. Yes, God will provide, he will save his church; but will he save those who abandon her in peril, who surrender her to grief, captivity and anguish? He will say to such, "Depart—I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat; thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; a stranger, and ye took me not in; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not;"—and these, with the first who betrayed Christ, shall go smitten with despair to their own place. But other destinies await those who have combatted for righteousness and mercy, who were the loyal advocates of doctrines which Christ came to proclaim, and which are destined to save the world, despite its worst opposition.

It is necessary to keep constantly in view that triumph which was prepared before the foundation of the world, and which is to be consummated when "the Lion of the tribe of Judah" shall lie down victoriously on the ruins of all unrighteous power. The chief whom we follow has already overcome all his enemies; "Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in the cross." This should fill us with sacred courage and inspire unslumbering energy; for "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power;" and he that overcometh shall inherit all things; "but the fearful shall have their part in the second death." Hope, if need be, against hope; for "through faith men have subdued kingdoms, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions." When Cæsar fell, he had before him no solace but the stern countenance of that great Pompey, whose martial form, cut in stone, still remains to inspire awe; but the Christian soldier is cheered in his last agonies by the heavenly pledge, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." Nelson, as he entered the direful conflict at Trafalgar, was full of unsanctified ambition, and he expressed the highest aspiration earth can inspire, when he exclaimed, in the memorable words, "Now for a peerage, or Westminster Abbey." But how selfish and miserably mean

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were the motives indicated by that language, compared with the motto borne on the Christian banner—Death, or the glory of God! With such a spirit, whatever may be the issues of conflicts here below, God is glorified in both life and death. In that venerable abbey, where the proud and selfish warrior aspired to sleep in pompous grandeur, he might have learned a profitable lesson, before the antique tombs of humble but brave knights of olden time, whose sculptured forms rest clad with armor in attitude of prayer, as if waiting for the opening of the judgment morn. With hands crossed upon their breast, and eyes raised towards heaven, you may see them, as the spirit of Nino appeared to Dante,—

> "Both palms joined and raised,
> Fixing its steadfast gaze towards the east,
> As telling God, I care for naught beside."

The only miracle the church needs is the gift of the Holy Spirit. If a copious effusion of this were sought with appropriate zeal, the redeemed of the Lord might soon conquer the gates of the nations, and the cross be planted among every people. When one is divinely transformed and fired with holy fervor, he will contribute much towards transforming the world. This should be the constant aim of every disciple of Christ. The believer on earth is addressed from on high as a warrior, and heaven is represented as a throng of conquerors. Just previous to dissolution, Napoleon deliriously exclaimed, "I shall go to the elysian fields, and my marshals will be there!" But quite a different scene awaits the exit from this world of a good soldier of Jesus Christ. He goes to join the blessed band of prophets, apostles and martyrs of every age, covered with honorable wounds received in moral conflicts,—the van-leaders who stormed the strong holds of iniquity, proclaimed allegiance to the divine Sovereign, even "where Satan's seat was," and traced with their fruitful blood the track of salvation round our globe,—who opened the sources of improvement amid the ruins of pagan shrines, lived and died, as their great Captain did, only to win souls to God. When they fell, it was neither in terror nor despair, but in the fulness of joyous hope, "with their back on the field and their feet to the foe;"—a flush of glory mantled their

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brow, while the hallelujah was arrested on their pale lips to be recommenced with nobler accents in immortal bliss. They are there and they sing forever, "Now thanks be unto God, who caused us to triumph in every place."

Bunyan tells us very significantly, that "Christian had no armor for his back, therefore he resolved to venture and stand his ground." We all learn that this is the only way in which we can safely meet "Apollyon." Moreover, the list of trophies in that wonderful armory which "Christian" saw is equally suggestive. "They showed him Moses' rod; the hammer and nail with which Jael slew Sisera; the pitchers, trumpets and lamps, too, with which Gideon put to flight the armies of Midian. Then they showed him the ox-goad wherewith Shamgar slew six hundred men. They showed him also the jaw-bone with which Samson did such mighty feats; they showed him moreover the sling and stone with which David slew Goliath of Gath; and the sword also with which the Lord will kill the man of sin, in the day that he shall rise up to the prey." How strikingly all this shows that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual. "Humility in conversation, stability in faith, modesty in words, justice in deeds, mercy in works, discipline in manners; to do no injury, to keep peace, to love God, to prefer nothing to Christ, to adhere faithfully to his cross;"—such is the venerable Cyprian's description of the chieftains loyal to heaven, who are "attended to bliss by smiling angels, winnowing the air with their eternal plumes."

It is to be deeply regretted that at present the pulpits of our land seem to slumber, like masked batteries spiked by some powerful foe. If they were all properly mounted, and put into full action, what fortification of hell could withstand their united force? As it is, our discourses are deficient in that pathos and sense of the interests at stake necessary to arouse the higher faculties of the soul. But

> "He that negotiates between God and man,
> As God's ambassador, the great concerns
> Of judgment and of mercy"—

certainly ought not to approach the altar of sacred instruction, charged only with ignorance and stupidity. Even the worldly wits of queen Anne's day had a nobler

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conception than many of the present generation seem to entertain respecting the preacher's work. Said the "Spectator," "If Pericles could shake the firmest resolutions of his hearers, and set the passions of all Greece in a ferment, when the public welfare of his country, or the fear of hostile invasions, was the subject, what may we not expect from him, who, with a becoming energy, warns his audience against those evils which have no remedy when once undergone?" This is taking an apapropriate view of the functions of him who is "sent with God's commission to the heart;" and whenever his work is performed in a suitable manner, the pulpit must indeed be acknowledged,

> "The most important and effectual guard,
> Support and ornament of Virtue's cause."

Whence comes this tameness and frigidity in the pulpit? Have the subjects belonging to sacred eloquence changed, and is there less ardor in the gospel now, than on the day when the Holy Ghost descended visibly on its first advocates in tongues of fire? It is the neglect of proper resources, and not the deprivation of them, that has produced barrenness. It matters not that every power on earth is opposed to truth, so long as the privilege of prayer is vouchsafed us, and the instrumentalities sanctified by prayer. In the use of these, as copiously as heaven not only permits, but requires, we never need to talk of exhaustion nor fear defeat. Great is the demand for men of high intellectual and moral endowments, disenthralled and fearless spirits, who, as Huss, Wickliffe, Zuinglius, Luther and Melancthon, are but the representatives of a progressive spirit, and the heroical defenders of popular rights. What is most needed, is not money, nor the means of education, but men, energetic and devoted men, who have resolved, with Paul, to know nothing but Christ crucified; and, with Judson, Abbot and Dean, are determined that the world shall feel their influence before they die. The hands of such men do not "lie senseless on the book they clasp;" nor is their stare in the pulpit as stupid as "the stone eye-balls of a statue, fixed." In the terrors of the rack, and the dungeons of the inquisition,—on the bed of martyrdom, or

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amid savage jungles, where horrid pagan rites and frightful tiger-howlings hold them wakeful, they fear no evil, and make no pause in their beneficent career. These are the flower of mankind, "whose ashes flew—no marble tells us whither," but their influence lives through all time, spreads through all space, and will enhance the raptures of eternity.

A perfect model of a preacher it would be hard to find among modern men. When he shall appear, his advent will be a wonder and a blessing to earth. He will combine in himself the noble enthusiasm of Chrysostom, and the substantial learning of Owen; the elaborate elegance of Jeremy Taylor, and the rugged sense of John Bunyan; the adamantine logic of Barrow, the stately energy of John Howe, and the rhetoric of Robert Hall. But among ourselves, in this age of partizan skirmishing, we need the practical piety of Payson, Summerfield's irresistible pathos, and the sober casuistry of Edwards, rather than South's caustic wit, Horseley's cumbrous erudition, and the exasperating polemics of Warburton.

But while we search for the best gifts, let us not forsake the best way. Seek not repose where it is not to be found; repose will come in its proper time. Remember those who, in lying down in the tomb, have placed their sword under their head; the sword, it is the pillow of the strong. Living, they exclaim, "I will go, Lord, wherever you wish me to go; that which you order, I will execute; and constantly will I do battle for righteousness, as long as breath remains. Dying, I will still hope in thy mercy, and return the battered but indestructible armor of grace to the Almighty hand whence it came."

The duty of the messenger of Christ is momentous and full of danger. He must pour divine threatenings into the tyrant's ear, and excite in his soul those fears which are the foretaste of his doom. He must envelop every cruel oppressor in the sighs, groans and shrieks of his victims. He must reproduce every stroke of the lash, and make it audible to the task-master's conscience, sleeping and waking; around the miserable tyrant, all who have endured his cruelties must be assembled, like restless ghosts, that they may fill his affrighted vision at every hour, throng every ungodly revel, and thrill his quivering flesh with touches of horror. On the other hand, he

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must console the oppressed. Tell them that the ear of the Infinite is open to their cries, the eye of a father is noting every wrong they endure, and that he who built the heavens will soon change their mourning into joy. Bid them rehearse the songs of victory over hell's most malignant emissaries, and prepare to celebrate the coming of the Son of man. The soldier who falls in the combat may not be a witness of the victory; but the triumphant cry of brother conquerors who are to come after him, the joyful chants of disenthralled nations, humanity thenceforth in possession of itself, shall resound over his agitated dust, and, on the floor of the tomb, in the dawning splendors of the resurrection, he shall palpitate with immortal joy, and ascend to partake of the final conquest and eternal reward.

ELM.

Cincinnati, October, 1847.

ARTICLE VI.

The Scriptural Law of Baptism, or the Design of Baptism Presented and Applied, leading to an examination of its Form, its Subject, its Authority and its Relative Position, by EDMUND TURNEY, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Granville, Ohio. Hartford. Robins & Smith. pp. 201. 12mo.

THE multiplication of works upon controverted subjects is not desirable, unless they possess more than ordinary merit, and have some characteristics of rare excellence. If the author have gained a position from which the subject may be viewed in a new and favorable light, or if he can go over the ground, already explained by others, in a better spirit, he may put his work to the press, and make another attempt to reconcile contending parties. We think the volume before us has a claim, in both these respects, to be received among the many publications which have preceded it upon the same subject. It presents the

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subject in a light somewhat new to most minds; and, at the same time, in its spirit, it is a model for all who may have occasion to speak or write under similar circumstances. We know not where we should look for another work, upon a controverted subject, so firm and decided in the defence of truth, and yet so kind and courteous in its bearing towards those who, from any cause, had fallen into error. This is a rare excellence. Few books possess it; and the want of it has been one of the most formidable obstacles to the spread of truth. It is sad to think how many have written, with a desire no doubt to convince others of the truth, but in their efforts, not so much from any lack of sound argument as from the manifestation of a bad temper, have repelled further from the truth all with whom their productions have come in contact. Alas, for the weakness of human nature, even in the best of men, employed upon the best of subjects.

There is another valuable trait in the character of this book. It is not only kind in its spirit, but scholar-like and thorough in its investigations. It has nothing to do with local objections and difficulties which have constituted too large a portion of other works, and given them only a local interest and mere ephemeral existence. One cannot read Mr. Turney's book without being impressed with the idea that it is the production of a thinking mind, of one who would spurn a resort to the modes of attack and defence often employed by superficial writers. The author, in his undertaking, has acquitted himself like a man at every turn in the argument; at every point in the discussion, he is thoroughly furnished and prepared for any emergency. Hence, he evidently has no fear in taking the open plain, in standing out before all Israel and the sun. This may be a hindrance to the rapid sale and extensive circulation of his work. Many might have been better pleased with the volume, had it been more extravagant in its statements and denunciatory in its spirit, or had it contained more of personal invective and denominational zeal; or, had it dealt more largely in empty sophistries and second-hand scholarship. But there are others, and they not a few, we hope, who will find in this work what they love,—clear, unadulterated truth; or, to change the figure, truth resting firmly and securely upon her iron pillars.

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We have one objection to the book,—its brevity. The argument is stated in the most concise manner possible. It would have added to its interest and to its usefulness, though not to its strength, had the discussion been more extended. It was first prepared for the pulpit, and then condensed for the press. In reading it, we have felt that the author could not well be convicted of a desire to make a book, although he might be charged with what few are guilty of, with entertaining too great fear lest he should swell the discussion into a good sized volume. Should another edition be called for, we hope he will rise above this fear, and give us nearly the fulness of his pulpit preparations. We hope also that the publishers will improve the mechanical execution, should they be called upon to present the public with a second edition.

Having said thus much upon the general character of this work, we will now invite the attention of our readers to its contents in detail. The plan is natural and simple, viz. I. The Design of Baptism. II. The Form. III. The Subjects. IV. The Authority. V. The Relative Position. The first is the most important, because it lies at the foundation of the others. Entertaining clear and correct ideas of the design of the ordinance, the inquirer can scarcely fall into an error afterwards, as to the mode or as to the subjects; he cannot, certainly, without being inconsistent with himself. The prejudices of education, and the influence of a strong public sentiment, may, for a time, prevent him from seeing this inconsistency. But he is in vastly more favorable circumstances to be convinced of the truth, when he starts in his reasonings with right premises, than when he is wrong from the outset.

All the ordinances of the Christian church are mere symbols or memorials of important events, or of great leading truths connected with the Christian dispensation. This fact, so easily comprehended and so generally admitted, has in a thousand instances been lost sight of, and, as a necessary consequence, the ordinance perverted to a purpose never contemplated by the Founder of Christianity. Indeed, one deeply versed in human nature and familiar with all its tendencies, would hardly expect it would be otherwise. His wonder would be, not that men had so extensively perverted the ordinances of the

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church, but that any retained and administered them in their original simplicity and primitive purity.

Formal piety, or a religion consisting in externals mostly or chiefly, would not long be content with the two sacraments or ordinances instituted by Christ. Hence in the first general declension of the church, the number of ordinances was increased. In this way came in confirmation, penance, extreme unction, etc., etc.; and even those ordinances which were at first committed to the church, were administered in a form having more pomp and parade than when administered by the hands of the apostles. An efficacy of a very important and precious character was supposed to reside in them. And what was true of the first declension, has been true of all declensions. Hence the extreme anxiety of men, not educated as Papists, but as Protestants, manifested in their last moments, to partake of the Lord's supper. In some instances, no doubt, where this desire has been manifested, individuals have had a right conception of the design of the institution. They have desired it, that at that most solemn and trying moment, they might strengthen their faith by discerning the Lord's body through these emblems, and recall his sufferings in a more vivid manner, by the memorials of his agony and his death.

But it has not been thus with all. Many have desired to partake of these emblems because they imagined there was in them a saving efficacy, a power to effect, in a mysterious manner, a spiritual transformation. And we fear that Christian ministers have too often inadvertently favored such an impression. They have not always been careful to guard the ordinance from such a perverted use. Otherwise they would not have administered it, as they too often have done, to those whose only religious exercise consisted in the fear of falling immediately into the hands of an angry God.

The mere misconception of the design of baptism and of its efficacy also has extensively prevailed. Judging from the facts which observation and history furnish, it seems extremely difficult for men, good and great though they may be, to keep before their own minds, and before the public mind, the simple design of this most simple and impressive ordinance. The tendency has not been to

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underrate, but to overrate its importance; and this tendency has been the least manifest among those who have most frequently been charged with it. The ordinance of baptism has been administered to a great variety of subjects, both animate and inanimate; and with strange ideas of its efficiency. Church bells have been baptized, with the belief, that if rung during a thunder storm, they would protect the inhabitants of a whole village from death or injury by lightning. Pious parents have taken this method of entering into a covenant, to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Whole congregations of believers have been supposed to be parties concerned in such a covenant, and were, therefore, bound to watch over, and pray for, the children of their household with a peculiar tenderness and interest. Some parents have supposed that the design of the ordinance was to afford them an opportunity of acknowledging their children as the gift of God, and of dedicating them to the Lord; and that, should they refuse or neglect to make this acknowledgment and dedication, in this peculiar manner, it would be an act of rebellion, and might, and most probably would, be followed by the loss of the object which they had thus refused or neglected to give up to the Lord. Others have supposed, that when administered to children, it had a saving efficacy, and that the salvation of a child, should it die in infancy, was thereby rendered certain; that, while unbaptized children might be saved, baptized ones most assuredly would be. Or should the child live, though it might not effect a change, immediate and instantaneous, yet he would, in some way, be spiritually benefited by the ordinance, so that the prospect of his ultimate conversion and salvation would be more certain.

And the ideas in reference to the design of adult baptism have been as vague and various. Instead of keeping it in its place, as a mere symbol of what has taken place within, in the spiritual nature of man, or of what is believed, there has been a constant tendency towards the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; to ascribe to it effects and changes which none but God can produce. Not only the living, but the dead, have been baptized, with the vain hope that the administration of this ordinance would be

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sufficient of itself to change the destiny not of the departing only, but even of the departed.

It was a misconception of its design, which first led to a change in its form. Men attributed to it an efficiency, and attached to it an importance which raised it far above a mere symbol, before they found it necessary to devise some plan whereby the sick and infirm and dying might enjoy its saving power. This was the origin of sprinkling; an innovation admitted with reluctance, but finally favored by a large portion of the Christian church. With these facts before him, Mr. Turney did well, in the opening of his discussion, to commence with the question, What is the design of baptism?

After taking a general view of its design, he proceeds to consider it as a symbolical ordinance; as "not merely a profession, but as an emblematical profession of the change, evinced in the character of its subjects." Like the ordinance of the supper, it "shows forth," or exhibits, in visible emblems, the facts for the commemoration of which it was instituted. Upon this point, there is among Christians a universal agreement. It becomes, then, an interesting and important inquiry, What was it designed to represent? As an emblematical rite, what does it signify?

The author answers this inquiry by showing, by numerous quotations from the Scriptures, that it is "a symbol of the washing away of sin;" "of spiritual death and resurrection;" and that it "has also reference to the death and resurrection of Christ." These topics he discusses at some length, and closes this part of his work with the following language:

"In the preceding pages, we have endeavored to present the design of baptism in its true scriptural light. Thus viewed, the ordinance is peculiarly significant. The great moral change, of which the Christian is the subject, is represented by the most expressive emblems which could be selected; and in such a manner as to recognize the great facts in the Christian system to which this change is attributable. Hence, whenever the inquiry is made of the disciples of Christ, as of the Jews in reference to the passover, 'what mean ye by this service?' their appropriate answer is,—our divine Master for our sakes submitted to death, entered the grave and rose again from the dead, and we thus express our conformity to him as his disciples. We signify not only that we have been washed from our sins, but that we have become

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dead to sin and the world, and have risen to the enjoyment and pursuit of a new and holy life."

This topic, so ably discussed and eloquently closed, has, to a great extent, been overlooked or underrated in controversial works upon this subject; and we agree with the author when he says,

"Let the design of this ordinance, as a symbolical institution, be fully perceived and appreciated, and the confusion and diversity of sentiments will, for the most part, cease to exist. Whatever be the views entertained of the ordinance in other respects, it will be admitted, at least, that nothing can be a valid observance of it that fails of fulfilling its design and preserving its significancy."

Hence the views we entertain of its design, must, almost of necessity, affect the views we entertain of its form. A true conception of the one will prepare the way for the right performance of the other; and a misconception of the design will be followed by a radical defect in the mode. Thus, for illustration, if the design of the ordinance, whether administered to infants or adults, is to show that the subject is consecrated, or set apart to the Lord, then the act by which this is signified may be performed in a great variety of ways. He may dress, as some have done, in a peculiar manner; may exclude himself, as others have done, from the usual social and domestic enjoyments; oil may be poured upon his head and over his person; or water sprinkled upon his forehead. Now, if the Author of the Christian system has made no particular form binding upon his followers, but simply requires them to consecrate themselves in some way; in a word, if the position taken by a section of the church be correct, viz., that the form is nonessential, then we could have no objection to leaving it to each individual to select his own mode, and the administrator, if one should be necessary, might proceed according to the choice of the candidate, without any scruples of conscience. The church also would be bound to receive him to her fellowship, and to admit him to the enjoyment of all her privileges. Any act which would indicate his consecration, whether water were used or not, would be valid baptism, and ought to be considered as such by all classes of believers. There might be a propriety and an expediency

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in confining all to the use of water, or perhaps to its use in some particular form. But this would be all. The church could not assert and execute the will of the Master in the case.

But baptism is not a symbol of one thing merely; as, for instance, of the washing away of sin, nor of the subject's intention afterwards to be dead to the world and alive to the claims of religion and of God, nor of his belief in the death and resurrection of Christ; nor is it merely an act of consecration, or mode of entering into a covenant with God. It is rather, as the author has abundantly proved, a symbol of all these combined; and, if a symbol, then all these must be combined in it and shadowed forth by it. Now, as we believe, Christ has given us a form, in which all these, by one act of the believer, are most easily and beautifully expressed; so that no one witnessing it can fail to be reminded of all these facts. In this way, the simple ordinance has spoken out to myriads of hearts. Men, who could be impressed with a sense of their own wretched condition in no other way, have, upon the margin of some quiet stream, where a friend or companion has found a liquid grave and has risen again as from the dead, trembled and wept and turned to the Lord. And no one has yet been able to vary the form, and still retain its full symbolical expression. Upon this point the argument of Mr. Turney is conclusive.

"Baptism," he remarks, "as we have shown, was designed to be a symbol of death and resurrection. When the subject is laid beneath the water, there is a resemblance of submission to death. He is hid from the view of the world. He is actually buried in a liquid grave. In emerging, he enters a new element; he seems to come forth to a new state of existence; and he thus signifies that like as Christ rose from the dead, so he has risen to walk in newness of life. More appropriate and forcible emblems could not have been used. In every application of water, short of immersion, this significancy is not preserved. No one pretends that in sprinkling, for example, there is a representation of death and resurrection, in respect to Christ or his disciples. Whatever be the meaning attached to such a transaction, it fails most obviously in expressing the symbolical import of baptism."

The conclusion to which he arrives, is, that the design of the ordinance must establish immersion as the only valid baptism; or, in his own words, "The will of the

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Lawgiver, with respect to the act to be performed, appears conspicuous in the very design of the institution."

This is the first mode of establishing the form of the ordinance. The second is the meaning of the word, as used by classical writers, and also as used in the New Testament. The third is the practice of the apostles and early Christian fathers. Mr. T. sums up the argument in this chapter with the following earnest language.

"In concluding our remarks in relation to the ACT required in Christian baptism, we may be allowed briefly to revert to the several points that have come under examination, reversing the order in which they have been considered. We have shown from the early history of the church that immersion was the practice of the primitive Christians; and that there is no proof that affusion was resorted to in any case previously to the third century. We have shown that immersion alone is sanctioned by the example of the apostles and their companions, as recorded in the New Testament. We have shown that the very meaning of the word baptize is to immerse; and that the express injunction of the Master is, consequently, 'repent and *be immersed.*' And, in addition to all this, we have shown that nothing short of immersion can fulfil the design of the ordinance as a symbolical institution. No other ceremony, called baptism, represents *the washing away of sin.* No other, as is universally admitted, is a symbol of spiritual *conformity to the death and resurrection of Christ*, and thus points directly to the great facts which lie at the foundation of the Christian scheme. In any thing but immersion, the significancy of the ordinance is *entirely lost*, by being exchanged or unconditionally set aside.

"From what other source could an argument possibly be deduced? The evidence, showing immersion to be the will of Christ, is not merely decisive, it is absolutely *complete.* The example of Christ and his apostles, his express injunction to be immersed, and even the very design of his ordinance as a symbolical institution, all must be disregarded and set aside, or immersion must be practised."

The position occupied by the Baptist denomination, in reference to this ordinance, is an interesting one, and the day will come, when they will be honored for their fidelity to the truth, and be in danger of spiritual pride in consequence of it. When but little, comparatively, was known of the science of interpretation or of ecclesiastical history, when the whole strength of public sentiment was arrayed against them, and when those who had authority in matters of learning and religion, without a dissenting voice, pronounced their whole course one of ignorance and obstinacy, they still asserted that the immersion of the believer, in the name of the Trinity, was

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the only valid baptism. They wound their way amidst every form of reproach, to the water's side, and there, in winter as well as in summer, after singing a hymn and offering a prayer, with an interest and a joy akin to that which angels often feel, they have witnessed the emblematical burial and resurrection of another redeemed sinner. For this, they have frequently suffered in their reputations, in their persons and in their estates. But the science of philology, within the last half century, has received a large share of attention from men eminent for their attainments in this department of knowledge. We might have said, that philology, within the last fifty years, has become a science. Not a single production, in the whole round of Grecian literature, has remained unread, not a single instance, in which the word designating this ordinance is used, has escaped their closest scrutiny; and what has been the result? What effect has it had upon the position of Baptists? As light has advanced, and been diffused, what has it revealed upon this subject? Open any recent Greek lexicon and see. Nothing surely which ought to make the advocates of immersion blush and hang their heads; nothing which would justify the charge of ignorance or bigotry; and nothing which has thinned the ranks, or diminished the numbers, or weakened the arguments, or limited the weapons of defence, employed by the Baptist denomination.

A similar progress has been made in the science of history. Within the last hundred years, some of the most eminent scholars in Europe have devoted their lives to this department of investigation. Every book, pamphlet, manuscript or document, throwing any light upon the early history of the Christian church, has been obtained and carefully read, and its facts have been compared with those of other documents extant. And thus, after immense labor and no little expense, has the history of the primitive church been written. And what, we again ask, has been the effect of all this research upon the point now under consideration? Open any recent publication, containing the result of the latest investigations, and read. We ask not to what sect or party the author may belong. We only ask, what has he found to have been the practice of the church in the first and second centuries of her history? Do the most elaborate historical researches

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convict the advocates of immersion and of believers' baptism, of innovation, of ignorance and bigotry? We are willing to stake the issue upon their impartial verdict.

Alas for those who have so often preferred the charge; the days of dogmatism are numbered and well nigh finished. A similar charge might have been and was preferred against Gallileo, and Newton and Bacon, and the whole host of scientific worthies who were so unfortunate as to be the first to announce to the world some splendid discovery in natural science. This question is on a level with all others connected with the Bible. Whatever is in that mysterious and wonderful book can no more be overthrown or shaken than the throne of God. The light of true philosophy has only removed obscurities from its pages; and the progress of true science has only put new and more polished weapons into the hands of those who have stood forth in defence of any of its truths.

The third general topic is, "the subjects." When the design and the form of the ordinance are clearly established, the next question in order is, who may claim the privilege of the ordinance? Who are described in the New Testament as proper subjects? This, though in the days of the apostles a simple question and one which admitted of a ready answer, by the lapse of ages and the obscurity which an erroneous practice has brought over it, has become one of some difficulty. It is not enough now merely to say to the inquirer, "Believe and be baptized," or, in the language of Philip to the eunuch, "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest," but prejudices must be removed, errors refuted, obscurities must be cleared up, and false and unfounded interpretations of the Scriptures must be shown to be such, and their true intent and meaning educed and established. This is a labor requiring something more than a mere superficial acquaintance with the principles of interpretation. To be successful here and perform any valuable service in the cause of truth, one must have formed habits of patient investigation, and have attained to some maturity of scholarship. These qualifications, we believe, Mr. Turney possesses in an eminent degree. He is well read in ecclesiastical history, and has been for years a close and

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critical student of the Bible; and hence, in his exposition of passages most universally relied upon to sustain the practice of infant baptism, he is strong, full and perfectly satisfactory. We see not how, in fairness, an exception can be taken to the construction which he has given to these disputed portions of the word of God. This part of his work he has extended to the greatest length, and has executed with the greatest patience and fidelity. And his argument is worthy not only of being read, but of being carefully studied by all sincere inquirers after the truth as it is in Jesus.

There is, however, one feature in his mode of reasoning upon this subject which will be objected to by some as irrelevant. One point, which he takes for granted, will not be conceded by all whose principles and practices he opposes; i. e. that infant baptism implies infant church membership. He raises one of his strongest objections to the right of infants to the ordinance of baptism, on the ground that they have none, and can have none, of the qualifications prescribed in the New Testament as essential to church membership. There is a large portion of the Pedobaptist ranks, who can make no objection to his taking this point for granted. For they have proclaimed it from their pulpits, have put it forth in the declaration of their sentiments which they have made to the world. It has been brought up, discussed and settled in all their great ecclesiastical judicatories and assemblies; and it is a sentiment which runs through all their publications, and is interwoven with their whole system of church organization.

For this numerous and most respectable class we have always felt the profoundest respect. We have seen them deeply involved and have found they were firmly imbedded in an error which we could not consider harmless. But then there is a consistency in their scheme; its parts are all nicely adjusted to each other. One of the most honored members of this party and most able advocates of this doctrine was the late Dr. Mason, of New York. His "Essays on the Church," first published in a magazine, of which he was editor, in 1808 and 10, and recently republished under the direction of a relative of the author, are a monument of his genius. We admire the fairness with which he states all his propositions, and

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the great care he takes in defining all his terms. We admire not less the strength and acuteness which he displays in their defence, and the boldness with which he follows them out to their remotest and most objectionable consequences. His was a great and powerful intellect.

> "Si dextra
> Defendi possent, etiam illa defensa fuissent."

It is not this class, therefore, who will object to the feature alluded to. It was while residing among Pedobaptists, who believe that the ordinance of baptism, to whomsoever administered, "is a sign and seal of the covenant of grace," that the author prepared this volume for the press.

But there is another class who will strongly object to his mode of conducting this part of his argument. They do not believe that infants and children, by the act of baptism, become members of the church. They therefore will not appreciate his reasoning or be affected by his conclusions; on the contrary, they will be disposed to pronounce the whole attempt to limit the ordinance to believers alone, an utter failure. It is often the case, that the mind of the hearer or reader, fixing itself upon what is deemed a weakness in the mode of conducting the controversy, such as its want of adaptation to the present phase of the error, is unfitted to appreciate or feel the force of any thing which may follow. We apprehend that this may be the case in the present instance. But the fault is not Mr. Turney's. Had they been consistent, his argument would have been relevant. The ground upon which they establish the right of children and infants to the ordinance of baptism, is sufficiently broad to support their claim to the enjoyment of any other ordinance or privilege in the Christian church; and it has always been a matter of surprise to us, that they have been so forward in advocating the claim of infants to the enjoyment of one of the ordinances of the church, and so reluctant to admit their claim to any other. We have never yet understood the ground upon which they make this distinction. Is it that the child is incapable of discerning the Lord's body in the use of the bread and wine? But he is as competent to understand this, as the use of water in the ordinance of

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baptism. Is he without faith, has he not been regenerated—and therefore his professing to derive his spiritual life and strength from the body of Christ would be a mere mockery? How much less is the profession which he is supposed to make in baptism? Does baptism come in the place of circumcision? Why then should it not be allowed to confer all the rights and privileges which circumcision did upon those who submitted to it?

This want of consistency is so manifest that we wonder how it can be concealed from those who advocate these views. And it is this, more than any thing else, which has made us feel that such men as Edwards, and Dwight, and Emmons, were only men, subject to like prejudices and passions as other men. They press on in the path of error not pleased, as it would seem, with its many advantages and beauties; but, as they approach its termination, they become more and more timid, and instead of retracing their steps and thus regaining a position of perfect safety, they look now on the right and now on the left, with an anxious eye, for some by-path into which they may turn, and thus save themselves from a full acknowledgment of their mistake, or from the fatal consequences which they must otherwise inevitably meet. All we have to say in reference to those who still believe as those great lights in the church did, is, let them only be consistent, carry out their principles to their legitimate consequences, and then they will have no occasion to complain of the want of relevancy in Mr. T.'s argument; or, if they dare not do this, then let them retrace their steps and come back upon the king's highway, and they will have no need of it, except to confirm them in the truth.

Mr. T. would subscribe to the following sentiments expressed by President Dwight: "All persons are baptized, not *in*, but *into*, the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; that is, they are in this ordinance publicly and solemnly introduced into the family, and entitled, in a peculiar manner, to the name of God." Or, in other words, he considers it "a profession of submission to the gospel, and designed as a prerequisite of admission into the Christian church." Now he who has not the inward and the spiritual qualifications essential to membership, is not a suitable subject for this ordinance; and, on the other hand, he who has these qualifi-

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cations is a suitable subject. With this view, if we be asked whether infants or adults, who have much of morality, but no religion, are suitable subjects, an answer is at hand; a test most easy of application; one which a child, or any one capable of understanding the simplest principles of the Bible, and of reflecting upon the condition of his own heart, may with safety apply. If he be loved of God, if he believe with all his heart, he may be baptized.

In reaching this conclusion and establishing this rule, Mr. T. has labored not in vain. He has relied mostly upon an extensive and thorough examination of the Scriptures; and has appealed to the testimony of the early Christian fathers, only to show that the views which he advances are not new, or those of a novice, but are as old as the church itself, and were entertained by those who had the best means of knowing the mind of Christ. We had intended to give some instances, in which, by a faithful exposition, he turns the very weapons of his opponents against themselves. But our limits will not permit. Some idea, however, may be formed of the extent and richness of this chapter by the following extract.

"Our examination of baptism with respect to its subjects is now completed. The position that believers alone are proper subjects, has been proved by an appeal to the design of baptism. Not a use of the ordinance, specified in the New Testament, is met in its administration to unbelievers and infants. Indeed, its design is thus directly set aside and contravened. We have appealed to the nature and design of the kingdom of Christ; and shown that it is eminently personal and spiritual in its requirements and qualifications for membership. It includes none but such as have believed in Christ, and have been transformed by the renewing of their minds, and consequently leaves no place for the baptism and church membership of infants. We have appealed to the instructions of Christ and his apostles respecting the requisite qualifications for baptism and visible church membership; and have found that believers, and believers alone, are specified as the proper subjects. We have even shown, by reference to numerous passages in the New Testament, that those who are merely "born of the flesh," do not belong to the kingdom of Christ; that relations acquired by natural birth, which is all that can be affirmed of infants, are positively declared to be of no avail as qualifications for membership; and that in this respect the Christian dispensation is directly contrasted with the Jewish. We have examined the testimony of the New Testament respecting the example of the apostles and of the churches enjoying their instructions; and we have found them uniformly administering baptism to believers in Christ only. Language is used which

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proves that all who were baptized were capable of 'putting on Christ,' and of 'answering a good conscience toward God.' We have also examined the testimony of ecclesiastical history. We have found none but believers mentioned as subjects of baptism by the Christian writers for a hundred years subsequent to the apostolic age. We have discovered the first traces of infant baptism about the beginning of the third century, and have seen it gradually spreading, until, in the time of Augustine, it became general. We have shown in what way its introduction may be readily and satisfactorily accounted for. And, finally, we have adduced several distinct and decisive proofs, from the history of the church, against its apostolic origin. We ask, what more can be demanded? What stronger proof could, in the nature of the case, exist? Every source from which an argument bearing on the subject can possibly be drawn, furnishes evidence leading invariably to the same result. There is no conflicting of testimony. There is no balancing of proof. There is scarcely an occasion for removing a difficulty. The evidence, derived from whatever source, not only fails entirely of furnishing any thing in favor of the divine authority of infant baptism, but is in every instance opposed to it."

But there is one point more. Pedobaptists often justify their practice, in this particular, by a reference to its good results, to its practical benefits. These are twofold. First, such as relate to the child, and secondly, such as relate to the church and to the cause of religion generally. But how the child is benefited by the performance of a rite, the meaning of which it is, at the time, wholly incapable of understanding, and which, at any later period in life, it is unable to recal, is to us a profound mystery. If the transaction be viewed in the light of a covenant, or contract, the child was not a party to it, in such a sense as to lay him under any moral obligation. For it was ratified when he was as incapable of acting as one dead. As well might an instrument, disposing of property, be drawn up by surviving friends, and the signature of the owner put to it, when his eye is glazed and his hand cold in death, and thus it be called his last will and testament, as an unconscious infant be baptized, with the design of laying him under any peculiar moral obligations. He was in no sense a party to it, and is not bound by it. We see no way in which he can derive any immediate benefit from it, unless it be a saving ordinance. Establish the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and the path is plain.

But it is said, the church and the cause of religion is benefited by the administration of this ordinance to chil-

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dren; that parents will fulfil their obligations to their children with more fidelity, in consequence of having dedicated them to God in this formal manner. We seriously question whether a deeper interest is felt in the spiritual welfare of children among Pedobaptists than among Baptists. We doubt whether a more affecting case of parental solicitude can be found any where than is found in the Memoirs of Andrew Fuller. We have had some little acquaintance with Baptist families, and have been often deeply affected with scenes of parental anxiety and distress which we have witnessed. The performance of this rite is far from being essential to the enjoyment of this most interesting state of mind on the part of the parent. There can often be found, both among Baptists and Pedobaptists, families where prayer is made almost without ceasing, to God, for the conversion of the younger members, and where no opportunity of exerting a religious influence or of making a religious impression is suffered to pass unimproved. But in neither case, we believe, can this anxiety be attributed to their peculiar views or practices as denominations. It lies further back, and has its origin in what is common to both, viz., a good, sound, religious experience of the grace of God.

This is all that can be said in its favor; and so far as we are able to see, the rite in its application to infants might be dispensed with, and neither the child nor the church lose any thing. But there are evil consequences, of a serious nature, which flow from this practice. The doctrines of the church are in great danger of corruption from this source; and when once corrupted, the church is ruined. The form, the organization, the officers may all be left. Her members may be multiplied manifold; her popularity and her wealth greatly increased, and yet, for all this, her power, her influence as the salt of the earth, as the light of the world be gone, and gone perhaps never to return. If an inward experience of the great doctrines of the Bible be set aside in reference to any who may appear as candidates, and they be admitted as members without this experience, who can tell how soon the line of separation between the church and the world will be annihilated? This is what corrupted the church in her early history, and brought down upon her that long night of darkness from which she, to this day, has

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scarcely recovered. This is what arrested the progress of the Reformation, so auspiciously begun in the days of Martin Luther, and turned the descendants of the noble band of Christian worthies back to wander, it may be, during other centuries, in the wilderness of error and sin. And this is what corrupted the New England churches during the last half of the eighteenth century—the admission of unconverted members. If men, in large numbers, come into the church, destitute of any experimental knowledge of Christianity, the church cannot be saved. They always have corrupted, and always will, in the end, corrupt her doctrines and work out her ruin.

We believe that the only path of safety is to walk in the light of gospel truth; to administer neither of the ordinances to any but those who give evidence that the law of God has been put in their inward parts and written in their hearts. This is what Baptists have ever done, and it has been their salvation, and, through them, will yet be the salvation of the world. Mr. Turney devotes a section to the discussion of this subject; a chapter to "the authority of baptism, or the duty of believers in Christ to be baptized on profession of their faith;" and another to "the relative position of baptism, or the scriptural terms of admission to the Lord's supper." Both are able chapters, and well worthy of an attentive perusal.

We lay down this volume with a solemn conviction of the importance of the principles which distinguish us as a denomination. While we hold many doctrines in common with other denominations, doctrines which we love no less than they, and in the defence of which we are willing to stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder with them, yet there are some peculiar to us, and which we hold in common with no other denomination whatever. These, as well as the others, we deem neither non-essential nor unimportant. Who that reads the history of the church, during the last eighteen centuries, can avoid a feeling of sadness in consequence of her fickleness and instability? How brightly rose the sun of righteousness upon the world, and yet how soon were its morning rays obscured by clouds and hid from the nations. They have shone out again upon lands shrouded in moral darkness; but it has been only for a little season. Where is there a denomination of any magnitude, which has

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remained uncorrupted in its doctrines and persevering in its efforts for the spread of the gospel during three centuries? If one such has withstood the allurements of the world and held on its way uncontaminated, we have yet to learn its name and to become acquainted with its character. It is certainly neither one of the churches of Asia, nor the church at Corinth, nor at Alexandria, nor at Rome. It is not the church in Germany, nor in Switzerland, nor in France, nor in England. Each of these churches, within less than three centuries, have needed a reformation in their doctrines and their practices almost as deep and radical as was the change when they first embraced Christianity.

But this want of stability is not to be attributed to any lack of spiritual gifts. These were shed upon the church abundantly. Names, great and mighty, were enrolled among her members—Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, in early times, and, in modern, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Knox, Edwards, Davies, Hopkins and a host of others, but little inferior in intellectual strength or piety. But yet, notwithstanding their deep and sincere attachment to the cause of religion, and their most vigorous efforts for its welfare, the church soon lost her zeal and entertained erroneous views of the great doctrines of the Bible. Neither can her want of stability be attributed to any thing peculiar in the form of her organization. She has been Papal, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational in the mode of her government; and while the tendency to corruption has been more rapid under some forms than under others, yet under none has she been able altogether to resist this tendency or to escape its ruinous consequences. What hope, or what reliance, then, is left? We answer, a rigid conformity to the plain and simple teachings of the word of God, in doctrine and in practice. Let it no more be heard from the high places in Zion that Christians are at liberty to accommodate the forms of religion to the conveniences of men. For if they may take this liberty with the forms, why not with the internal experience and power? One is as fixed and immutable as the other; and the right and authority to alter the one implies the right and authority to change the other.

Neither let us, as a denomination, be reminded any

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more that we have been too rigid in our adherence to the Bible; nor let it be said, the thing for which we contend is one of trifling consequence, "a nonessential." Infant baptism may be a small affair. We will believe that our Pedobaptist brethren think it so, when they are willing to give it up. But, little as it is, unless all history is a fable, it has been mighty in mischief. Twelve hundred years since, it effaced the line which Christ and his apostles drew with such distinctness between the church and the world, converting the world, not to the truth, but to the church and then the church to the world, and sending the true witnesses, few in number, and without protection or sympathy, through a thousand years of spiritual darkness. In less than two centuries after the reformation in Germany, and Switzerland, and England, it again secularized the church; and in America, among the descendants of the Puritans, it hurried the church off into the half-way covenant, and thus, by the introduction of unsanctified members, it has also wrought out the same pernicious results. It made some of the sternest New England divines plead for an organic transmission of faith from the parent to the child; and although these have gone down to their graves, the errors which they taught still live, and, over a large portion of our land, are filling up the church with unconverted members, and preparing it for another wide spread apostacy. And even in portions where baptized infants are not admitted to full membership and communion, yet even there the practice is ever and anon giving rise to strange sentiments concerning "Christian nurture," which the advocates of the practice dare not endorse, and which they cannot refute.

The truth is, the church can never hope for permanent purity in her doctrines, and for continued, uninterrupted progress in her great work, until she is willing to eschew all connection with a practice which has no foundation except in an erroneous view of her own character and destiny, and in a wrong construction of the word of God. When we attribute to this practice the evils above enumerated, it is not for the purpose of justifying ourselves in a course of opposition. We sincerely believe what we write. And we give utterance to a sentiment which pervades the entire denomination of regular Baptists in America, when we assure all our Pedobaptist

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brethren, far and near, that it will be useless for them to ply their ingenuity further in framing bases upon which we may unite with them in full and hearty church relation, until they are willing to practise immersion alone as baptism, and administer the ordinance to those alone who give satisfactory evidence that they are born of God. We are as far from being convinced by the arguments usually relied upon to sustain the practice of Pedobaptists, as we were in the days of Roger Williams, John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes and others, who so clearly and ably maintained our sentiments in the early history of New England.

S. B.

Granville, O.

ARTICLE VII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

I. Classical Literature.

1. Titus Livius. *Selections from the First Five Books, together with the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Books entire. Chiefly from the Text of Alschefski.* With English Notes for Schools and Colleges. By J. L. Lincoln, Professor of Latin in Brown University. With an Accompanying Plan of Rome, and a Map of the Passage of Hannibal. New York. Appletons. 1847. pp. 329. 12mo.

Livy was a native of Padua, in Italy, and lived just before and during the early period of the Christian era. He died A. D. 17, aged 75 years. His great work is his Roman history, which was comprehended in 142 books, and of which only thirty-five, and a fragment of another, are extant. As an accurate, copious and trustworthy historian, he is not excelled. Many editions of Livy have been printed. The school editions, however, have been deficient in those critical helps which are demanded by a student, as yet not a perfect master of the language. The Notes by Prof. Lincoln are as voluminous as the wants of the student require, judiciously managed so as to aid him where he has need of aid, and at the same time leaving him under the necessity of using his own powers. The plan of Rome, and of the Journey of Hannibal, as well as the Geographical Index and the Index

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to the Notes, are valuable additions to the work. This first offering of Prof. Lincoln to the cause of classical learning is creditable to himself, and the earnest, we hope, of other efforts equally useful, scholarlike and praiseworthy.

2. *Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, with Notes.* By R. D. C. Robbins, Librarian of Andover Theological Seminary. Andover. W. H. Wardwell. 1848. pp. 417. 12mo.

Socrates flourished nearly at the same time with the prophet Malachi—about 400 years B. C. His life has been largely described both by Plato and Xenophon. The latter was his pupil and admirer; and, from constant and protracted familiarity with Socrates, and with his precepts and mode of instruction, well adapted to write the Memoirs of his master. The Memorabilia is one of the most interesting books that have come to us from heathen antiquity; and, as a detail of the opinions, reasonings and history of one of the greatest and best of unenlightened men, it will well repay an earnest and attentive perusal. The present edition, from the text of Kühner, commends itself at once to the eye, by its typographical execution; and not less to the mind, by its accuracy and judiciousness. The text covers 168 pages, and the Notes and Indexes, 249. The Notes are critical, grammatical and explanatory, and embrace numerous references to Manuals within the reach of most students. Any one who faithfully reads the book with the notes, looking out and contemplating the references, will find that the Editor has done him an invaluable service.

3. *The Agamemnon of Æschylus, with Notes.* By C. C. Felton, Professor in Harvard University. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1847. pp. 199. 12mo.

This excellent edition of the Agamemnon is printed in large and fair type, chiefly from the text of Klausen. The Greek extends to seventy pages, and is followed by a body of Notes, in 118 pages, and by a Table of the irregular metres of the play, in ten pages. The notes are generally judicious and comprehensive, and of sufficient length to meet all the ordinary demands of school and college students. The Table of Metres will be a great aid to those who have been accustomed to look upon the changing versification of the Greek plays as an almost interminable and unsolvable mystery. Prof. F. has done his work wisely and well. It is a favorable characteristic of the times that the treasures of the ancient Greek are, by such editions, becoming accessible.

4. *The Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown, with Notes.* By J. T. Champlin, Professor in Waterville College. Second Edition, improved. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1847. pp. 252. 12mo.

In external and typographical beauty, this second edition of Prof. Champlin's Demosthenes excels the former. He remarks in the preface that "the Notes have been almost entirely rewritten," and, by some changes of arrangement, made more convenient for reference. The type of the Greek text is remarkably open, clear and beautiful;

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it could scarcely be made better. Prof. C. seems to have used to the best advantage the helps within his reach. Of the merits of his first edition, we have already expressed our opinion in an extended article in this Review. We are glad that a second issue is so soon demanded by the public.

5. *Greek Tables for the use of Students.* By ALPHEUS CROSBY, Professor in Dartmouth College. Stereotype Edition. Boston. James Munroe & Co. pp. 84. 12mo. 1846.

Nothing is of more importance to young scholars occupied with the elements of the Greek tongue, than perfect familiarity with the forms of the language. It is the object of these Tables to exhibit the actual forms of the language to the eye. It embraces tables of the vowels, numerals, etc., and paradigms of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and participles in all their forms; together with paradigms of the forms as they are modified by the various dialects. The whole is adapted to the present state of Greek grammar, and instead of misleading, is calculated to aid the student at every step. The volume contains in the shortest compass, and so arranged as at once to strike the eye, the tables which are ordinarily scattered over the pages of the best Greek grammars, and the results of many pages of statements and exceptions. It is an excellent little book, and one that can be placed in the hands of students with great advantage.

6. *The Child's Book in Greek.* Being a Series of Elementary Exercises in the Greek Language. By ASHAEL C. KENDRICK. Professor in Madison University. Hamilton, N. Y. S. C. Griggs. 1847. pp. 68.

This little book is designed for the youngest pupils, and, "on the principle of oral repetition, aims to give them a practical command over some of the simple forms and constructions of the language, without hindering them with grammatical rules." If it is worth while to teach Greek to young children on these principles at all, this manual is a very proper guide. But we doubt entirely as to the utility of the effort.

II. GENERAL LITERATURE.

7. *An American Dictionary of the English Language.* By NOAH WEBSTER, LL. D. Revised and enlarged by CHAUNCY A. GOODRICH. Springfield. George and Charles Meriam. 1848. 4to. pp. 1451.

An American Dictionary of the English Language. By NOAH WEBSTER, LL. D. Abridged from the quarto edition. Revised and enlarged by CHAUNCY A. GOODRICH. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1847. 8vo. pp. 1289.

Next to the Bible, the most useful and important book for all classes of the community is a good dictionary of their vernacular language. Very true, the great majority learn the meaning of words by the ear, and gather the superficial knowledge of terms as of other things, by a

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general and vague induction from their use by others. Such individuals, however, are always painfully uncertain as to the accuracy of their own use of language; nor can their conceptions of the meaning of words employed by others be more definite. Hence the importance of the lexicographer's labors.

Our young country has been highly favored in the possession of one of the most indefatigable laborers in this department which the world has ever seen. Noah Webster devoted the principal portion of a long life, in a most praiseworthy and successful manner, to the making of a dictionary. Nor will the real scholars of this or future generations regard it as a misappropriation of time or talents. When he began these labors, nearly a generation since, seventy years had elapsed after the first publication of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary; and besides many inherent defects in that great work, the progress which the English language had made during this period, obviously demanded the preparation of a new work, in order to the adequate presentment of the language *as it is*. Our countrymen should felicitate themselves, that this task was undertaken by an American, and with an enlarged, enlightened view, indicating just appreciation of the dignity and sacred responsibleness of the work.

These labors are for the first time brought into a complete and convenient adjustment in the volumes before us. There are serious practical objections to a dictionary in several volumes. This has been one hindrance to the wider and more rapid introduction of Webster's larger Dictionary. For the first time, we now have in the most copious, and as it seems to us, the most beautiful single volume ever printed in this country,—a complete American dictionary. Extending to almost fifteen hundred pages quarto, it is yet so compact as not to appear unwieldy, and so condensed as to leave out nothing which could really be desired, relating to the origin, the form, the meaning or the pronunciation of words and names. Nor is this secured by the use of a miserably small type or thin paper. Eminently good judgment has presided over these arrangements, which can scarcely fail to challenge the admiration and the warm approval of the public.

But these material and mechanical excellencies,—important as they must be considered in such a work,—are by no means the chief recommendations of this volume. The revision to which Prof. Goodrich has subjected the work seems to have been of the most thorough and satisfactory character. By seeking requisite aid from every quarter, both in our own country and abroad, he has vastly enriched and perfected this noble undertaking. With two things we have been specially gratified in this revision. The Editor very judiciously has retreated from the attempt of Webster, to revolutionize the orthography of words. The business of lexicography certainly is not to *make* a language, but simply to *exhibit* it according to its approved usages. Some departure from this axiom, in the spelling and pronunciation of a small class of words, always seemed to us a blemish in Webster's Dictionary. By common consent of the venerable author before his death, and of his representatives, these innovations are now chiefly abandoned. The other feature which has pleased us, is the steady resistance of that boundless license for innovation in coining new words, or altering old ones, which many English writers, especially, have of late manifested.

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We need no additional copiousness of this doubtful and reprehensible character; and it will secure the warm approval of all the staid lovers of "English undefiled" to see in this standard work, so general a repudiation of the cockney frivolities of this innovating age.

Immense labor and care have evidently been expended on the definitions of words as here presented. The broad principle of Horace, that *use* is the law and the decision of the meaning of words, seems to have been rigidly adhered to. The definition here presented regards not so much what the derivation and the analogy of the word would lead us to anticipate as its meaning, but what good and prevalent usage proves that it does mean.

The copious narrative of the Editor of these editions, as to the method and extent of improvements which he has introduced, will give to all readers some idea of the nature and value of the additions here incorporated, amounting to nearly one-fourth part of the whole work.

The commendation which we feel constrained to award to the larger work, is also due to this edition of the abridgement. Taking that of Worcester as its basis, very like the same character of improvements, and in the same proportion, have been by the same hand judiciously incorporated into this smaller work. It contains the more important derivations of words, nearly all their meanings, though sometimes slightly condensed, a few of the more important authorities, and in many words an acceptable list of synonyms. The same spelling, pronunciation and definition will therefore be found in both the larger work and the abridgement. The former will naturally be desired, as the more full and complete, by all thorough scholars; while the latter will be equally welcome to the masses. This octavo edition, for beauty and accuracy of execution, deserves to become the universal common dictionary of the language. The public may well congratulate themselves on the effect of a generous rivalry between the publishers, or what must be regarded as a most praiseworthy liberality, that these excellent editions are both furnished at prices unusually low. Doubtless they will be remunerated by very extensive sales.

Contenting ourselves necessarily for the present with this brief notice of works in which we hope all our readers will feel a lively interest, and will naturally desire early information, we may give ample space to a critical examination of them hereafter. R. B.

8. *Memoir of Rev. William G. Crocker, late Missionary to Africa.* By Mrs. MEDBERRY, of Newburyport, Mass. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 16mo.

We have had opportunity to examine this Biography in sheets. The lamented servant of God whom it describes left many letters and journals, which have furnished very full materials for the delineation of his character. These materials are judiciously arranged by the editress, and united together by sensible and discriminating remarks. The life of Mr. Crocker was not one of bustle and parade; and the Memoir is of that serene cast which does not move strongly; but the impression which it is calculated to produce is invariably good. It is a worthy addition to our series of missionary memoirs. Mr. Crocker was born at Newburyport, where his aged parents still reside. He

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became hopefully pious at the age of twenty. Though he was brought up to a mechanical trade, he soon commenced a course of study preparatory to the work of the gospel ministry. He studied one year at the Academy in South Reading, and afterwards pursued a full course in theology at the Newton Theological Institution. He sailed for Africa the first time, July 11th, 1835. He returned to his native land after a few years, on account of his feeble health, and for a considerable time lay at death's door. He was, however, almost miraculously restored, and returned to his cherished field of labors. But he returned only to die. After a very brief period of missionary toil, he finished his harvest work at the noon of life, and reclined, at the Master's bidding, upon his sheaves—a martyr to his work.

9. *The Dangers and Advantages of Unusual Religious Efforts.* A Discourse by Rev. T. F. CURTIS, pastor of the Baptist Church at Tuskaloosa, Ala. Tuskaloosa. M. D. J. Slade. pp. 20.

The necessity for discusing this topic in the Northern States is now passed away. The evils of an excessive and unwise use of a thing good in itself have been abundantly exhibited and felt. In other portions of the Union, however, it may still be needful to sound the voice of alarm. The discourse of Mr. Curtis is a judicious, temperate and serious warning against extravagance, and draws, in a discriminating and prudent manner, the line of demarcation between the proper use and the abuse of protracted religious meetings.

10. *Morning and Evening Meditations for Every Day in a Month.* Boston. Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 295 pp. 12mo.

It will not be the fault of editors, printers, and publishers, if the world is not well instructed in meditation and prayer. We have our "Daily Food," a promise and a verse of a hymn, for a whole year; "Daily Manna,"—like the former, with the appendage of a skeleton of a meditation; the "Christian's Daily Treasury," with the meditation for every day in the year written out; Mason's Spiritual Treasury, Bogatzky's Golden Treasury, and the like. This little volume is an advance upon its fellows, giving us two meditations a day for a month, with a more extended portion of poetry. It is a delightful book—a true gem of taste and piety.

11. *The Son of Man Cometh.* A Discourse by WILLIAM H. FURNESS, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Philadelphia. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1847. pp. 22. 8vo.

The text of this discourse is Luke 12: 40—"Be ye, therefore, ready also; for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of Man cometh." This sermon is an extraordinary development of opinion. The author departs from the usual interpretation of the passage, which, as the context seems to imply, involves a voice of warning. His interpretation, in his own words, is as follows: "It is very plain to me that when he spoke of the coming of the Son of Man, he had reference to that great and undefined good which the Jews were impatiently looking for, which they expected to appear in the shape of a great, visible empire, splendid and mighty with a prophet and prince, inspired and

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anointed of God, at its head. . . . In one word, it was in his [Christ's] mind, the Truth,—the Truth concerning God and man—the knowledge of the Invisible and the Everlasting—of the highest topics of human thought and the dearest interests of the soul—of the eternal will—of the sacred and unchangeable law, etc." The discourse is founded upon this interpretation—a folly which, who would deem possible? Who can think that Christ would, in such solemn words of warning, have cautioned his disciples in respect to the coming of the Truth? And what is that abstract Truth, which was not then in the world, but which might come at any time, and of whose coming men required to be warned? The discourse was, doubtless, approved by the auditors, or they would scarcely have requested its publication. But certainly the cause of divine truth has nothing to apprehend from those who have so little theological acumen as to admire and praise such gleams of moonshine.

12. *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year* 1848. Boston. James Munroe & Co. pp. 370. 12mo.

This very scholarlike and useful almanac has appeared in good time. It is exceedingly rich in statistics, literary, commercial, scientific and professional. The industry, research and ability of the Editor have made it at the same time a very readable book, and a book of reference. Every year, we perceive some valuable additions, corrections and improvements. The full list of the Houses of Lords and Commons in England has suggested to us that another interesting addition would be a table of the statistics of the British and Continental Universities; also a statistical view of Libraries.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

Samuel Benjamin, West Burlington, Ots. Co., N. Y., July 2, aged 84.
James A. Boswell, Newtown, N. H., Sept. 14, aged 51.
Henry Douglass Buttolph, Troy, Oakland Co., Mich., Sept. 24, aged 29.
Samuel C. Clopton, (Missionary,) Canton, China, July 7, aged 31.
Elijah Herrick, Charlestown, Mont. Co., N. Y., aged 87.
Isaac Taylor Hinton, New Orleans, La., Aug. 28, aged 42.
H. Hudson, North Royalton, Cuyahoga Co., O., Aug. 9, aged 60.
Amos Kingsley, Lebanon, Mad. Co., N. Y., Oct. 25, aged 80.
S. S. Parr, Hannibal, Mo., Aug. 2.
William Pattison, New Britain, Con., Aug. 31, aged 82.
Philetus B. Peck, Cazenovia, N. Y., Oct. 3, aged 38.
Linus N. Peck, Cazenovia, N. Y., Oct. 4, aged 29.
George Robinson, Lancaster Mass., Sept. 25, aged 92.
Isaac Sawyer, Jay, Essex Co., N. Y., Sept. 30, aged 77.
John Tripp, Hebron, Me., Sept. 16, aged 86.
Mandeville Tuthill, (licentiate), Prattsburg, Steub. Co., N. Y., Oct. 16, aged 28.
J. W. Williams, Green Plains, Mich., Aug. 13.

ORDINATIONS.

Ira Bates, West Greenwich, R. I., Sept. 23.
B. Blackburn, Youngtown, O., Oct. 6.

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WILLIAM BRANCH, Williamsville, Erie Co., N. Y., Sept. 2.
CHARLES CARLTON, Fredonia, N. Y., Aug. 13.
GEORGE CARPENTER, Westminster, Mass., Oct. 14.
C. T. CHAPMAN, South Kingston, R. I., Aug. 25.
D. L. CLOUSE, White Eyes' Plains, Cosh. Co., O., Oct. 22.
EZRA G. COVEY, Darien, Gen. Co., N. Y., Oct. 27.
—— CRAVEN, Cincinnati, O., Oct. 17.
APPLETON H. DANFORTH, Worcester, Mass., Oct. 26.
GEORGE W. DAVIS, Milford, Con.
H. GARLICK, Guilford, Chen. Co., N. Y., Oct. 27.
JOHN R. GREENOUGH, Oldtown, Me., Aug. 26.
E. R. HERA, Manasquan, N. J.
N. B. JAMES, Italy Hollow, Yates Co., N. Y., Sept. 14.
REUBEN JEFFREY, Nantucket, Mass., Sept. 15.
JOSEPH R JOHNSON, Henderson, Jeff. Co., N. Y., Oct. 19.
A. JONES, Sodus, Wayne Co., N. Y., Oct. 5.
E. E. KIRVEN, Ackerville, Wilcox Co., Ala., June 27.
RICHARD LENTELL, Conway, Mass., Oct. 21.
JOSEPH LEWIS, Stonington, Con., 3rd chh., Sept. 7.
HIRAM LORD, Greenville, Green Co., N. Y., Oct. 7.
——— MOORE, Cincinnati, O., Oct. 17.
BENJAMIN F. NEALY, Attica, N. Y., Sept. 7.
WILLIAM A. PEASE, Plainfield, Mass., Sept. 14.
JOHN W. SARLES, Brooklyn, N. Y. Oct. 27.
THOMAS SHEPHERD, Tomaky, Coshocton Co., O., Oct. 10.
IRA JOY STODDARD, Busti, Chaut. Co., N. Y., Sept. 23.
H. B. STREETER, Hinsdale, N. H., Nov. 3.
JOSEPH THAYER, South Sutton, Mass., Oct 20.,
MARTIN THRASHER, Copenhagen, N. Y.
BENJ. WHARTON, Antrim, Guernsey Co., O., Aug.
WILLIAM WILDER, Baltimore, Md., Sept. 5.
JEROME T. MASON, Galesville, Wash. Co., N. Y., Nov. 5.
SAMUEL I. ATKINS, Cumberland Co., Va., Nov. 5.
JAMES PARKER, Rowe, Mass., Nov. 18.
AMERICUS L. HAY, New Carlisle, O. Nov. 13.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Matagorda, Texas, May 15.
Whartonville, Col. River, Texas, May 22.
Oak Grove, Tenn., July 13.
Duehart's Creek, Jefferson Co., Ga. July 16.
East Cameron, Steub. Co., N. Y.
South West Oswego, N. Y.
West Kensington, Pa.. Aug. 1,
Wayne Township, Ind., Aug. 5.
West Lebanon, Ind. Co.. Pa., Aug. 10.
Pipe Creek, Lycoming Co., Pa., Aug. 11.
Steubenville, Jeff. Co., O , Aug. 20.
Lawrence, Mass., Aug. 24.
Bird's Corner, Sun Prairie, Wis. T., Aug. 25.
Providence, R. I., 9th chh., Aug. 28.
Fulton Co., Ill.
Williamstown, Grant Co., Ky.
Baraboo, Wis.
Pittsburg, Pa., (colored,) Sept. 5.
Carroll Co., Mi., Sept. 12.
Brooklyn, N. Y., (colored,) Sept. 19.
Cincinnati, O., (First Fulton chh.,) Sept. 25.
Barrington, Cook Co., Ill., Sept. 29.
Lubec Village, Me., Sept. 30.
Meddybemps, Me., Sept. 30.
Union, Tenn.
Brooklyn, N. Y , Oct. 17.
New York, N. Y., Nov.

DEDICATIONS.

Houston, Texas, June 6.
Poquonnoc (Groton), Con., Aug. 24.
Cold Spring, Long Island, N. Y., Aug. 29.
Wells, Hamilton Co., N. Y., Sept, 9.
Rossville, Staten Island, N. Y., Sept. 16.
East Meredith, Del. Co., N. Y., Sept. 21.
Newport, R. I., Sept. 22.
Springfield, Mass., Sept. 22.
Galveston, Texas.
Mt. Calvary church, Caroline Co., Va., Nov. 19.
New York, N. Y., 4th st. chh., Nov. 25

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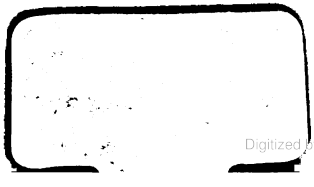

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